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THE CHAUCER TRADITION

CHAUCER READING TO THE COURT OF RICHARD II

Frontispiece of MS. Cambr. Corp. Chr. Coll. no. 61; $12^{1}/_{2} \times 8^{3}/_{4}$ in.

PLATE I.

THE CHAUCER TRADITION

BY

AAGE BRUSENDORFF

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To

Otto Jespersen

Glorye and Honour
Be to thy name, and I shal as I can
Folwe thy lanterne as thou gost byforn.

14620

PREFACE

THE first sketch of this book was written in Danish as far back as 1920 and was accepted as a doctor's thesis by the Faculty of Arts in the University of Copenhagen in March 1921. Several hypotheses set up here, as that of the grouping of the authorities for the *Canterbury Tales,* were confirmed by material collected during a stay in England in 1921, and the results were then worked into the text simultaneously with its being rewritten in English. This task has been greatly delayed by the demands made upon my time by my teaching work in the University and also, I fear, by a certain innate propensity to take my own time over my work.

My purpose has been to examine the way in which the knowledge of Chaucer's personality and writings was handed down by the first two generations of the XV century, in order to show that our information, scrappy though it is, represents a fully authoritative tradition, which yields some important biographical facts about the poet and offers the sole reliable basis for a true bibliographical canon of his works. I have tried throughout to indicate the main problems of really fruitful research; how far I have succeeded in working them out must be decided by others.

Finally it becomes my pleasant duty to offer sincere thanks to the staffs of numerous libraries in England, Scotland and Denmark, who have all given me most generous and courteous assistance in my work, and to the Danish *Rask-Ørsted Fond* for its financial aid towards publication.

Copenhagen,

Ascension Day, 1924.

QUI LEGIS EMENDAS · SCRIPTOREM NON REPREHENDAS

P. 18. 14 thought *read* though
- *33 n. 1* suspicicus *read* suspicious
- *44. 18* work *read* works
- *48. 17* him self *read* himself
- *48 n. 3* Deguileville *read* Deguilleville
- *49 n. 3* Seld. B. 4. *read* Seld. B. 24
- *53. 14* demands *read* demanda
- *57. 10* long long *read* long
- *61. 18* vnworpe *read* unworþe
- *65. 15* 1 *read* 2
- *67. 11* af *read* of
- *69. 8.* Besides *read* Besides,
- *69 n. 5* subgroup. *read* subgroup,
- *83. 3* F 2493-8 *read* F 1493-8
- *95. 1* wtih *read* with
- *112. 1* Bishoff *read* Bischoff
- *116 n. 1* A 2019 *read* 2017
- *125 n. 2* Ux[orþ *read* Ux[or]
- *126. 6* mus tbe *read* must be
- *132. 1* end after *read* end of

P. *137 n. 5* taht *read* that
- *165 n. 2* Festchrift *read* Festschrift
- *180. 10* contemporaray *read* contemporary
- *216 n. 3* Duker's *read* Duke's
- *222. 9* that the *read* that he
- *238. 2* Pélerinage *read* Pélérinage
- *288 n. 3* probably the *read* probably he
- *303. 4* of not *read* or not
- *303 n. 3* koch *read* Koch
- *343. 9 in* the of *read* in the sense of
- *375 n. 2* readings *read* reading
- *396. 19* 341 f. *read* 340 f.
- *400. 1* 2185 *read* 2187
- *424 n. 1* 3137 f *read* 2137 f.
- *424 n. 1* 3138 *read* 2138
- *470. 9* is *read* it
- *478. 20* referense *read* reference
- *488 n. 1* ; there is *read* there is

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THE CHAUCER TRADITION

On dit et il est vray que tous edifices sont massonnez et ouurez de plusieurs pierres / ⁊ toutes grosses riuieres sont faictes et rassemblees de plusieurs surgeons. Aussi les sciences sont extraictes ⁊ compilees de plusieurs clercs ⁊ ce que lung sceait laultre lignore. Non pourtant rien nest qui ne soit sceu ou loing ou pres.

Cy commence le prologue de messire iehan froissart sur les croniques de france ⁊ dangleterre / et autres lieux voisins.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROBLEMS.

1. *The Chaucer Portraits.*

TRADITION means the handing down of information in such a way that it is laid open to the influence of the successive generations through which it passes. A document, or a contemporary account which is neglected by posterity does not embody tradition, a ballad or any oral report handed on from one generation to another does, but may of course at any moment become fixed by being written down, though even in written texts a special form of literary tradition exists, because the personalities of the various scribes introduce a true traditional element. Of course the external influences to which traditional information is continually exposed, are apt to make it rather inexact in detail; still, the testimony of tradition is often valuable, more especially in cases where no other evidence is forthcoming.

It is even possible to speak of pictorial tradition, for instance when a picture survives through copies or copies' copies only, as in the case of Chaucer. No original portrait of the poet would seem to have been preserved, while several copies are in existence, the best known being those that occur in some MSS. of Thomas Hoccleve's poem *De Regimine Principum.*[1]) Here the author repeatedly refers to his acquaintance with Chaucer, especially in l. 4992 ff.:

> Al-þogh his lyfe be queynt, þe resemblaunce
> Of him haþ in me so fressh lyflynesse,

---

1) Written about 1411; see J. H. Kern in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen,* Afd. Letterkunde, Amsterdam 1915, 5 R., D. 1, p. 351 ff.

þat, to putte othir men in remembraunce
Of his persone, I haue heere his lyknesse
Do make, to þis ende in sothfastnesse,
þat þei þat haue of him lest þought & mynde,
by þis peynture may ageyn him fynde.

This establishes beyond doubt that Hoccleve in the copies of his poem made under his direct supervision caused a portrait of Chaucer to be inserted here. Unfortunately none of the numerous MSS. of the poem left us appear to be authoritative. Moreover, out of the 28 MSS. I have examined myself at London, Cambridge, Oxford, and Edinburgh, only two have preserved the Chaucer portrait, painted in the margin besides the passage quoted, the well-known Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl. 4866, f. 88, and Roy. 17 D. VI, f. 93 b (both dating from the first half of the XV cent.), and none of these have any claim to authority — the text of Harley 4866, which Furnivall made the basis of his edition on the strength of the portrait, exhibiting such errors as *lest* for *lost* (l. 4997), *were* for *where* (l. 5002), and *hym* for *hem* (l. 5005).[1]) The picture was once found in Harl. 4826 (about 1450), where the margin of f. 139 with the Chaucer passage has been cut away, a few traces of the portrait still being visible on the recto of the leaf.[2]) In another Brit. Mus. MS., Arundel 38 (first half of the XV cent.), the whole leaf with the Chaucer passage has been cut

---

1) I have not seen the picture in MS. Phill. 1022 (cf. K. Schümmer in *Bonner Studien zur Englischen Philologie* VI. p. xii), but it is stated to be of indifferent value (H. J. Todd *Ill. of Gower & Ch.* p xxxi). The engraving in *The Gentleman's Mag.* 1792, pt. II, pl. III, does not seem to have been taken from a Hoccleve MS. as stated by Nicholas (p. 106; cf. Skeat I. lx, who is surely mistaken in identifying it with MS. Phillips 1099), but probably merely represents a late copy (cf. the remarks of the owner J. T[yson] *ib.* p. 614).

2) The portrait was lost before the end of the xvi cent., when somebody wrote in the lower margin of this page: *Off worthy Chawcers — here the picture stood — That much did wryght — and all to doe us good — Sum ffuryous ffoole — have Cutt the Same in twayne — his deed doe shewe — he bore a barren Brayne.*

out between ff. 90 and 91, a loss the more to be regretted as this MS. contains the best miniature portrait known of Hoccleve himself,[1]) while in a late MS., Camb. Univ. Libr. Gg. 6. 17 (XVI cent.), the five stanzas praising Chaucer and describing his picture are entirely omitted, the loss occurring between the first and second stanzas on a page; probably the leaf containing them was cut out of the scribe's copy for the sake of the picture, or they may have been omitted because the corresponding portrait was wanting. Six copies which never had the picture still have a note referring to it;[2]) the seventeen remaining MSS. show neither picture nor note.[3])

---

[1]) Reprod. in H. Shaw *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* 1858, vol. II, pl. 41 (see also Roy. 17. D. vi f. 40, Harl. 4826, f. 84, and Cambr. Univ. Libr. Hh. 4. 11, f. 1).

[2]) Brit. Mus. Ms. Roy. 17. D. xix f. 91 — Cambr. Fitzwilliam Mus. MS. McLean 182, f. 131 b & 185, f. 76 — Oxf. Bodl. Laud 735, f. 128, Ashm. 40, f. 89, Digby 185, f. 139 b (the three first of these MSS. date from the first half, the three latter from the second half of the xv cent.). The note besides the Chaucer passage reads *The figure of Chaucer* in all except the first MS. which has *chauncer ffigour,* and the last one, which has *Chaucers ymage.* The note is always written in the scribe's hand, as is the remark *Chaucers ymage* above the portrait in Roy. 17. D. vi, which shows that here we have a direction to the illuminator of the volume who in most cases, however, found a portrait too much for him (Furnivall makes the queer mistake of stating that the note in Roy. 17. D. vi reads 'Chaucers yn age' (Hoccleve's *Works* III. 180[1])).

[3]) They are: Brit. Mus. Roy. 17. D. xviii, f. 91 b, Sloane 1825, f. 81, & Ad. 18236, f. 93 b — Cambr. Univ. Libr. Hh. iv. 11, f. 88 & Kk. 1.3, f. 72 and Trin. Coll. R. 3. 22, f. 200 — Oxf. Bodl. Douce 158, f. 88 — Edin. Univ. Libr. D. b. vi. 7, f. 89 b & Advocates' Libr. 19. 1. 11, f. 90 b — Brit. Mus. Harl. 116, f. 89 & 372, f. 103, Arund. 59, f. 82 b, Roy. 17. C. xiv, f. 81 b, Sloane 1212, f. 91 b — Cambr. St. John's Coll. I. 22, f. 87 — Oxf. Bodl. Rawl. Poet. 10, f. 60 & 168, f. 50. The first nine of these MSS. date from the first half of the middle, the last eight from the second half or the end of the xv cent. In Harl. 372 a later hand has added in the margin: *his picture should be here.* — I have not seen a MS. of Hoccleve's poem at Oxford, Balliol Coll. 329 (cf. Coxe's Cat. I. 105 f.)

In this way we are left with only two representatives of the original picture, and even these differ in some respects; still they conform pretty closely to one type. Both show a stout old man, in a dark gown with wide sleeves and a hood, holding a rosary in one of his hands and raising the other pointing to the text. His head is a little bowed, his hair white, the cheeks full, the nose thick and somewhat drooping,[1]) the eyes dark and heavy; he has a moustache and a small, tufted beard. In all these significant details the two pictures agree; that in Harl. 4866, the best known, differs however in being a half-length portrait only, showing the poet looking to the left and pointing with his left hand, while that in Roy. 17. D. VI gives a full-length figure, looking to the right and holding a rather long rosary in his left hand. The first picture is tolerably well executed, though the praise generally accorded to it far exceeds its real value;[2]) the latter is very badly drawn and coloured.[3]) The remaining traces of the portrait cut out of Harl. 4826 show that here too the poet was pictured full-length, standing and looking right, and in the single leaf, Ad. 5141, we have a 16th cent. copy of a similar portrait, the right hand is, however, raised towards the breast, fingering the small object, perhaps a penknife, all the pictures show here.[4]) The frontispiece in the 1598 & 1602 editions of the the poet was, as Speght says, copied from some picture like this[5]), and the same

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[1]) It is curved and pointed in Harl. 4866, a shape it has in no other picture and one which was probably given it by the Harleian copyist only.

[2]) See Nicolas p. 104, Lowell *My Study Windows* (Camelot Series) p. 287, Furnivall *Trial Forewords* p. 93. Often reproduced, the first time as the frontispiece to T. Morell's ed. of *The Canterbury Tales* (1737).

[3]) Reprod. in *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Western MSS in the Old Royal and King's Collections,* vol. IV, pl. 101 (1921).

[4]) Reprod. in H. Shaw *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* I. pl. 38. The *pictura Galfridi Chauceri,* found in the now destroyed Cottonian MS. Otho A. xviii (cf. Th. Smith's *Cat. Libr. MSS. Bibl. Cottonianæ,* 1696, p. 69) was probably rather like this; see the preface to Urry's ed. of. Ch., 1721.

[5]) See Speght's *Life* of Ch., sect. *His Bookes.*

CHAUCER READING TO THE COURT OF RICHARD II

Enlarged detail of the Corp. Chr. frontispiece.

PLATE II.

holds good of the portrait formerly painted in the recess of Chaucer's tomb. [1])

Much more important than these late copies is the picture in the famous Ellesmere MS. of the Canterbury Tales, from the beginning of the 15th century. It occurs as a marginal illustration to the poet's tale of *Melibee,* and like all the other tellers of tales he is shown riding. The features are much the same as those of the Hoccleve pictures, except that they seem to have been portrayed with somewhat greater skill — in spite of the fact that the picture is done by the second and more awkward illustrator of the Ellesmere volume. [2]) The poet looks towards the right, and instead of a rosary he holds the reins in his hand. It has been argued that this looks more natural, and that the Ellesmere picture accordingly gives the original composition, later altered by the Hoccleve artist, [3]) but this is very unlikely. For the awkward disparity in size between the rider's body and his legs and horse, a lack of proportion not seen in the other figures, clearly shows that the horse was added later and that a half-length picture like that in Harl. 4866 in this way has been converted into the Ellesmere equestrian portrait. The reins were then naturally placed in the hand which held the rosary, just as the pointing hand was given something to do with the penknife at the breast, when the Hoccleve portrait was copied separately. [4])

We have, then, good evidence that the Chaucer portrait was

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1) See the picture in Elias Ashmole *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* 1652, p. 226, cf. John Dart *Westmonasterium* I. 83, and see H[enry]. K[eepe] *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* 1683 p. 47, and Richard Gough *Sepulchral Monuments* pars II, vol. II. 1 ff. (1796); the painting was still traceable at the end of the 18th cent. (*Queries* 1850. II. 420 f).

2) Unfortunately I have not seen the Ellesmere original — the MS. has been in America since 1917— but only the facsimile issue of 1911. See also W. H. Hooper's remarks on the Ellesmere figures as reprod. for the Ch. Soc.

3) Thus Koch *Engl. Stud.* 30. 449 f.

4) See the Ad. 5141 picture and other late copies, cf. M. H. Spielmann *Portraits of Geoffrey Chaucer (Ch. Memorial Lectures* 1900, p. 124 ff). — It is, of course, also possible that the Hoccleve portraits and the Ellesmere picture may both be derived from an older

found in no small number of contemporary MSS. of Hoccleve's poem, and we have three fifteenth century copies from which to judge the original state of this picture.[1]) They agree closely enough, even to such details as the buttons and supposed penknife in front of the gown, to allow us to form a pretty accurate idea as to the original. Besides the Harley — and Ellesmere — pictures convey a sufficiently vivid impression in spite of technical shortcomings to make it almost certain that we have to do with a real portrait, though probably one sketched from memory. Hoccleve's language implies that the original sketch, though not by him, gave a faithful representation of his master; it was probably done by an illuminator who had seen Chaucer in his old age,[2]) and we may be reasonably sure that here we have an approximately true likeness of the poet, thought we cannot be certain of every detail, as there must be one or more steps between our copies and the original. The Harley picture has generally been considered the best portrait,[3]) but probably the Ellesmere one has as good or better claims to faithful representation of the original.[4]) Anyhow this would seem to have represented the poet at an age when his power and spirit had become dulled, probably shortly before his death.

It is fortunate, then, that there is a possibility of another pictorial tradition having been handed down to us. In the Brit. Mus. MS. Lansdowne 699, a beautiful copy of the Canterbury Tales from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, there is a small full-length picture of the poet in the big initial *W* on fol. 1.[5]) This represents quite a different type from that of the Hoc-

---

representation of Chaucer, e. g. in some MS. of the *Canterbury Tales,* now lost.

1) Omitting the Phillipps copy, but including the Ellesmere picture.

2) See Furnivall's note in the Ch. Soc. issue of Spielmann's paper, ser. II, no. 31, p. 6.

3) Often it is even pronounced the only authoritative one, as by Furnivall, Spielmann (l. c. p. 118), and Wells p. 617.

4) Cf. *Athen.* 1911 II. 210 f.

5) A reproduction of this page is among the Ch. Soc. *Autotype Specimens,* ser. I. no. 48; the portrait alone is reproduced by Spielmann, pl. IV.

cleve MSS. The poet stands reading, dressed in a long green gown with a high collar, but without any hood; some of the features, notably the moustache and the tufted beard, are the same as in the Hoccleve portraits, but the face is rather long than full, the hair is brown,[1]) and the whole appearance that of a much younger man. The last characteristic is even more pronounced in another small picture of the same type, also occurring in the initial *W* on f. 1 of a copy of the Canterbury Tales (Bodl. 686), where the poet is shown wearing a blue, furlined coat, holding a tall red cap in his left hand and pointing to the text with his right. However, this MS. is rather late, probably of the second half of the fifteenth century, and the figure, which shows the features of a beardless youth, can hardly be considered a real portrait;[2]) probably it comes at the end of a long series of ancestors.[3]) The Lansdowne picture is better, but without being exactly badly executed it is so very small as to be somewhat indistinct; accordingly it would be rather difficult to believe in its representing a really authoritative portrait of Chaucer,[4]) if there did not exist a third picture of the same type, though of much greater interest than the other two.

This is found in a MS. of Chaucer's *Troilus* from the first quarter of the XV century, Corpus Christi Coll. Cambr., no. 61, on f. I b.[5]) The page is entirely filled by the picture in question which, surrounded by a rich floral border, represents the poet lecturing to a crowd of gaily dressed people. He is standing in a sort of pulpit in the centre of the picture; in the background people are passing

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1) If what looks like hair is not a sort of close-fitting skull-cap.

2) Still it was already recognised as this by Hearne in 1710 (see his *Collections* II. 347), but it is not mentioned by Spielmann.

3) Textually Bodl. 686 does not seem to be dependent on the Lansdowne MS., however; its connection with the Ellesmere codex is rather closer (through Cambr. Gg. 4. 27 — cf. Zupitza *Specimens* pt. II. p. iii ff.).

4) It does not, however, deserve the strong censure by Spielmann (and Furnivall) l. c. p. 123 f.

5) See the Cat. by M. R. James, I. 126 f. The picture. which is not discussed by Spielmann at all, is reproduced as the frontispiece of the present volume, through the courtesy of the College Authorities.

to and fro between two castles; the foreground is filled with persons in listening attitudes. To the left of the pulpit, immediately in front of the poet, is a person dressed in a golden gown and cap; behind him is a young lady with a diadem and a large circle of male and female attendants. No doubt these two prominent persons were intended for a king and queen; unfortunately the face of the king has been rubbed away. Another conspicuous figure stands to the right of the pulpit, a bearded man in a rich gown, evidently of high rank. Several other figures, especially those sitting in the foreground to the right, would seem to have been intended as portraits too. They are particularly well executed from an artistic point of view, the groups of the two kneeling ladies to the left and the old man conversing with the lady seated to the right forming very striking parts of the composition. On the whole the arrangement of the details is very successful, most of the single figures are excellently drawn, and the effect of the pleasantly varied colour scheme of the brilliant blue, green, scarlet and pink dresses is delightful. The poet himself is dressed in a gown, once red, — but by now most of the original colour has been rubbed off, — raising his right hand, while the left is lying on the desk in front. [1]) He inclines his head slightly, the eyes are a little heavy, the nose straight, his hair and beard brown; he looks pensive, even a little sad, and makes on the whole a typically refined middle class impression. Altogether the face is very like that of the Lansdowne picture — a good deal more characteristic, however — and rather similar to that of the Hoccleve portrait, but much more youthful, the face of a man of about forty years. Another fact agrees with this age: there is no trace in the Corpus — or Lansdowne — pictures of the stoutness of the Hoccleve portrait. [2])

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[1]) See the enlarged reprod. of this part of the picture on pl. II.

[2]) The Lansdowne miniature must have been copied — with much freedom — from a portrait like that in the Corpus MS.; peculiarly enough both these pictures show the penknife (or pencase, penner — cf. *C. T.* E 1879) in the same position as in the Hoccleve portrait. It would seem that we have independent testimony to one of Chaucer's personal habits here.

Moreover the owners' names scribbled in the volume lend it a peculiar interest.[1]) Already Skeat observed that a 15th century hand has added a note near bk. IV. st. 83, where Troilus exclaims:

> So wel-a-wey, why nil myn herte breste?
> For, as in love, ther is but litel reste.
> neuer foryeteth: Anne neuyll. [2])

Skeat at once identifies the writer with a granddaughter of John of Gaunt, but there were several other Anne Nevilles in the 15th century.[3]) However, on f. 108 we find another name noted, *Knyvett,*[4]) and this practically settles the question. For Lady *Anne Neville,* who married Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, had a daughter Joanna, whose second husband (1477) was Sir William *Knyvet* of Buckenham in Norfolk,[5]) while Anne herselt was the daughter of Ralph Neville, the famous Earl of Westmoreland, who before 1397 had married Joan Beaufort, the only daughter of John of Gaunt and Catharine Swynford.[6]) In this way it becomes possible to trace the history of the *Troilus* copy back to the reign of Richard II.

The MS. is early, yet hardly earlier than the beginning of the 15th century; however the picture certainly seems to go back to a 14th century original. The dresses in the picture with their wide sleeves and high collars are very similar to those of the late 14th

---

[1]) The codex is described in Root's *MSS. of Chaucer's Troilus* (Ch. Soc. 1914) p. 7, cf. pl. IV. Wild (p. 25) thinks its language late, but the forms he quotes (showing *er>ar* & *gh* mute) are completely worthless as evidence in this respect; cf. Jespersen's *Modern English Grammar* (Heidelberg 1909) I. 6. 4 and H. C. Wyld in *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1900, p. 159.

[2]) See Skeat II. lxix. Unfortunately I have omitted to look up the note in the MS.

[3]) Richard III's queen, Anne (born 1456), was a daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the Kingmaker *(Biogr.* I. 423 ff). — John Neville, Earl of Northumberland († 1471) had a daughter Anne, married to Sir William Stonor of Oxfordshire (*ib.* 40 268).

[4]) See James' Cat. I. 127.

[5]) *Biogr.* 53. 453.

[6]) *Biogr.* 40. 277; cf. J. H. Wylie *Henry IV.* III. 258 ff.

century; [1]) the king's dress especially reminds one of the golden robes in the well-known painting of Richard II.[2]) In fact there cannot be much doubt that the painter intended to portray this monarch and his queen, Anne of Bohemia, in the two figures on the right hand of the poet. We have several contemporary portraits of Richard,[3]) but unfortunately the face of the king in the picture has been rubbed away;[4]) the features of the queen, however, seem to tally well enough with the somewhat conventional representation of Anne on her tomb at Westminster.[5]) In the attempt to identify the rest of the figures in the picture one is greatly hampered by the scarcity of contemporary portraits.[6]) However, there is a striking similarity between the standing figure to the extreme right in the picture and the only authentic portrait we seem to have left of John of Gaunt, the stained-glass window in All Souls College, Oxford, which dates from about a generation after his death.[7]) The pensive face, with clever though somewhat weak features, is exactly alike in both cases, except that the man in the picture looks somewhat younger.

From all this, then, it may be inferred with a fair degree of

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[1]) Cp. the dresses in the illuminations to Creton's *Metrical Chronicle of Richard II's downfall* (MS. Harl. 1319, reprod. in *Archæologia,* vol. XX). See also the Ellesmere pictures, and cf. E. Markert *Chaucer's Canterbury-Pilger und ihre Tracht* (diss. Würzburg 1911; esp. p. 3 f) about their early date.

[2]) Reprod. by Shaw *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* vol. I, pl. 32.

[3]) Cf. *Biogr.* 48. 157.

[4]) Perhaps for political reasons, as Westmoreland supported the new Lancastrian dynasty.

[5]) See Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* I. pl. lxi—ii, cf, p. 163 ff.

[6]) The features of the great noble, pictured in a characteristic, passionate attitude on the poet's left hand, are somewhat like those of Edward III's youngest son, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (see the portrait in MS. Cott. Nero D. viii, cf. Doyle *The Official Baronage of England* (1886) II. 19 f.). — As to the identity of the pair behind him, sitting engrossed in eager conversation, much pleasant speculation may be indulged in.

[7]) Reprod. as the frontispiece of S. Armitage-Smith *John of Gaunt* (1904); cf. *ib.* p. XI.

probability that the countess of Westmoreland had the Corpus MS. transcribed from a family copy of Chaucer's *Troilus,*[1]) originally executed for her father John of Gaunt, probably in the 'eighties, and sumptuously decorated with pictures, of which the frontispiece showed the author reciting his poem at court.[2])

Now our belief in the accuracy of this representation of the poet is considerably strengthened, when we observe how often Chaucer himself refers to this habit of reading his poems aloud to a select audience, as in *Troilus* II. 29 ff:

> And for-thy if it happe in any wise,
> That there be any lover in this place
> That herkneth, as the story can devise
> How Troilus com til his lady grace,
> And thinketh, "so nolde I not love purchase,"
> Or wondreth on his speche or his doinge,
> I not; but it is me no wonderinge.
> — — — — — — — —

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1) She is known to have been a patroness of literature (cf. *Biogr.* 40. 277); the only existing MS. of Hoccleve's *Complaint* and his paraphrases of two stories from *Gesta Romanorum,* Durham Cosin V. iii. 9, concludes with an Envoy to *my lady of Westmoreland* from her *Humble servant — T. Hoccleue* (see Furnivall *Biogr.* 27. 57, and his ed. of H. I. xxv & 242): Hoccleve also praises *of lancastre Duk John (De Reg. Princ.* 512 ff).

2) Only this has — fortunately — been copied in the Corpus MS., but spaces are left here for almost one hundred pictures (cf. James' Cat. I. 127), which no doubt were found in the original. The text is fair but not especially good (it belongs to the so-called γ-group, cf. Root *The Textual Trad. of Chaucer's Troilus* p. 251 ff, and see ch. III. 3). This circumstance combined with the lavishness in execution, regardless of cost, makes it unlikely that the original was a presentation copy from the poet to John of Gaunt; rather it was ordered from a firm of publishing copyists by the Duke himself, who had his own likeness inserted — in a comparatively humble place — in the splendid frontispiece of what must have been one of his favourite books. — The fact that the queen is represented in the picture naturally dates the execution of the original volume after Jan. 14, 1382, when Anne was married to Richard, and before her death on June 7, 1394 (cf. *Biogr.* I. 420 ff).

Ek scarsly ben ther in this place three
That han in love seyd lik, and don in al,
For to thy purpos this may like *thee,*
And *thee* right nought, yit al is seyd or shal;
Ek some men grave in tree, some in ston wal,
As it bitit. — But sin I have begonne,
Myn auctour shal I folwen, if I conne.[1])

In this way quite a special significance might also be given to the following passage in Troilus I. 169 ff:

Among thise othre folk was Criseyda
In widwes habit blak; but natheles,
Right as our firste lettre is now an A
In beaute first so stood she makeles:
Her goodly loking gladed al the prees:
Nas nevere seyn thing to ben praysed derre,
Nor under cloude blak so bright a sterre.

The compliment to Queen Anne would certainly come out much better, if read aloud in her presence at court.[2]) Further, both the opening and closing lines of the *Legend of Phyllis* are equally well suited for declamation:

But for this ende I speke this as now,
To telle you of false Demophon.
In love a falser herde I never non,
But-if it were his fadir Theseus.

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[1]) The note of personal address is very pronounced here (and in I. 450, cf. II. 666 ff; see Lounsbury III. 284 ff & Tatlock *Phil.* 18. 626[1]; other passages like I. 52, II. 1751, III. 499 & 1332 (cf. McCormick's notes in the *Globe Ch.* and see further instances added by Root *Publ.* 28. 429) are more commonplace and need not be evidence of actual recitation (cp. Lydgate's *Complaint of a Lover's Life,* 204 ff. & *La Belle Dame Sans Mercy,* 28).

[2]) From this passage Lowes rightly inferred (*Publ.* 23. 285 ff) that *Troilus* could not have been begun till after the marriage of Richard and Anne on Jan. 14, 1382. Of course the Corpus picture strongly supports this conclusion.

"God, for his grace, for swich oon keepe us!"
Thus may thise women prayen that hit here

— — — — — — — —

Be war, ye women, of your sotil fo,
Sin yit this day men may ensample see;
And trusteth, as in love, no man but me. [1])

The concluding line surely affords a very effective *exit* to the retiring recitator.

On the whole it cannot be regarded merely as a curious coincidence that just these two poems offer the most striking instances of this habit of Chaucer's and the strong probability must be admitted, that both were composed at least partly in response to a suggestion of the court's. [2]) In fact, as will be seen later, XV century tradition, as represented by Lydgate, actually supports this view by a definite statement about Queen Anne and the *Legend*.

To return to the pictorial tradition about Chaucer, this may now be shown to divide into two currents, both from contemporary sources. The first is chiefly represented by the new picture dealt with above, giving us a true and authoritative portrait of the poet at the height of his powers, about the middle of the 'eighties, when he was c. 40 years old. The second is the well-known Hoccleve

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1) *Legend* 2397—2402 & 2559—61 (Skeat's text; in 2402 Pollard omits *may,* following the bad textual tradition of MSS. Fairf. 16, Bodl. 638, & Tanner 346, which he himself deprecates in his introduction *(Globe Ch.* p. xlvi). Cf. Tatlock p. 110 f and Root *Publ.* 24. 150[1], where other instances are also added (especially 1554 f). — Of course taken like this the humour of all these passages becomes more direct and flippant, less subtle and unobtrusive than is often thought. Chaucer does not mock his readers as Ewald says *(Der Humor in Chaucer's Cant. Tales* 1911, p. 9 ff.); he amuses the audience by his clever tricks.

2) Cf. about *Troilus* the enigmatic lines in the *Legend* Prol. 366 f* (Fx; 346 f in Gg). The close connection between the two poems (see especially *Troilus* V. 1765—85) has often been pointed out, e. g. by Lowes *Publ.* 20. 819 ff. (& 836). But this does not necessarily prove immediate contact in time, as Lowes thinks *ib.* (cf. Skeat II. 503).

type, probably less reliable in details and certainly later, showing us Chaucer *in hise daies olde.*[1])

Both types tally well enough with Chaucer's own description of himself in the Canterbury Tales, and yet not so well that it arouses suspicion of the scribes having made their portraits from Chaucer's words rather than from his person. — The host jeers at the poet (B 1886 ff.);

> "Thou lookest as thou woldest fynde an hare;
> For ever upon the ground I see thee stare.
> Approche neer, and loke up murily.
> Now war you, sires, and lat this man have place;
> He in the waast is shape as wel as I;
> This were a popet in an arm tenbrace
> For any womman, smal and fair of face.
> He semeth elvyssh by his countenaunce
> For unto no wight doth he daliaunce" [2])

Here we have the bowed head and the air of reserve, so pronounced in both portrait-types, combined with the stoutness, which would seem to have come to Chaucer with advancing middle age and which therefore is not found in the Troilus picture — the original of which must be earlier than this passage — but in the Hoccleve

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1) The fact that one hand is raised in both types (except in the Lansdowne picture) might suggest that one is dependent upon the other, but this is very unlikely in view of the characteristic points of difference as well as of similarity between them. On the other hand several pictures which generally conform to the Hoccleve type, e. g. the paintings at the National Portrait Gallery and the Bodleian Picture Gallery (besides others less well-known, cf. Spielmann p. 124 ff) show a more youthful appearance than the Hoccleve miniatures and have the hair and beard brown as in the Troilus type. It certainly looks as if the artists of the XVI cent. and later had succeeded in combining the two types in one.

2) Th. A. Knott's attempt to show that these personal allusions are all chaff on the part of the host (*Phil.* 8. 135 ff.) is surely hypercritical.

portrait. Surely our evidence as to Chaucer's personal appearance may now be considered pretty conclusive. [1])

2. *The Family Tradition.*

As shown in the preceding section, the historical value of a piece of traditional information may be considerable — though often rated very low — if it is sufficiently well established. In practice the chief condition for the authenticity of any traditional account is that it must have originated from and been handed down by a body of people with facilities for special knowledge about the person or event in question. The more narrow and limited this body is, the stronger and more reliable the tradition will generally be. [2]) If on the other hand we cannot establish the continuity in time and space of some traditional account we are pretty certain to have to do not with any true tradition, but with late legends representing mere fancies or speculations, and originating as often — or oftener — among the learned as among the vulgar. This is well exemplified in the case of Chaucer, about whom a number of spurious traditions have been created, chief among which is Speght's amusing story of the poet's being "fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreete"; [3]) probably Master Buckley, the worthy Chief Butler and Librarian of the Inner Temple, merely invented this incident as a plausible reason why the poet's "hands ever after itched to be revenged, and have his

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1) Though many pictures must have been lost. For instance, the famous MS. Camb. Gg. 4. 27 certainly contained one before most of its pictures were cut out, a loss the more to be deplored as this portrait might have been an independent and valuable likeness — a racy one, at any rate, considering the spirited style of the pictures left.

2) See Kr. Erslev *Historisk Teknik* Copenh. 1911, p. 60, cf. p. 55.

3) See J. W. Hales in *Athen.* 1896. I. 446, but cf. already Francis Thynne's *Animaduersions* (ed. Furnivall p. 21) and Tyrwhitt, App. C, n. c; the numerous xv & xvi century parallels collected by Edith Rickert *(Manly Anniversary Studies* 1923, p. 20 ff) do not of course prove the truth of Buckley's report.

pennyworths out of the friars".[1]) Still the general assertion that no genuine traditions exist about Chaucer is far too sweeping.[2]) There *are* such traditions; only their authenticity must be firmly established by considering their origin and transmission.

The sources from which reliable traditions about the poet might have sprung, are naturally two: his family and his personal friends. As to the latter, it is a strange fact that among the not inconsiderable documentary evidence connecting Chaucer with the great nobles of his time, there is not a single reference to him in his poetic capacity.[3]) Then, again, the lavish compliments paid him by his literary friends are singularly devoid of any personal touches, and even the praise of his disciples, who might be imagined to have been pretty intimate with him, generally sounds more or less vague. Not only Gower and Usk, but also Scogan and Clanvowe are tantalisingly indefinite when referring to their Master, and though Hoccleve proudly dwells on his friendship with Chaucer *(De Regimine Principum* 1866 ff.), he gives us one brief glimpse only of his actual relations with the great poet (*ib.* 2077 ff.):

> Mi dere maister — god his soule quyte!
> And fadir, Chaucer, fayn wolde have me taght;
> But I was dul, and lerned lite or naght.

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[1]) Cf. Thomas Fuller *The Church History of Britain* 1655. IV. 152. Sixteenth century protestants undoubtedly thought the story highly creditable to the Temple, though Miss Rickert may not think so (1. c. p. 27).

[2]) Nicolas p. 91, cf. Lounsbury I. xvii & V. Langhans *Untersuchungen zu Chaucer* (1918) Einleitung (pp. 1—15).

[3]) At the same time it must be remembered that — apart from royalty — the only noble family with whom it is certain that the poet was in repeated and close contact, were the Beauchamps. He must have known both Roger de Beauchamp *(Life Records* no. 95) and the powerful and unscrupulous Sir William de Beauchamp *(ib.* nos. 113 & 134, and cf. J. R. Hulbert *Chaucer's Official Life,* p. 50 ff.). Skeat's mention (I. xxxi) of John Beauchamp (cf. *Biogr.* 4. 29) in 1378 is a slip for John de Beverle.

With Lydgate the case is different. Though he mentions Chaucer much more frequently than Hoccleve, it is extremely doubtful whether he ever knew him personally. [1]) Most of his numerous references to the Master are mere literary compliments, such as those in *The Siege of Thebes.* [2]) If the Master, to whom the Envoy of *The Churl and the Bird* is addressed, could be identified with Chaucer, as he generally is, the latter's acquaintance with Lydgate would of course be proved; [3]) however, Lydgate certainly addressed others besides Chaucer as his Masters. [4]) Nor must an apostrophe like the following from the *Life of Our Lady* be taken too literally:

> Wherfore noo wondre thouȝ myn herte pleyne
> Vpon his dethe and for sorowe blede
> For wante of him nowe in my greet nede
> And with his supporte amende and corecte

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1) Though this is often asserted, e. g. by ten Brink II. 231, MacCormick *Enc. Brit.* (1910) 19. 967, Spurgeon p. 11.

2) See Spurgeon p. 107 ff.; p. 7[1] (cf. I. 14—46) she gives a list of 17 works by Lydgate with allusions to Chaucer. However, two of these, *De Curia Sapientiae* and the *Marriage* poem, are certainly spurious (cf. MacCracken p. xxxv & xlviii), while there is no particular reason to accept Stowe's testimony in 1561 as to Lydgatian authorship of *The Flour of Curtesye* (I. 15, cf. Skeat VII. xlv and MacCracken p. xvii); three pieces, *The Temple of Glass, The Horse, Goose, and Sheep, This World is a thurghefare,* barely mention his name, and four others, *The Complaint of a Lover's Life,* the *Christmas* poem, the *Lyfe of St. Albon,* and the poem on the *Truce* of 1444, do not even do so much.

3) Cf. Schick pp. xci, c, and 77 f.

4) Cf. Miss Hammond in *Phil.* 1. 333, and cp. the first line of the Envoy to *The Daunce of Machabre or The Daunce of Poulys* (MS. Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 21, f. 284): *O ye my lordys ⁊ maystres alle in fere.* Note also the expression *bi commaundemente of my moste worschipfull maistre & souereyne* in the conclusion of *The Serpent of Division* in MS. Cambr. MacLean 182, f. 9 b (ed. H. N. Mac Cracken 1911, pp. 66 & 45 ff.); the different endings of this work were probably all written by Lydgate himself in various copies of his original MS. (see however *Rev.* 7. 253 f. & 8. 103 f.).

The wronge tracys of my rude penne
Ther as y erre and goo nouȝt lyne riȝt.[1])

The desire expressed here for Chaucer's personal criticism is scarcely more than another way of stating his literary eminence; we need not infer that Lydgate, because he longs for the master's guiding hand, had really know him when living. Finally, one of the comparatively few bits of real information Lydgate offers about Chaucer is expressly given as second-hand evidence only:

For he þat was gronde of wel seying
In al hys lyf hyndred no makyng
My maister Chaucer þat founde ful many spot
Hym liste not pinche nor gruche at euery blot
Nor meue hym silf to perturbe his reste
I haue herde telle but seide alweie þe best
Suffring goodly of his gentilnes
Ful many þing enbracid with rudnes.[2])

While this passage definitely proves that Lydgate did not know Chaucer personally — for if he had he would surely have known the Master's criticism from experience and not have been content with hearsay only — it may still be worth our while to enquire where Lydgate could *have herd telle* about this peculiarity of Chaucer's. Nothing indicates that Lydgate knew Hoccleve or any other of the poet's personal pupils;[3]) what information he offers

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[1]) There is a fuller extract in Spurgeon I. 19 f., headed *A comendacioun of Chaucer*s (the first stanza of which is often taken as a separate poem, because it occurs alone in two MSS. and in the eds. by Stowe and Speght; cf. Spurgeon I. 53, Hammond p. 446, and Skeat VII. 456 & 554, who considers it 'a poor imitation of the style of Lydgate').

[2]) From the *Troy Book;* see Spurgeon I. 25, cf. Schick p. ci.

[3]) Note also in all Lydgate's Chaucer allusions the lack of such an intimate personal cry as that of Hoccleve's pathetic line *(De Reg. Princ.* 2107):

O maister, maister, god þi soule reste —

which strikes a truly human note in the midst of an arid waste of poetical flourishes.

about his Master he seems to have got from the family. As the exact nature of the relationship between the poet and the XV century Chaucers is still far from clear, it will, however, be necessary to go a little deeper into this in order to gauge the full value of Lydgate's further information about Chaucer.

The first of the family circle who is more than a mere name to us after the poet's death in 1400, is Thomas Chaucer. He was an extremely wealthy and powerful gentleman, in great favour with all the kings during his lifetime (ab. 1370—1434) and married to a rich heiress Matilda, the daughter of Sir John Burghersh, who brought him large estates in Oxfordshire.[1]) Considering his wealth and importance, it is certainly somewhat peculiar that no definite statement as to his being a son of the poet or not should have been left us; it must also be admitted that just as the spurious 'traditions' about the poet's house at Woodstock and Chaucer's Oak at Dunnington Castle no doubt originated from the later connection of *Thomas* Chaucer with these localities, so the story of the two being father and son *might* have arisen in a similar way.[2]) The difficulty of genealogically proving the exact degree of relationship between Geffrey and Thomas is chiefly due to the fact that the Arms on their respective tombs are totally different. While this does not absolutely exclude the possibility of kinship, it certainly deprives us of some very valuable evidence.[3])

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1) See H. A. Napier *Hist. Notices of the Parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme* 1858, p. 19 ff.; *Biogr.* 10. 67 ff.; J. H. Wylie *Henry IV.* II. 475 f, III. 116 f. and espec. IV. 313 f.; *Henry V.* I. 22 and 414. Unfortunately the volume about him, promised by the Ch. Soc., has not appeared.

2) See about the confusion between them Tyrwhitt *Preface* App. C (notes i & k), Nicolas pp. 89, 110 (& n. 54), Skeat I. xlix, Lounsbury I. 178 f., and Furnivall in *Acad.* 1882. I. 269. Note especially that in his *Annales of England* (1605, p. 527 f.) John Stowe made Geffrey live at New-elme, the country residence of Thomas.

3) Note that the Arms of the poet's parents are quite different from his own; see Kern *Ancestry of Ch.* p. 97 ff. (cf. *Acad.* 1877. II. 364; 1882. II. 29, 50, 67; *Athen.* 1908. I. 670). Tyrwhitt left the whole question undecided (*Preface* App. C, note 1); Nicolas (p.

The old canopied tomb of the poet at Westminster still forms an interesting link in the tradition about him, in spite of its bleached and crumbling appearance and its somewhat cramped position among incongruous surroundings. It is, however, not a contemporary witness, for the inscription shows that Nicholas Brigham caused the monument to be set up in 1556, and it looks exactly like such tombs as those of the Duchess of Northumberland (+1555) in Old Chelsea Church, and of Robert Kyng (+ 1557) in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.[1]) Accordingly no great confidence can be put in its date of the poet's death, *25 Octobris 1400,* though it has been urged that Brigham must have taken this from an earlier tomb.[2]) But there is not the slightest evidence of this, nor of any other early tradition about the death-date; as a matter of fact Brigham's contemporary John Bale gives a different year every time he mentions Chaucer's death — 1458, 1402, and June 2, 1400[3]) — and there is no ground to suppose that Brigham had any more authority for his one date than Bale

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108 ff.) and Skeat (I. xlviii ff.) are inclined to accept Thomas as the poet's son, while Koch *(Chronology* p. 18 f.) and Furnivall *(Acad.* 1874. I. 65, 94; 1901. II. 572, 597) consider him a more distant relative. R. E. G. Kirk's attempt *(Life Rec.* p. 61 ff.) to prove that his real name was Reginald Curteys junior must be regarded as a failure, cf. Wylie *Henry V.* II. 337[4] (see for another peculiar theory *The Gentleman's Mag.* 263. 488 ff., cf. *Athen.* 1888. I. 405 & 436).

[1]) The monument has been restored at least once, about 1851 (see *Queries* 1851. I. 363 & 383), but old engravings show it essentially unaltered; cf. Elias Ashmole *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* 1652 p. 226, and John Dart *Westmonasterium* 1742 I. pl. vii. The inscription is vouched for by many writers, see Hammond p. 45 ff. (add H[enry] K[eepe] *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* 1683 p. 210, and Rich. Gough *Sepulchral Monuments* II. 1 f.; cf. *Queries* 1904 I. 28).

[2]) Nicolas p. 57, Hales in *Biogr.* X. 166, Skeat I. xlvi. The earlier tomb was situated near the present one; see the evidence as printed by Hammond p. 44 ff.

[3]) Three days *before* the poet got his pension paid for the last time, cf. *Life Rec.* p. 331.

for his three.[1]) The Arms on the tomb are the same as those shown by some impressions of a seal occasionally used by Thomas, but with the legend *S[igillum] Ghofrai Chaucer,* and probably they were placed on the monument simply because they were known to have been adopted by Thomas;[2]) however, even the fact of the latter's using Geffrey's seal does not necessarily prove him to have been the poet's son, and when we look for the Arms on Thomas' own tomb, these will be found to be entirely different.

Thomas Chaucer lies buried at Ewelme, a sleepy little village in a valley some miles south of Oxford, looking to-day pretty much as it must have done in the thirties of the 15th century, when his daughter Alice, then Countess of Suffolk, rebuilt the church and founded the almshouse, whose buildings still climb the hillside there as a forgotten relic of the Middle Ages.[3]) In the church the tomb of Thomas Chaucer and his wife is found, decorated with their brasses and twenty enamelled shields showing the Burghersh arms and those of various family connections — but not the Chaucer arms from Thomas' seal.[4]) Neither are these found on the splendid alabaster tomb of the Duchess of Suffolk (+ 1475) nor anywhere else in the church. On the other hand one coat of arms is found in many places beside that of the Burghersh family, the Roet Arms of Katharine Swynford, the powerful mistress and

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1) Given respectively in the first and second eds. of his great biographical work, 1548 and 1557, and in the notes for it, collected ab. 1550 and ed. by R. L. Poole as *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (see pp. 74 & 78: *obijsse fertur A. D. 1400 1111 nonas Junii).* The fact that Brigham's collections were certainly known to Bale — who has some information about Gower *Ex venatione Nicolai Brigkan (ib.* p. 210) — makes one still more suspicicus of *all* these differing dates.

2) Thus Skeat I. xlviii. For impressions of the seal see *Archaeologia* 34, 42 ff., Nicolas p. 61, n. 20, and Wylie in *Athen.* 1901. II. 455; there is no reason to question the reading of the legend, as done by Skeat, I. l., and by A. S. Cook in *Trans. Connecticut Acad.* 23. 62^{32}, see Kirk in *Life Rec.* p. LII^{2}.

3) See H. A. Napier *Hist. Notices of the Parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme* p. 47 ff.; cf. Wylie *Henry V.* I. 361 f.

4) See J. A. Dodd *A Hist. Guide to Ewelme Church* (1916); Nicolas note ff; Gough *Sepulchral Monuments* II. 106 ff. & pl. xxxvi.

wife of the Duke of Lancaster.[1]) Now there certainly was a tradition in the XVI century to the effect that Geffrey Chaucer the poet married a daughter of Katharine's father Sir Paon de Roet, preserved by "Master Glouer alias Somerset, that learned Antiquarie", in the genealogical tree of the poet's descendants he drew up for Speght's Life of Chaucer.[2]) This tradition seems to be borne out by several suggestive facts that tend to connect Philippa Chaucer with John of Gaunt and the Swynfords, the family into which Katherine de Roet first married;[3]) further Katherine's son Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, actually addresses Thomas Chaucer as *cousin.*[4]) This need not, however, mean more than "kinsman" or even "friend", so that the use of the term cannot really be said to prove that Philippa was a sister of Katherine and that Thomas was her son.[5]) As long as we do not definitely know whether Philippa's maiden name was Roet or not, a link will be wanting in the genealogical proof that Thomas was Geffrey's son.[6]) Nor can this gap be bridged over by such more

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1) See about her A. S. Cook *Trans. Connecticut Acad.* 23. 44 ff., also *Biogr.* 55. 243 f., and Armitage Smith *John of Gaunt* 1904, p. 390 ff. & 462 ff.

2) See Nicolas p. 60 ff. and n. CC, and Cook, l. c. p. 55 ff. This would explain the non-occurrence of the Chaucer Arms on Thomas' tomb, since it was not unusual for a son to take his mother's Arms (cf. M. A. Lower *The Curiosities of Heraldry* 1845, p. 301). As for the Burghersh Arms showing Thomas' family connections through his wife this would appear to have been a common heraldic fashion, see F. P. Barnard in *Mediaeval England* 1924, p. 218 f.

3) See Nicolas p. 137 and John of Gaunt's *Register,* ed. Armitage Smith, II. 82, 194 (cf. *Publ.* 39. 111 ff.); *Life Rec.* no. 186 and p. xxxiii f. (cf. *Athen.* 1899. II. 802); *ib.* 337 (cf. Nicolas p. 69 and *Athen.* 1888. I. 405); A. A. Kern *The Ancestry of Ch.* p. 18. R. E. G. Kirk is inclined to think *(Life Rec.* p. xvi ff.) that Philippa was a Swynford rather than a Roet.

4) *Life Rec.* p. 334; cf. J. H. Wylie in *Athen.* 1888. I. 468. See also the bishop's grant to 'Thomas Chauciers, his kinsman' in 1406—8 *(Cal. Pat. Rolls,* Henry IV. iii. 406; cf. *ib.* Henry V. ii. 367 & 417 (1421)).

5) See *C. T.* B. 1223—32 (cf. B. 1259, 1288—1344, and 1447 ff.).

6) See Nicolas p. 65 f. and Wells p. 617; cf. *Queries* 1872. I. 493 and 1888. I. 289 f.

or less suggestive facts as that Geffrey and Thomas both were lessees of the same house at Westminster, the first in 1399—1400, the second from 1422 to 1434; [1]) or that a Geffrey Chaucer was Forester of North Petherton in Somersetshire in 1390—1, while one Thomas Chaucer held this post in 1416—17 and in 1425. [2]) As to the latter point it appears to me rather doubtful whether these West Country people can be more than mere namesakes of the two London Chaucers; [3]) in fact it is very probable that there were several Thomas Chaucers during the first half of the fifteenth century. [4]) Direct and unambiguous evidence that Thomas actually was the son of the poet is, however, fortunately given by a XV century tradition.

In 1458, Thomas Gascoigne, a clergyman, died at Oxford, leaving a good many MS. notes which according to directions in his will were copied into a book with the pretentious title *Liber Veritatum,* still preserved at Lincoln College.[5]) Speaking here of late repentance, Gascoigne mentions Judas as an instance of this, and then goes on:

Sic plures penitere se postea dicunt, quando mala sua et mala per eos inducta destruere non possunt; sicut Chawserus ante mortem suam sepe clamavit, 'Ve michi! Ve michi! quia revocare nec destruere jam potero illa que mala scripsi de malo et turpissimo amore hominum ad mulieres, et jam de homine in hominem continuabuntur. Velim! Nolim!' Et sic plangens mortuus. *Fuit*

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1) *Life Rec.* p. 329 f.; cf. *Athen.* 1900 I. 116 & 146, *Journ.* 8. 284.
2) *Life Rec.* p. 115 ff.; cf. *Athen.* 1886 II. 672 & 1887. II. 19, 150.
3) See about the West Country Chaucers St. Clair Baddeley in *Queries* 1897. II. 341, who draws the wrong conclusion, however, that the poet was a Gloucester Man (cf. *ib.* 449; 1898. I. 189 & 331; 1902 I. 134; 1913. I. 347).
4) See Furnivall's *Trial Forewords* p. 136, and especially the *littera fraternitatis* granted in 1429 by the Canons of Canterbury to the *venerabilis vir* Thomas Chawcers and his wife *(Ninth Rep. of the Comm. on Hist. MSS.* p. 113). This person, described as a vintner living in the parish of St. Mary le Bow, London, can hardly be identified with the great Oxfordshire landowner, *armiger & pincerna regis,* though he may have been a relative.
5) Cf. Wylie *Henry IV,* ii. 358 ff.

idem Chawserus pater Thome Chawserus, armigeri, qui Thomas sepelitur in Nuhelm, juxta Oxoniam.[1])

The first part of this passage, about the poet's recanting the work of his life, might be regarded as rather doubtful in view of the edifying purpose of the volume, if it were not supported in some measure by Chaucer's own well-known apology at the end of the *Canterbury Tales* (his *Retraccioun*s) and by the testimony of the now destroyed Cottonian MS. Otho A XVIII, which contained *A Ballade made by Geffrey Chaucer upon his death-bed lying in his anguish.*[2]) Moreover, Gascoigne who lived most of his life at Oxford, near the Chaucer estates, was in so good a position of knowing the truth about Thomas's parentage that it is impossible to reject the latter part of his statement.[3]) Note also how well all genealogical details fit in with this XV century tradition that Thomas was the poet's son. The Chaucer family relations ab. 1400 become an impenetrable jungle where we shall keep turning back in our own tracks — if we do not accept Gascoigne's positive and independent testimony.[4]) Then everything becomes clear: the arms on Thomas' tomb permit or rather compel us to infer that the poet married a Roet, which again explains the relations between the powerful Duke of Lancaster and especially why Thomas Chaucer rose so high under the three Henries, the descendants of John of Gaunt. There is accordingly no escape from the conclusion that the poet was one of the ancestors of the wealthy and powerful Chaucer-Burghersh family, which played so great a part in the social and political life during the first half of the XV century, and

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[1]) *Life Rec.* no. 284, cf. J. W. Hales in *Athen.* 1888 I. 404 f. and Spurgeon I. 43.

[2]) See Th. Smith's *Cat. Libr. MSS. Bibl. Cottonianae* 1696, p. 69, and cf. ch. IV. 3. The poet's distress may to some extent have been due to the fact that he died at the very end of a century, an event generally connected with the end of the world in the mediaeval mind; see about Deschamps' attitude towards the year 1400 his *Oeuvres* XI. 86.

[3]) Observe that Gascoigne is generally considered an excellent authority, whose "statements are borne out by official documents" (G. G. Coulton *Medieval* Studies 1915, p. 119).

[4]) See G. L. Kittredge in the New York *Nation* 1894. II. 309.

then another and very important inference follows: that certain traditions concerning the poet must almost inevitably have been preserved and handed down by the family. If, then, we find that any of the authors or scribes who tell us something about the poet, were in touch with Thomas or his daughter Alice, the poet's grandchild — whom, however, he never knew, for she was not born till 1404 — we shall have to attach considerable importance to their statements.

Now this is exactly the case in which we find Lydgate. Two of his poems show that Thomas Chaucer was one of his patrons; one is addressed to him on his departure to France as a royal commissioner in June 1414, the other was evidently written for him by Lydgate as a complaint addressed to his wife on the same occasion. [1]) Nor are these the only links between the Chaucers and Lydgate. He may have had doings with the well-known Paston family, who also knew Thomas Chaucer, [2]) and he was certainly patronized by the powerful Earl (later Duke) of Suffolk, William de la Pole, who ab. 1431 was married to Alice Chaucer. [3]) The

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1) See the Shirley MS. Ad. 16165, f. 248 *Balade made by Lydegate at þe departyng of Thomas Chaucer on Ambassad in to ffrance. By Lidegate* (printed by E. P. Hammond in *Phil.* I. 331 ff., cf. *Anglia* 32. 192) — and f. 249 b *Amorous balade by Lydegate made at departyng of Thomas Chauciers on the kynges ambassade into ffraunce* (the last also in another Shirley MS. Ashm. 59, f. 45 b (printed in Furnivall's ed. of Thynne's *Animaduersions* 1875, p. 122 ff.) and in a copy by Stowe, Harl. 367, f. 87). Both are printed by Furnivall in *Queries* 1872. I. 381 ff, cf. *ib.* 468 & II. 14, and see Kittredge in the New York *Nation* 1892. I. 215; cf. also Wylie *Henry V.* 1. 414.

2) Cf. *The Paston Letters* ed. J. Gardner, 1904, I. 41 ff. & II. 30 f. — Lydgate would seem to have written his *Temple of Glass* for a member of the Paston family in 1420, see MacCracken in *Publ.* 23. 128 ff.; cf. Moore *ib.* 27. 191 ff.

3) See about them H. A. Napier *Hist. Not. of Swyncombe & Ewelme* pp. 31 ff. & 47 ff.; cf. Wylie *Henry V.* ii. 47 f. & *Biogr.* 46. 50 f. The Earl supported Lydgate's petition for new letters patent in 1441 (see Steele *Secrees of old Philisoffres,* p. xxvii, cf. Moore *Publ.* 27. 203) and the best MS. of *The Siege of Thebes,* Arundel

Earl even seems to have hailed the Monk as the successor of Chaucer in a very curious literary effusion: [1])

O noble Chaucer passyd ben thy dayse
Off poetrye ynamyd worthyest
And of makyng in alle othir days the best

Now thou art go thyn helpe I may not haue
Wherfor to god I pray ryght specially
Syth thou art dede and buryde in thy graue
That on thy sowle hym lyst to haue mercy
And to the monke of bury now speke I
ffor thy conning ys syche and eke thy grace
After Chaucer to occupye his place.

William de la Pole was Alice Chaucer's third husband, but Lydgate may also have known the second, Thomas Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, who was killed in France in 1428, and whom he mentions as dead in his poem *This world is a thurghefare ful of woo.* [2]) Moreover the Countess appears to have ordered a poem on the Interpretation of the Mass from Lydgate, though this is not quite certain; [3]) at any rate the evidence fully establishes the

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119, bears his arms (cf. Hammond, *Anglia* 36. 363, and see Erdmann's ed. p. viii).

[1]) The poem was printed by Hammond, *Notes* 26. 74 ff., but its probable connection with Suffolk was first made clear by Mac Cracken, in *Publ.* 26. 142 ff.

[2]) Halliwell's Selection of the Minor Poems, p. 126. The acquaintance would be certain, if we might be sure that the verse translation of Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man,* dedicated to Salisbury and commonly ascribed to Lydgate (see Furnivall's ed. E. E. T. S. 1899—1904, p. vi[3]; cf. Schick p. cv. f. & Hammond, *Anglia* 32. 191[3]), is really his (cf. App. A.).

[3]) The poem is headed in one MS., Oxf. St. John's Coll. 56, f. 76: *Hyc incipit interpretacio misse in lingua materna secundum Johannem lithgate monachum de Buria ad rogatum domine Countesse de Suthefolcia* (quoted by McCracken, p. 87). The name of the patroness is not given, and Moore hints *(Publ.* 27. 203 f.) that we may have to do with an earlier countess here. But this is not very likely.

fact that Lydgate, though he almost certainly did not know the poet personally, was rather intimately acquainted with the two next generations of the Chaucer family. [1]) Surely, then, it is not too bold a conclusion that it was from them he heard about the Master. This naturally increases the value of his information, which unfortunately is rather scanty; still there are a few passages of real interest.

In an envoy to the 18th chapter in the third book of his long poem *The Fall of Princes* Lydgate praises the patrons of the poets:

Lenvoy vpon þe disposicioun of poetis
To discryve . the disposicioun
Of alle poetis . by olde ordynaunce
They shulde be quyete . fro worldly mocioun
And it sequestre . out of theyr remembraunce
ffare competent . vn to theyr sustenaunce
Drynk wyne compotent . to quykene theyr diligence
Supporte of pryncis . to fynde hem theyr dispence

Lordis in erth . have domynacioun
Men of the chirche . of gold have habundaunce
The knyght gettith goode . thurgh his hye renown
Marchauntis with wynnyng . hath souerayne acqueyntaunce
But poetis god shielde hem . from myschaunce
May now adayes . for theyr Impotens
ffor lak of support . go begge theyre dispence.

Daunt in Italye . Virgile in Rome towne
Petrak in fflorence . had this plesaunce
And prudent chauncer . in brutes Albyoun
like his desire . fond virtues suffisaunce
ffredam of lordship . weyed in theyr balaunce

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1) That he did not know the poet may also be the reason why the latter is not mentioned in the poem to Thomas Chaucer, a circumstance which to Furnivall was a reason for not considering Thomas a son of Geffrey (see *Queries* 1872. I 381 ff. & 436).

Be cause they floured . in wisdam and science
Support of princis . fonde hem theyr dispence. [1])

This is pretty strong evidence that the great nobles of his day favoured Chaucer on account of his poetry, a view also confirmed by another passage in the *Fall of Princes.* In the prologue of this poem occurs a long list of Chaucer's works, among which his *Legend* is mentioned in the following terms:

This poete *wrote at the request of þe quene*
a legend of perfite holines,
Of good weomen to find out nenetene
that did excell in bountie and fayrenes:
But for his labour and busines
was importable his wittes to encombre,
In al this world to fynd so great a nombre.[2])

Considering the good sources at Lydgate's disposal this testimony of his — which has often been rejected [3]) — must surely be allowed to settle the old question whether the queen, Anne of Bohemia, is represented by the Alcestis figure in the prologue of the *Legend,* or not. [4]) Nor can it now reasonably be doubted, that during the

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[1]) This envoy does not occur in all MSS. of the poem; I quote the three first stanzas from the series of extracts in Harl. 2251, f. 107 b, but see Hammond about the whole question in *Anglia* 38. 121 ff. *The Fall of Princes* seems to have been begun in 1431 for Duke Humphrey of Gloucester (cf. Schick p. cv.); see his biography by K. H. Vickers (1907) p. 390 ff. for his relations with Lydgate (though the latter did not write the *Epitaphium Ducis Gloucestrie,* see MacCracken, p. xl, cf. Schick p. xcvi f.).

[2]) See Hammond p. 59; there are many other references to the *Legend* in the *Fall of Princes,* cf. Spurgeon I. 40 ff.

[3]) Especially by V. Langhans, *Untersuch. zu Chaucer,* p. 183 ff., and Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 55. 192 ff., Skeat III. xx; but see Tatlock, p. 111, and Carleton Brown in *Engl. Stud.* 47. 61 f.

[4]) Denied by Lowes *(Publ.* 19. 666 ff.), Kittredge *(Phil.* 6. 435 ff.), and Langhans *(Anglia* 43. 69 ff. & 44. 337 ff.); but maintained by Tatlock (p. 108 ff.), Moore *(Rev.* 7. 488 ff.), Jefferson *(Journ.* 13. 434 ff.) and Lange *(Anglia* 44. 213 ff., cf. Morsbach as quoted, *Anglia, Beiblatt,* 30. 16 f). Langhans (1. c. 185 f.) suggests that Lydgate's expression is simply derived from the contents of Chau-

first half of the fifteenth century there was a strong and genuine tradition to the effect that Chaucer was patronized by the Court of Richard II.[1])

That Lydgate was really very well informed, about the poet's affairs is also proved by another stanza in the same list, stating that

> in youth he made a translacion
> Of a booke which called is Trophe
> in Lumbard tong, as men may reade & see,
> And in our vulgare, long or that he deyed
> gaue it the name of Troylous & Cresseyde.

It is true that the information given here is somewhat confused; for while *Troilus* might perhaps with some truth be said to have been written in the poet's "youth", comparatively speaking, the source was decidedly not *Trophe* — whatever that may have been — but *Filostrato*. On the other hand Lydgate is quite right in saying that the poem was a paraphrase from the Italian, a fact not stated elsewhere and misinterpreted by Speght and others, till Tyrwhitt pointed out the connection with Boccaccio;[2]) this certainly argues that he is speaking from independent knowledge here.[3])

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cer's prologue and that his *quene* is Alcestis and not Anne. But in the Prologue it is the God of Love and not his queen who orders the legends from the poet (see 548 ff* (Fx) & 538 ff. (Gg.)), so there is no basis at all for this ingenious proposal. (Fr. Tupper's identification of Alcestis with a certain Alice de Sestre, a member of the royal household in 1368—9 (*Journ.* 21 293 ff), is entirely unsupported by real evidence).

1) This view is strongly supported by the representation of the Corpus picture; see the prec. sect.

2) See Kittredge in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 28. 60 f., 72, 86 f.; cf. Hamilton *Chaucer's indebtedness to Guido delle Colonne* p. 14 f., and Hammond p. 398 f.

3) Too much must not, however, be inferred from his statement that Chaucer wrote the poem in his youth (as Tatlock does p. 25, cf. *Phil.* I. 317 ff.; see Root, *Engl. Stud.* 41. 406); the idea of youth is admittedly an elastic one. But the general accuracy with which Lydgate has preserved the tradition of events from the closing years of the XIV cent. is proved by his stanzas on Richard II and

For the rest the list is on the whole compiled from Chaucer's own allusions to his poems;[1]) nevertheless Lydgate does enumerate some works not mentioned by the poet himself, referring to them moreover in such a way that he must have seen them, not only heard about them, as proved by the lines:

> *Of Anneleida & of fals Arcite*
> he made a complaynt doleful and piteous,
> *And of the broche which that Uulcanus*
> *At Thebes* wrought full diuers of nature.

The last poem is evidently *Mars,* as shown by the heading of this poem in Harl. 7333, f. 132: *The Broche of thebes as of the love of mars and venus.* Now this copy is ultimately due to a certain John Shirley, who was not only a transcriber and translator of books, but also the owner of what must practically have been a fifteenth century circulating library.[2]) It must have been in his MSS., that Lydgate read *Anneleida & fals Arcite* and *The Broche of Thebes,* for the two men were evidently acquaintances; in at least two of his volumes Shirley inserted versified lists of contents, in which he praises Lydgate in rather familiar terms, while the monk responded by composing a sort of poetical bookplate for the scribe.[3]) Through Lydgate, Shirley must also have been in touch with the Chaucers; the poems addressed to Thomas Chaucer (cf. above) are found in his MSS. only, and he has preserved the sole copies of some French poems by the Earl of Suffolk, Alice

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the dukes of Gloucester and Ireland; see Hammond, *Engl. Stud.* 43. 23. ff.

1) See Skeat I. 23 f. and Langhans, *Anglia* 44. 231 f.

2) See below Ch. IV. 2; cf. *Biogr.* 52. 133 f., Hammond p. 515 f., Spurgeon p. 169 ff., and O. Gaertner's diss. *John Shirley, sein Leben und Werken* Halle 1904. There is no evidence at all that he was a servant of the Earl of Warwick, as Hammond suggests (*Engl. Stud.* 43. 12, cf. *Anglia* 32. 190 ff); John Shirley was an extremely common name at that time, see the Indices of the *Cal. Pat. Rolls* Henry IV, V, VI (John Shirley, Esquire, of London, is mentioned in 1430 and 1444, and as deceased in Sept. 1460; Henry VI. ii. 16, iv. 351 vi. 325).

3) See the poems printed in App. A.

Chaucer's third husband.[1]) This connection of his with the Chaucer family becomes very significant, when we consider that Shirley has transcribed many of Geffrey Chaucer's works and has handed a good deal of information concerning him down to us, as we shall see later. On the other hand, all information of any value stops with Shirley, and after him there is no trace of a really living tradition.

3. *The Canon.*

A good many legends that used to be current about Chaucer some fifty or sixty years ago were really due to the ascription to him of certain works from which, though he had absolutely nothing to do with them, it was inferred that he had behaved in a way we now know from documents it was impossible for him to act.[2]) This process began rather late, and neither the scribes nor the early printers can be seriously blamed in this respect; as a matter of fact the indiscriminate attribution of fifteenth century poetry to Chaucer did not start in earnest till the first attempts to get out collected editions of his works were made by Richard Pynson in 1526 and by William Thynne in 1532.[3]) From that time, however, spurious and genuine poems were added practically without discrimination, though already in 1598 Francis Thynne very sensibly suggested "that yt wolde be good that Chaucers proper woorkes were distinguyshed from the adulterat, and suche as were not his".[4]) At last, in Urry's edition of 1721, the list of the poet's works had grown to include 71 items, of which

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1) Cambr. Trin. Coll. MS. R. 3. 20, p. 25 *Heer begynnepe a Roundell which my lord of Suffolk made after his comyng oute of prysoun;* cf. also p. 32 ff. and see MacCracken in *Publ.* 26. 142 ff.

2) Thus especially *The Testament of Love;* see Lounsbury's *Fictitious Lives of Chaucer (The Atlantic Monthly* 40. 269 ff.), cf. Nicolas p. 46.

3) Cf. Hammond p. 144 ff., and see about Pynson E. Gordon Duff's *Printers of Westminster and London 1476—1538* p. 165.

4) See his *Animaduersions uppon the annotacions and corrections of some imperfections of impressions of Chaucers workes,* ed. Furnivall (E. E. T. S. & Ch. Soc. 1875), p. 69.

he was really responsible for hardly one third.[1]) Though certain pieces were "justly suspected" by William Thomas in the *Life of Chaucer* he contributed to this edition, nothing serious was done till Thomas Tyrwhitt published his great edition of the *Canterbury Tales.*[2]) The Text appeared in 1775, but Tyrwhitt's critical work on the Canon was really done in connection with the *Glossary,* which included words from all the works he considered genuine, and was issued separately in 1778, introduced by *An Account of the Works of Chaucer to which this Glossary is adapted; and of those other pieces which have been improperly intermixed with his in the editions.* He does not lay down any general principles here, but at once enumerates the works he regards as genuine, beginning with the *Canterbury Tales,* whose authenticity he rightly considers above suspicion, and otherwise chiefly relying on the titles Chaucer mentions in his Prologue to the *Legend,* which like later investigators he thought genuine because of its being mentioned in the Man of Law's Prologue.[3]) In this way he established the authenticity of six work: *The Romaunt of the Rose, Troilus and Creseide, The Assemblee of Foules, The Booke of the Duchesse, The House of Fame,* and the translation of *Boethius.* Further he found the *balade* beginning *The firste stock* [Gentilesse] ascribed to Chaucer in a poem by Henry Scogan, and he identified the *Testament of Love* with the work mentioned by Gower in *Confessio Amantis.*[4]) Then he also utilized the notes about Chaucer's authorship in XV century MSS.,[5]) and from these he

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1) Cf. Skeat p. 159 ff. & I. 22 ff.; also Lounsbury I. 455 ff.

2) See *Biogr.* 57. 446 ff., Lounsbury I. 301 ff., Hammond p. 205 ff. and Spurgeon pp. 82 ff. & 181 ff.

3) See his note to ver. 4481.

4) See Lounsbury I. 181 ff. & Skeat VII. xviii ff.; cf. ch. VI. 1.

5) Tyrwhitt, who knew about half the MSS. of the *Cant. Tales* now known (he enumerates 26 in App. B to his *Preface)* besides several of *Troilus,* and the unique Hunterian MS. of the *Romance,* mentions 8 of the MSS. of the Minor Poems (besides Harl. 7333, which also contains the *Tales):* Harl. 78, 372, 2251 & 7578 in London and Fairf. 16, Bodl. 638, Seld. B. 24 & Ashm. 59 at Oxf. But he seems to some extent to have relied on the catalogues only, for he mentions the Cott. MSS. Otho A. XVIII as existing, though

extracted nine poems, *Bukton, Flee from the Prese* [Truth], *Balade of the Village* [Fortune], *Scogan, Purse* (all from Fairfax 16), *Pitee* (from Harl. 78), *Annelida* (from Harl. 372), *Balade sent to King Richard* [Stedfastnesse] (from Harl. 7333), and *Proverbs* (from Harl. 7578). The remaining minor poems he declared genuine on "internal evidence", probably equivalent to his own personal judgment of their literary value, not an entirely safe guide, as only five pieces are really genuine, the so-called *A. B. C., Mars, Venus, Adam* and *Astrolabe,* while five others have no claim to authenticity: *The Court of Love, The Complaint of the Black Knight* [Lydgate's *Complaynte of a Loveres Lyf*], *Chaucer's Dreme, The Flour and the Lefe, The Cuckow and the Nightingale* [Clanvowe's *Boke of Cupide*]. [1])

Thus it will be seen that Tyrwhitt set up his Canon of 28 Chaucerian pieces in the only possible way, by examining the evidence for each single piece afresh and not by merely striking out the suspicious items of the old list. [2]) Gradually his results came to be generally accepted, and the genuineness of the six or seven items he wrongly included was not seriously questioned until about 1867. [3])

At this time, Henry Bradshaw, the famous Cambridge li-

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it was burnt in 1731 (cf, Furnivall *Par. Texts* p. 407 & Skeat. I. 82[1], but see Flügel, *Anglia* 22. 512 ff.), and says he has "never heard of any MS. of the *Court of Love*", though the poem is found in MS. Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 19, f. 218 ff.

[1]) Tyrwhitt was very hard on the "heap on rubbish" Stowe added in 1561, and even rejected the genuine "continuation" of *Pity* (left out of XIX cent eds. till Skeat included it in the *Minor Poems* 1888). On the other hand he was inclined to accept the spurious *Virelay,* still regarded as genuine by A. Brandl in *Grundriss* II. 691 f. (see Skeat VII. lxxx f., cf. Hammond p. 461 f).

[2]) As Skeat says he did (VII. lxxiii), repeating Lounsbury's assertion (I. 474 ff.).

[3]) The eds. by Bell (1782) and Anderson (1795) still print most of the poems Tyrwhitt had rejected, in Chalmer's ed. (1810) they were relegated to an Appendix, and in the Chiswick (1822), Aldine (1845), and Bell eds. (1854) practically no poem was included for which he had not vouched. About Moxon's ed. 1843 see Skeat I. 30[2] and VI. xii ff., cf. *Queries* 1889. II. 86, 133, 214.

brarian, began his close study of the MS. texts which led him to observe that the metrical characteristics of the works then printed as Chaucer's did not agree among themselves, and especially that words ending in *-ye (-ie),* as *chivalrie* and *curtesie,* did not rhyme with words ending in *-y,* as *thriftily* and *yemanly,* in some poems, while they did so in others, e. g. *high: testifie: sly* and *ny: hy*[*e*].[1]) The latter usage Bradshaw did not recognize as Chaucerian, and employing this as a test he rejected the five spurious poems accepted by Tyrwhitt, besides the verse translation *The Romance of the Rose* and the prose work *The Testament of Love.*[2])

Unfortunately, Bradshaw's epoch-making results were not published by himself, but only briefly stated by Furnivall in his *Temporary Preface to the Six-Text ed. of the Cant. Tales.*[3]) He had himself planned a treatise with the fascinating title *An Attempt to ascertain the state of Chaucer's works as they were left at his death, with some notices of their subsequent history.* However, only the introduction seems to have been written, and this is said to "state the author's intention of examining what works were attributed to Chaucer by himself or his contemporaries; what works we have still remaining which appear to correspond with them; what works are attributed to him before 1532, and subsequently to that date; and what works, not yet recognized as his, may reasonably be assigned to him".[4]) From this it is clear that he saw the importance of using external as well as internal evidence, but in his account of Bradshaw's methods Furnivall

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[1]) *The Court of Love* 16 ff. and 62 f.; cf. also Skeat p. 132. See about Bradshaw's work G. W. Prothero's *Memoir* 1888, espec. p. 223 ff., and cf. *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1885—7, p. 344 ff.; *Biogr.* First Suppl. 1. 251 ff.; *Edinburgh Rev.* July 1921, p. 96 ff.

[2]) The authenticity of the *Testament* and the *Dream* was also doubted in Germany about the same time (see Hertzberg p. 34 ff. and ten Brink pp. 155 f. and 165 f.; cf. *Jahrbuch* 8. 133 f.). Cp. Hammond pp. 429 and 458 f.

[3]) Ch. Soc. 1868, pp. 107—9 (cf. *Athen.* 1869. I. 606 f.). According to this account Bradshaw further rejected five minor poems, not accepted by Tyrwhitt, but included in the current eds.; one, the so-called *Merciles Beautie,* is still commonly printed as Chaucer's.

[4]) Prothero's *Memoir* p. 347; cf. Hammond p. 502.

mentioned only the latter kind, and especially the *-y: -ye test.* At the same time ten Brink had independently hit upon this very test and consequently it soon became a kind of shibboleth among philologists, a knowledge of which was the only infallible means of distinguishing between the genuine and the spurious works.[1] It is true that there were a few cases where Chaucer himself did not seem to observe the rule, but these were ignored, and conditions of grammar and metre were thus made the supreme tests for the authenticity of the works.[2]

Now it is quite true that Bradshaw's splendid results, decisive as they undoubtedly were in most cases, would seem to contain the best possible justification of this extreme belief in the value of his method; nevertheless this is not so. The circumstances under which Bradshaw and ten Brink worked were exceptional; a great many late poems had got among the poet's works without having any business there at all, and generally it was easy to pick them out by studying the differences which separated their language from that of Chaucer.[3] But the nearer the spurious poems were to his own time, the more difficult the task naturally became, and this was the reason why ten Brink did not suspect the authenticity of *The Book of Cupid*, a poem written in Chaucer's own life-time, but not by him.[4] Similar reasons explain why Bradshaw did not attack the hymn *Mother of God*, a few years later clearly proved to be Hoccleve's while his uncompromising rejection of the *Romance of the Rose* is now open to grave doubt.[5]

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1) See ten Brink pp. 22 ff. & 162 ff., cf. Skeat p. 45 f.

2) Cf. *C. T.* B 2089 & 2092, F 503 f. & *Fame* 1599 f.; see Lounsbury I. 388 ff (not refuted by Skeat VI. lvii f.), and Saintsbury *Hist. of Engl. Prosody* I. 145.

3) See e. g. Kington-Oliphant's treatment of Chaucer's "reputed works" in *Essays on Chaucer* (Ch. Soc. 1884), p. 613 f.

4) Its language is very close to Chaucer's cf. Skeat VII. lvii ff. and his Supplement to Marshall & Porter's *Ryme Index to the Minor Poems* (Ch. Soc. 1889), p. 199 ff. See further ch. VI. 2.

5) *The Mother of God* was included in the Chaucer Society's Canon of the Minor Poems, see Furnivall's *One Text Print* (1871) p. 101 ff., and his *Parallel Text Ed.* 1878, p. 137 ff.; but it was rejected in his *More Odd Texts,* 1891, p. 6, cf. his ed. of Hoccleve's *Works* (E. E. T. S. 1892) I. xxxix.

On the whole, grammatical and metrical tests have not the absolute value that has been claimed for them, especially not when they are employed without any reference to the external evidence at all.[1]) This was done in several instances by W. W. Skeat, who simply applied the grammatical and metrical tests which had been deduced from a few of Chaucer's recognised works, to such anonymous pieces as he came across in XV century MSS., including those which happened not to violate the rules in his Chaucer editions.[2]) It is characteristic, however, that even the most determined champions of the grammatical and metrical method have generally found it advisable to exploit external evidence as well, though with a preference for the indirect testimony of the poet himself which is hardly quite well-founded. If Chaucer had set down his name in his works, as did his contemporaries Froissart and Jean de Condé, his testimony would of course have been unexceptionable, but he did so only once, in his *Canterbury Tales,* and even here the reference to him self by the Man of Law is so playful that it might almost be taken as evidence *against* rather than *for* his authorship. He does not seem to have wanted to bother about introducing an anagram into his text;[3]); nor did he even take the trouble of adding a colophon stating the fact of his authorship to any of his works, as Gower did to all his in a very elaborate and rather pompous manner.[4]) On the other hand,

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[1]) Cp. the severe review of Skeat's *Chaucer Canon* in the New York *Nation* 1900. I. 443.

[2]) See the Minor Poems nos. XI—XII, XXI, XXIII, XXV—VI in his great *Oxford Chaucer* (cf. *Acad.* 1888. I. 292 and 307, and the protest by A. W. Pollard, *ib.* 1889. I. 178; cp. Hammond p. 68). Cp. about Skeat's simple method of drawing up a canon VII. lxxiv.

[3]) This appears to have been a common literary custom among French and English writers of the closing Middle Ages; see about Guillaume de Deguileville J. E. Hultman's diss. Upsala 1902, pp. 177 ff. & 193 ff. (cf. *Acad.* 1889. I. 95, 186, 206, 222), and about Guillaume de Machaut E. Hoepffner in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 30. 401 ff.; cf. Thomas Usk (Skeat VII. xix f.) and Osbern Bokenham *(Engl. Stud.* 10. 1 ff.)

[4]) Macaulay III. 479 f. and IV. 360 (the colophon commonly added at the end of the Cant. Tales was probably not due to Chaucer himself, see ch. II. 3); cf. Hammond p. 53.

repeated references to his work are made by him and his contemporaries, and these testimonies have been chosen by modern scholars as the chief basis of the Canon.[1]) They are, however, naturally anything but exhaustive, besides involving the difficulty — which may be considerable — of identifying the titles mentioned with such works as are actually extant.[2]) Consequently, though there may be a general agreement about most of the long works like the *Canterbury Tales, Troilus,* and the *Legend,* everybody seems to have a different opinion about the *Romance of the Rose,* which is now fairly on its way to be split up and distributed among all the more important provinces and periods of later Middle English Literature, — and as to the short pieces the Canon varies a good deal: of the twenty-six minor poems Skeat gave to Chaucer in his standard edition Wells refuses to discuss two, while the editors of the *Globe Chaucer* consider seven, and Miss Hammond even ten doubtful or spurious (Nos. VI, XI—XII, XX—XXVI).

This unsettled state of the Canon is really due to the comparative neglect of our most important body of evidence, the ascriptions of the scribes. It is true that their testimony has never been entirely lost sight of; still it is generally counted as supplementary evidence only, and even now the existence of a definite scribal tradition during the first two generations after the poet's death, practically never erring in its attribution of a definite body of work to Chaucer, is hardly sufficiently recognized.[3]) This tradition I should rank as our most valuable test in cases of doubtful authorship, grouping all the available evidence on this point under four heads and arranging them in the following order of importance:

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1) See Skeats' remarks I. 21 ff., repr. from his *Minor Poems* p. viii ff.; cf. Pollard's *Chaucer Primer* pp. 38 ff. and 138 ff., Lounsbury I. 367 f. and 411 ff., Hammond p. 55 ff., and Wells p. 617 ff.

2) See on this point Bradshaw's letter in Prothero's *Memoir* p. 353.

3) XV cent. scribes seem generally to have preserved the notes of authorship they found in their "copy" pretty faithfully, and not to have added new ones arbitrarily, the only real exception to this rule in the case of Chaucer being a late Scotch MS. (Bodl. Arch. Seld. B. 4, cf. ch. VI. 2.).

I a. Direct External Evidence.

Comprising notes of authorship due to the poet himself or added by the early scribes, chief among whom in Chaucer's case is John Shirley.

I b. Indirect External Evidence.

Comprising allusions to the poet's works made by himself or his contemporaries. The value of these is obvious, but somewhat impaired by the fact that though a reference by Chaucer himself is doubtless authoritative, we must first make sure of the genuineness of the work in which it occurs, and then undertake a complete identification of the titles mentioned and the preserved works. The main Chaucerian passages of this kind are the Prologue of the *Legend,* 416* ff. & 404 ff., and *Cant. Tales* I 1085 ff., besides Lydgate's well-known list in his *Fall of Princes.*[1])

II a. Absolute Internal Evidence.

By this I designate passages definitely pointing to special characteristics of the author in question, as his use of little-known sources, peculiar events in his career etc. — all more or less *personal* traits. The value of these is on the whole somewhat dubious, though they may help in certain cases, where the indications are sufficiently clear. Such passages, however, occur very rarely in Chaucer; the most important is the allusion to his office work in *The House of Fame* 652 ff.

II b. Relative Internal Evidence.

This includes passages not referring to the author's personal life, but containing verbal reminiscences of his known writings. As long as these *parallels* have a genuinely characteristic turn, intellectually or artistically, they have a certain — though not very high — value; but as soon as they become vague or general, the possibility of the work being really done by an imitator must be seriously considered. The similarities must be definite and striking; a mere general likeness does not prove anything — rather the reverse.[2]) This is why no trust can be

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[1]) All three printed by Hammond p. 55 ff.

[2]) S. Griswold Morley has some extremely sensible remarks on this point in *Publ.* 20. 313 ff.; see, on the other hand, J. M. Steadman in *Phil.* 21. 7 ff.

put in those tests which lately have been in so much favour: compliance with certain grammatical and metrical rules, deduced from a number of the author's known works. Quite apart from the fact that they can only be properly constructed *after* the result they should help to obtain has been reached, they are clearly ruled out by other considerations as well. It is true that they have some value as a negative test, for they may be used to reject works which absolutely fail to comply with certain usages dependent upon the general linguistic characteristics of the period;[1]) but it is exactly the general prevalence of these characteristics which forbids the use of them as a positive test of authorship in special cases. The so-called "stylistic" features — actually little more than technical tricks — are sometimes preferred to the linguistic ones, but they, too, are generally so common in most authors of a given period as to prevent their verdict from being of any real importance. As a matter of fact the use of "style" as a test of authorship and chronology *either* degenerates into a mere mechanical handling of statistics, which proves less than nothing in literary matters, where quality goes before quantity, *or* if the artistic and creative aspect of the matter is really insisted upon, we shall have to treat the prospective work of any author as a mere casual addition to his known writings which must then be taken to embody a fixed set of unchanging characteristics — a state of affairs that is clearly absurd. On the other hand there is still left a really valuable test of what might be termed *implied evidence,* based as it is on an examination of the state of the text itself. If certain structural facts show that the text is a composite one, that it retains traces of an earlier draft or version, then this circumstance may be of some use in deciding the question of authorship, where this is doubtful.[2])

It might be added that yet another test, based on external evidence, has been set up, it being argued that when a poem occurs in a MS. together with other poems, admittedly Chaucer's,

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[1]) See Lounsbury I. 368 ff., cf. Jespersen p. 60.

[2]) There is a brilliant instance of this in Jos. Bédier's *Etudes Critiques* 1903, p. 81 ff. (Le "Paradoxe sur le Comédien" est-il de Diderot?) — Of course the test is also an important chronological one.

it must be his too.[1]) This test fails, however, resting as it does upon a complete misconception of the MS. collections in which Chaucer's Minor Poems have been handed down to us. These collections are really anything but authoritative, and there is in fact a pronounced difference between MSS. chiefly containing one long work, and MSS. offering a batch of comparatively brief pieces, a difference so decisive as to make a separate study of the latter necessary.[2]) Moreover it becomes clear, considering the weight carried by the direct evidence of the scribes in settling the Canon, that this cannot be discussed apart from the problem of the text; not only are the mutual relations of the MSS. of the highest importance in determining the value of the scribes' evidence, but such questions as whether certain variants point to revision of the text by the author himself or simply to scribal emendation, whether some passages are authoritative additions or mere spurious interpolations, even whether the accepted title may be regarded as due to the author or not — all such questions must be solved from a knowledge of the present state of the text.[3]) There are indeed two sides to the problem of authorship: we have to decide not only how much of Chaucer's work we have left, but also in what state he left it to us.[4]) Both questions are closely bound up with each other, and both will be discussed in the following.

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[1]) See Skeat I. 80 & 88 (but note his own remarks in *Acad.* 1894. II. 67 f.), cf. Wells p. 618.

[2]) Practical considerations also support this decision, especially the fact that the indirect external evidence, which offers a supplementary test necessary to the complete solution of the problem, is chiefly contained in the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Legend,* thus making the initial proof of the genuineness of these two poems an obvious necessity.

[3]) Nor has it been possible completely to evade the vexed question of dates (cf. *Phil.* 14. 64 & *Wells* p. 623 ff.), where, however, I generally limit myself to the most obvious inferences from my solution of certain problems, chiefly textual (see espec. App. C). I hope to deal with the more important questions of the Chaucer Chronology in another connection.

[4]) This means a bibliographical inquiry in the true sense of that term; cf. W. W. Greg *Trans. Bibl. Soc.* vol. 12. 50. ff.

CHAPTER II.

THE CANTERBURY TALES.

1. *The Principles of Textual Criticism.*

THE chief difference between book production during the later Middle Ages and now is that the patrons of the poets were not, as now, the reading public at large, but a few noble and wealthy persons. When Froissart visited England in 1394 or 1395 he was careful to bring over with him a splendid MS. of his poems and present it to the king, Richard II, on July 25. "Il l'ouvrit et regarda dedans et lui plut très grandement; et plaire bien lui devoit, car il étoit enluminé, escript et historié, et couvert de vermeil velours a dix doux d'argent dorés d'or, et roses d'or au milieu, et a deux grands fremaulx dorés et richement ouvrés au milieu de rosiers d'or. Donc me demands le roi de quoi il traitoit, et je lui dis: "D'amours!" De cette réponse fut il tout réjoui; et regarda dedans le livre en plusieurs lieux, et y legy, car moult bien parloit et lisoit françois." [1]) Richard II also commissioned Gower to write something new for him, probably about love, when meeting him on the Thames:

> And so befel, as I cam nyh,
> Out of my bot, whan he me syh,,
> He bad me come in to his barge.
> And whan I was with him at large,

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1) This very MS. has possibly been preserved in Bibl. Nat. fonds franc. no. 831, which is dated May 12, 1394 (cf. *Poésies de Froissart,* ed. Scheler III. xiv f.) — Similar scenes are depicted in illustrated MSS., cf. e. g. the frontispiece to Deschamps *Oeuvres* vol. II.; see also about an author presenting his patron with a dedication copy on New Year's Day Wylie *Henry IV.* iv. 66[1].

Amonges othre thinges seid
He hath this charge upon me leid,
And bad me doo my besynesse
That to his hihe worthinesse
Som newe thing I scholde boke
That he himself it mihte loke
After the forme of my writynge.
And thus upon his comandynge
Myn herte is wel the more glad
To write so as he me bad. [1])

However, authors were not satisfied with presenting their books to the noble patrons and pocketing *their* presents and praise;[2]) they also had them formally published through the booksellers. We have definite evidence as to this; the *stationarii* of the medieval universities not only sold and hired out books to the students, they also published the teachers' textbooks against a commission,[3]) and already in the thirteenth century the facilities for the copying of books in Paris must have been most businesslike and satisfactory.[4]) That a regular publishing business flourished

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[1]) *Confessio Amantis,* first ed. *Prologue* 43*—56*. This state of affairs continued long after Chaucer's time, cf. Moore's paper on *Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk* c. 1450 *(Publ.* 27. 188 ff.). The patrons of Hoccleve and Lydgate were many and various (see about the former Furnivall's ed. I. xxxiv f. and about the latter Moore l. c. and Hammond in *Anglia* 38. 121 ff.).

[2]) See the long and characteristic passage on his patrons in Froissart's *Buisson de Jonece* 226—390 (ed. Scheler II. 7 ff.).

[3]) Cf. H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe during the Middle Ages* I. 191 f. Ab. 1380 a German Master of Arts had books (e. g. *textum Boetii)* copied specially for sale among university students; see *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* vol. 9, p. 262 ff.

[4]) It is characteristic that when the author of a popular treatise like the *Evangelium Eternum* in 1254 permitted his work to be freely copied at Paris, there was as much consternation at this peculiar way of publication as at his heresies; see Guillaume de Saint-Amour's *Tractatus brevis de Periculis novissimorum temporum: "Is autem erroneus liber positus fuit publice ad exemplandum Parisius Anno domini 1254.* Unde certum est quod iam publice predicaretur, nisi boni prelati et predicatores impedirent". (Mich. Denis *Codd*

in England during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries cannot be doubted since practically all extant MSS. of contemporary authors show such a uniform standard of execution as can only be explained through their being the work of professional scribes in the employ of firms of publishers. [1]) Nor must it be forgotten that this was a period when the book trade was flourishing and the booksellers must keep their shops well supplied to meet the orders of their noble and wealthy customers. [2]) No doubt their stock also included contemporary light fiction such as Chaucer's books — in which case they would of course have acquired the copyright (for what it was worth) from the author and not from the patron.[3]) Certainly there were writers who preferred to

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MSS. Theol. Bibl. Pal. Vindobon. I. 1681, cf. A. Kirchhoff *Die Handschriftenhändler des Mittelalters* p. 70). Note also Jean de Meun's allusion to this strange event (*Roman de la Rose* 11807 —10):

A Paris n'ot ome ne fame, — Ou parvis devant Nostre Dame, — Qui lors aveir ne le peüst, — A transcrivre s'il li pleust.

(Cf. Langlois III. 320 f. & 325 f.).

1) In Paris Raoul Taenguy was the head of such a business ab. 1400; he published the works of Froissart and Deschamps (see the latter's *Oeuvres* II. vi ff. & XI. 104).

2) See Richard de Bury's well-known statement of his connection with booksellers in France, Germany, and Italy *Philobiblon* cap. VIII; cf. *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 1. 322 ff.; Albr. Kirchhoff *Die Handschriftenhändler des Mittelalters* 1853 (also *Weitere Beiträge zur Gesch. des Handschriftenhandels* 1855); G. H. Putnam *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages* 1896, pp. 261 ff., 273 ff., 302 ff.; Fr. Kapp *Gesch. d. Deutschen Buchhandels 1886* vol. I. *passim;* Wylie *Henry IV.* III. 101[6], 259[2]; IV. 85.

3) From the very special circumstances of the quattrocento Italian humanists R. K. Root has tried to deduce general rules for *Publication Before Printing* (*Publ.* 28. 417 ff.), maintaining that the "formal presentation to the patron constituted the final and definite publication" (*ib.* p. 428). But this is only half the truth. Books certainly were issued by real publishing firms as far back as the XIII cent. and again little more than half a century after Chaucer's death. Surely, then, things were not different in the poet's own day. — Note, also, the parallel existence of private circulation and real publication in antiquity, as noticed by Th. Birt *Das antike Buchwesen* (1882) p. 342 ff., and K. Dziatzko *Unter-*

employ their own scribes and be their own publishers, but as certainly they were exceptions, such as Chaucer's friend John Gower, who issued several editions of his various works from his own *scriptorium* in carefully corrected copies. [1])

Chaucer wrote partly for his literary patrons and friends, partly for a larger though select public, as is evident from many

suchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des Antiken Buchwesens (1900) p. 149 ff. Both these writers conclude that the classical publisher paid his authors; this is, however, denied (but from inadequate reasons, as it appears to me) by L. Haenny *Schriftsteller und Buchhändler in Rom* (Diss. Halle, 1884, p. 88; cf. G. Boissier *Tacite* 1903, p. 316). Again, it is often maintained, e. g. in A. W. Pollard *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* 1920, p. 26, that it was impossible for a publisher to pay the author anything before the introduction of some sort of copyright. But in XVI cent. Germany no copyright existed, and the publishers still thought it worth their while to pay the authors something; see Oscar Hase *Die Koberger* 1885, p. 148 ff., and especially p. 170. Cp. also W. F. Wyndham Brown in *The Law Magazine* Nov. 1908, p. 56.

1) Eight of these are still preserved: 1) Cambr. Univ. Libr. Ad. 3035 *(Mirroir de l'Omme)* 2—5) Glasgow Univ. Hunt. Mus. T. 2. 17, B. M. Cott. Tib. A. IV & Harl. 6291, Oxf. All Souls Coll. no. 98 *(Vox Clamantis &c)* 6—7) Bodl. Fairf. 3 & the Stafford MS. *(Confessio Amantis)* 8) the Trentham MS. *(Minor French Poems)*. — But when Macaulay claimed to be able to recognize at least 21 different hands in them, of which more than half wrote only an occasional passage or a short note (cf. I. lxviii ff. & lxxix ff.; IV. lx ff.; II. cxxxii f. & cli f.), I beg to differ at least as far as the first six are concerned, which I have examined pretty closely myself (the two last MSS. I have not seen). To me it is perfectly clear that the same scribe wrote practically all the contents of these MSS.; there is not the slightest difference between e. g. f. 159 & f. 160 in the Harl. MS., which Macaulay says are in two hands (IV. lxv), and even the cursive writing in the Cott. (ff. 176—7) & Harl. (f. 164), as well as elsewhere in the MSS. (e. g. the note to *Vox Clam.* III. 375 which Macaulay thinks possibly written in Gower's own hand) was clearly done by the same man. His style of writing is very firm and clear, of the last fourth or so of the fourteenth century (see Macaulay's frontispieces with specimens of the writing in the Cambr., Fairf. & Cott. MSS.), easily recognized by his peculiar trick of making most letters begin with a sharp angle, even O & Q. As he certainly wrote the Latin pieces in nos. 2—4 — I am not quite

passages in his works (see e. g. *Troilus* V. 270 & 1765 ff.), as well as from the wide circulation they very quickly gained.[1]) How the copies for these two circles of readers were executed is indicated by the curious little piece of poetical invective he wrote against one of his scribes:

Chauciers wordes.
Geffrey vn to Adame his owen scryveyne.
Adam scryveyne, if euer it þee byfalle
Boece or *Troylus* for to wryten nuwe,
Vnder þy long long lokkes þowe most haue þe scalle
But affter my makyng þowe wryte more truwe!
So offt a daye I mot þy werk renuwe
It to corect and eke to rubbe and scrape;
And al is thorugh þy necglygence and rape!

It is possible that the scribe was a relative of the poet, and this may to some extent explain the familiar strength of the curse; [2])

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sure about those in the All Souls MS. which I have examined only once — in which Gower complains of his blindness, he cannot be identical with the poet himself (as one might be tempted to infer from the fact that he wrote the numerous corrections in the MSS., from the remarkable soundness of the text, and from his writing *Liber Johannis Gower* on f. 2 of the Cott. MS.), but must have been a professional scribe, continually employed by him.

1) Thomas Usk who was executed in 1388, would hardly have received any of Chaucer's presentation copies; nevertheless he shows himself very well acquainted with the *House of Fame, Troilus,* and the translation of *Boethius* within a few years of their appearances (cf. Skeat VII. xxv ff. & Tatlock p. 23 f.) Observe also that Richard Sotteworth, clerk, of Esthenreth, Berks, left "quendam librum meum de *Canterbury Tales*" in his will of 1417 *(Queries* 1910. II. 26).

2) A tenement in Smithfield was let to Sir Robert Knolles between 1374 and 1386 and before him to *Adam Chaucer* (Norman Moore *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital,* 1918, I. 47[1]). Manly has suggested that *scriveyn* might be a proper name here (see E. Rickert in *Phil.* 11. 224[1]), but this is very unlikely in view of Shirley's heading in Trin. R. 3. 20, p. 367, the only place where the stanza occurs. (Hammond's proposal that the enigmatic *lechares* (not *lachares),* added in the margin here, might indicate Adam's

but it is certain that he must have been employed in a big trading *scriptorium,* as shown by the somewhat unwilling admission (in l. 1—2) that he *might* have to transcribe other fair copies besides those of which Chaucer had just been forced to correct the daily sheets. Evidently the poet sent his draft, probably written on loose paper quires,[1]) to a copying firm, from which he then received the presentation MSS. for his patrons and friends, while in return the firm kept his autograph, having it transcribed by the scriptorial staff and offering the copies for public sale.[2]) With whatever degree of care such MSS. were written, they would certainly not have been revised by the medieval author, who seems to have kept his final corrections for his patron's MS. and generally not to have introduced them into the copies intended for public circulation only.[3])

As a matter of fact those copies which Chaucer did see, appear to have impressed him very unfavourably and to have filled him

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surname (p. 405, cf. *Notes* 19. 36) is most improbable; the word is not in Shirley's writing, as she states, but in a later hand, of ab. 1500). That Shirley calls Adam Chaucer's *own* scribe need not imply that he was the poet's private secretary.

1) Note Froissart's description of his study in 1373, where he is sitting with *Encre et papier et escriptoire Canivet et penne taillie (Buisson de Jonece* 4 f.).

2) The London limners and writers of court-hand and text-letter *(escriveyns)* were recognized as a company in 1357 (Riley, *Memorials of London* p. 295; cf. Arber's *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* I. xxii f. and *Notes* 29. 263 f. About similar conditions in York see Simmons' notes to *The Lay Folks Mass Book (E. E. T. S.* 1879) p. 400 f.). — Note that Hoccleve's dedication MSS. are not autographs (as Furnivall thought, *Biogr.* 27. 57), but copies executed by a scribe (see J. H. Kern, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen d. Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen, Amsterdam* 1915, Afd. Letterkunde, 5 R. D. 1. p. 372 ff., & cf. Furnivall's own ed. I. xlix).

I possess myself the dedication copy to Pope Innocent VIII of Baptista Mantuanus' Latin poem *Diui Lodouici Morbioli Vita,* a beautifully executed vellum MS. in a XV cent. Italian humanist hand; in this several readings are substitued (on erasures) for those found in the printed editions (e. g. the Deventer print of 1497 and the first collected ed. Cologne 1500).

with rather gloomy forebodings as to the future of his work, to judge from the gentle hint he once dropped to the scribes to try and be a little more careful. He addresses one of his books:

> And, for ther is so greet diversite
> In Englissh and in writing of our tonge,
> So prey to God that non miswrite thee,
> Ne thee mismetre for defaute of tonge!
> And red wher-so thou be or elles songe,
> That thou be understonde God biseche! —
> But yet to purpos of my rather speche.[1])

The hint does not appear to have been taken, however, since it must have been after the reception of a "fair" copy — perhaps of this very poem — from the scribe Adam that Chaucer started anathematizing him.[2]) As to the effect of this we can only guess, since none of Adam's copies, in fact no MS. corrected by Chaucer, much less any of his autographs, have reached us.[3]) The text has

[1]) *Troilus* V. 1793 ff. (thus McCormick, *Globe Ch.* p. 557, after the best authorities; Skeat's text differs, II. 414). Cf. Tatlock, *Phil.* 18. 625 f.

[2]) Other contemporary writers, too, alternately coax and scold the scribes; see the material collected by Wattenbach *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (1896) ch. V. 4, and cf. Flügel in *Anglia* 23. 207, Hammond in *Notes* 30. 121, Root *The Poetry of Ch.* p. 70.

[3]) Francis Thynne says in his *Animaduersions* (ed. Furnivall, p. 6 f.) that his father possessed a copy of some of Chaucer's works, "subscribed in diuers places with *examinatur Chaucer*". But this can scarcely have been more than a later scribble, so the "coppye" would hardly be so valuable as Furnivall (*ib.* p. xli) and Lounsbury suppose. Nor can the XV cent. copy of the *Astrolabe* in the Cambr. MS. Dd. 3. 53 have been corrected by the author, as Skeat thinks III. lviii, cf. *Athen.* 1868. II. 370. E. Lailavoix thinks (see the introd. to the Engl. transl. of Legouis' *Chaucer* p. ix) that the copy of the *Cant. Tales,* now in the Nat. Libr. at Paris, came to its original owner Jean d'Orléans, from the Chaucer family through his more famous brother Charles the poet, who in 1432—36 stayed with Alice Chaucer and her husband the Earl of Suffolk as a prisoner of war (cf. *Publ.* 26. 142 ff.); this is not very likely, however, as the copy is a comparatively poor one, executed by a northern scribe Duxwurth ab. 1440—50 (cf. Halfmann's diss. *Das auf der Bibl. Nat. befindliche MS. d. C. T.* Kiel 1898).

to be reconstructed entirely from comparatively late MSS., during the perusal of which we are constantly reminded that the process of copying was not a mechanical one, but undertaken by men, who both consciously and unconsciously were subject to certain mental reactions under their task. Even in the best of our authorities the personalities of the scribes only too frequently make themselves felt, and most of the MSS. are many steps removed from the originals, as seen from the extraordinary contortions the copyists managed to introduce.

When Chaucer wrote *a netherdes doughter* in *Melibeus* (B 2746), the best MS., Ellesmere, got the phrase right, but already the closely allied Hengwrt altered it a little *(Anetherdes),* and with Petworth's *an neterdes* the corruption is well under way. The Cambr. Gg MS. has *Auerthes,* and Corpus offers the emendation *eny gaddes,* but the climax is reached with Lansdowne's *any goddes* (!) [1]) Now Thynne printed *a nerthes* (1532), from which Speght (1598) and Skinner (1671) guessed the sense, while Tyrwhitt (1775) found out the right reading from the MSS., and this illustrates very well two ways of dealing with scribal mistakes in a text. The first corrects obvious errors by means of inferences from the context, and though this is dangerous, because it easily leads into blind conjecture, it must not be forgotten that within due limits it is a legitimate method where we have only one or a few bad copies of a text. The second procedure consists in searching other authorities for possibly better readings, and where such authorities exist this is of course the better way by far. In order, however, really to judge of the value of a certain reading in a particular authority, it is necessary thoroughly to examine the MS. in question, and decide whether it is on the whole a reliable witness. On this point Tyrwhitt failed. He collated a good many MSS., but each for comparatively brief passages only, so that he was apt to prefer a reading which on the face of it looked tempting, but which was, after all, offered by a MS. of rather suspicious character.[2]) For instance he took

[1]) See Skeat in *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1903—6, p. 191.

[2]) See the account of his procedure by F. J. Child in his *Observations on the Language of Chaucer (Mem. Am. Acad.* N. S. 8. 445 ff.

from an inferior MS., probably Selden B. 14 at the Bodleian (his BS), the reading *to serue halwes* in l. 14 of the Prologue to the *Tales,* where all the best authorities instead of *serue* have *ferne,* which accordingly now stands in the text.[1]) It is only through a close study of the single MSS. and by a detailed comparison of their readings that we can hope to obtain a real valuation of the evidence.

This principle of comparison is the basis of the so-called genealogical method, which aims at tracing the mutual relations between all extant copies of a certain work. It is only when the textual evidence has been arranged in this way that it becomes possible to estimate the true support given to special variants by the MSS. If a reader of Chaucer wanted to examine his text, and for this purpose started on one of the earliest and most magnificent copies of the *Canterbury Tales* in existence, MS. Lansdowne 851 at the British Museum, he would find l. 62 in the story of St. Cecily in the following form:

And þouhe þat .I. þe vnworpe *douhter* of Eue

From the printed editions, where the story is said to be told by the Second Nun, he would only know the reading *sone,* and at first he might not unnaturally be inclined to prefer the new variant. But if he examined the Lansdowne MS. a little closer and compared it to other MSS. of the *Tales,* he would discover, that though some of them were very different from the Lansdowne copy, others were not dissimilar to it, but none of them, not even

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(1861) cf. *Phil.* 6. 134 & Koch *P. T.* p. viii f.). But in fairness to Tyrwhitt it must be remembered that this method was the prevailing one among classical scholars of his day (cf. Hammond p. 209), while his judgment was much superior to his method; in his list of MSS. *(Preface,* App. B.) he unerringly singled out those copies for praise, which later scholarship has recognized as some of the best (among which he does *not* include the bad MS. Cambr. Ii. 3. 26, as Hammond says p. 191).

1) Already on the principle of transcriptional probability Tyrwhitt ought to have preferred this reading; in late ME. *ferne* was decidedly the *durior lectio,* being rarer than *serue,* so that the mind of the scribe would unconsciously tend towards reading long *s* for *f* and *u* for *n* — but not *vice versa.*

the latter, showed the variant *douhter.*[1]) So he would have to conclude that this word is either the genuine reading, although it seems preserved in only one MS., or simply a correction due to the scribe. For his decision of the question he would have to rely on the two methods indicated above, and accept or reject the reading according to its inherent probability and to the value of the Lansdowne MS. as a whole. The latter is very small, and this really decides the case, though the reading looks plausible enough, in fact too plausible, for the change must have appealed very strongly to the scribe.

This must suffice as an illustration of the main principle of the genealogical method, which is really only a further step in the careful examination of the MSS. A good many scholars, especially Germans, have maintained that this method rightly used will lead automatically to a perfect text, or at any rate to a perfect reconstruction of the original MS. This is, however, only true, if we assume first that scribes never make the same mistake so that identical errors may be taken in all cases to prove identity of origin,[2]) and next that one MS. was always copied straight from another, without intermixture with other authorities. Granted the truth of these two suppositions it may be claimed that a reading occurring unchanged in two branches of the authorities must be correct.[3]) However, such perfect conditions of textual transmission are very rare, and especially contamination seems during the Middle Ages to have been the rule rather than the

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[1]) I have examined all the fourteen MSS. containing the Nun's Tale in the Museum (see Hammond p. 173 ff) on this point, besides a good many others.

[2]) Cases of actual coincidence in textual transmission are no doubt much more common than they are generally taken to be; special circumstances must often have made the scribes commit the same mistake independently (see e. g. the instance given by E. Moore *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia,* p. lv).

[3]) *La Vie de Saint Alexis,* ed. Gaston Paris (1872) p. ii ff.; cf. *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1873—4, p. 332 ff. See also Sir R. C. Jebb in *A Companion to Greek Studies,* 3. ed. 1916, p. 728, and Hammond p. 108 f.

exception; popular and frequently copied works like *Le Roman de la Rose* or *La Divina Commedia* were commonly transcribed from two or more MSS., which would naturally often belong to different textual types.[1]) Consequently the texts quickly became so mixed and impure that no cut-and-dried genealogical scheme for transmission can now be drawn up. In such cases the only way out of the difficulty is to give up the idea of placing each MS. in an exact genealogical scheme, and be content to arrange the material in various groups, noting on one hand the evidence for connection with the ultimate original, and on the other that for intermixture between the authorities.[2]) The MSS. will thus be divided into groups, whose particular value for the final text may then be estimated.

2. *The MS. Groups.*

As authorities for the text of the *Canterbury Tales* we have about seventy MSS. eight of which have been printed entire by the Chaucer Society, while the Pardoner's Tale has been issued as a specimen text from 44 MSS.[3]) On the basis of the latter publication Zupitza and Koch have tried to make a critical study of all the MSS., but though their results are no doubt valuable they have met with a good deal of criticism and certainly seem rather

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[1]) See Moore l. c. p. xxx ff., and espec. p. xxxiii, n. 38; cf. E. Langlois p. 337 f.

[2]) This method has been worked out in Westcott and Hart's ed. of *The New Testament* (1882), see II. 60 ff.; cf. B. B. Warfield *Textual Criticism of the New Testament* 1886, p. 126 ff.

[3]) The Six-Text ed. 1868 ff.; separate issues of Harl. 7334 (1885) and Cambr. Univ. Libr. Dd. 4. 24 (1901 ff.); *Specimens of all accessible unprinted MSS. of the C. T.,* pts. I—IV and VIII, 1890 ff. (48 texts including the Dd. MS. and three reprints of eds. by Caxton & Thynne); pts. VI—VII bring the Clerk's Tale from 8 more MSS. (1899 f.; cf. Koch about a 9th MS. in *Beiträge zur neueren Philologie Jacob Schipper dargebracht* (1902 p. 257 ff.). Lists and descriptions of most MSS. are in Hammond p. 173 ff.; a further fragment is noted by Tatlock *(Notes* 29. 140 f., cf. *Archiv.* 127. 196 f.; see also Wells p. 679 f.). About the early eds. see Greg in *Publ.* 39. 737 ff.

dubious on several points.[1]) This is especially true of the places given by Zupitza to his Gg-group and Harleian group, where his material is far too scanty to be really convincing.[2]) On the other hand, the establishment of two great textual divisions, A and B, with superior and inferior readings respectively, seems pretty sound;[3]) when this classification is checked by collating the first 84 lines of the Nun's Tale in the eight printed authorities plus the twelve tolerably complete MSS. of the *Tales* at the British Museum, it emerges as the only certain result of the comparison.[4]) As to the question of further groups Koch inclines to

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[1]) See the Prefaces to *Specimens* pts. I—V and Koch pp. 2 ff. & 418 f., *P. T.* p. xxx ff., *C. T.* p. 2 f., cf. Liddell p. cxix ff. and the chart *Spec.* IV. xlvii, which differs a little from the corresponding parts of Koch's chart *ib.* xlvi, showing connection between the El- & Dd-groups. See also *Athen.* 1901. I. 380, 597 f., 631 f.; Hammond p. 169, Hinckley *Notes on Chaucer* p. 259, and Tatlock *The Harl. MS. 7334,* p. 28 (espec. n. 2).

[2]) *Specimens* II. iii ff.

[3]) This has been worked out chiefly in Koch's *Detailed Comparison of the eight* [printed] *MSS. of the C. T.,* especially pp. 10 ff. & 252 ff. The work is however often wrong in details; note e. g. that *correct* readings in MSS. of both groups are too frequently used as evidence for connection between them (see ab. B 3980 & 2289 pp. 52 f. & 107 f.), while several statements about omissions are misleading (cf. I 415, 911, & B 4233—8; pp. 22, 99, 241, & 257). See also Miss Hammond's criticism in *Anglia, Beiblatt* 25. 239 ff.

[4]) 9 MSS. generally join each other in certain erroneous readings: Corpus (or Selden) Petworth, Lansd., Eg. 2863, Harl. 1758, Roy. 17. D. XV & 18. C. II, Sloane 1685 & 1686. The more important cases are: G 6 (*al* wanting), 40 *(ferre* for *ferforth;* Sl. 1685: *fayre),* 52 *(that* wanting — not in Sl. 1686), 66 *(place* for *thennes* (except Roy. 17); Sl. 1686: *peyne),* 67 *(so* inserted (not in Sl. 1685); Roy. 17: *the)* 68 *(so* for *that; a* inserted), 70 *(and* inserted; *dere* omitted; Harl. 1758, Eg. 2864, Sl. 1686 also insert *seint),* 82 *(hem* for *hym;* thus Harl. 7335 too). — 10 MSS. have the correct readings here: Ellesmere, Hengwrt, Cambr.-Gg. & -Dd, Ad. 5140 & 35286, Eg. 2726 & 2864, Harl. 7334 & 7335; they are however not all bound together by similar errors, though a majority of them are wrong in G 7, 20, 31, 34, 38, 51 (Ellesmere is right in these cases, but wrong in G 3, omitting *at).* The twentieth MS., Shirley's copy of the *Tales* in Harl. 7333, has a clearly contaminated text, exhibiting

divide the material into two A-groups and five B-groups, but he cannot be said to have really established the extent and importance of these;[1]) moreover the evidence for their existence is certainly contradictory on a good many points.[2])

In these circumstances the safest way of provisionally establishing certain textual groups consists in selecting a few really characteristic lines as test passages and observe the various changes they are subject to in different MSS.[3]) One of the most significant passages in this respect is a couplet in the Merchant's Tale, E 1305 f., which reads in at least a dozen different ways.[4]) Five chief variants may be counted:

1. Ellesmere and Cambr. Gg. 4. 27 read:
   And if thow take a wyf vn-to thyn hoold
   Ful lightly maystow been a Cokewold.[5])

1. Other careful MSS., Cambr. Dd. 4. 24, Oxf. Christchurch 152, Eg. 2726 (the Haistwell MS.), have the lines in this form:

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the correct readings in the first eight cases quoted above and in G 3, 31, 34, 38, 75, but being wrong in G 7, 18, 20, 27, 35, 51, 81.

1) See *P. T.* p. xxxv ff., and *Festschrift für Schipper,* p. 263 ff.; cf. Wild, p. 7.

2) There are many contaminated copies of the *Tales* (cf. Pollard *Globe Ch.* p. xxix, Koch pp. 7 f. & 419, Hammond p. 247 f.), for instance Hengwrt (see Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 41. 131 ff., cf. *Athen.* 1872. II. 208) and Oxf. Christchurch Coll. no. 152, which both have a good text, but a corrupt sequence of the tales (in Hengwrt, however, the quires containing the tales of the Monk, Nun's Priest and Manciple (ff. 88—111) seem to have been misplaced later); also Ad. 25718 and the MS. at the Roy. Coll. of Physicians, London, exhibiting readings characteristic of both branches of the textual tradition.

3) See about this method E. Moore *l. c.* pp. xxxii ff. and 255 ff., and Langlois, pp. 266 ff. & 425 ff.; cf. Hammond p. 112 f.

4) Some of the readings are collected in Furnivall's App. VI to the Six-Text ed.; cf. Koch p. 85 f.

5) Cf. Bodl. Seld. which completes E 1305 by reading *in thin age oolde.*

And if thow take a wyf of heye lynage
She shal be hauteyne and of gret costage. [1])

3. Harl. 7335 reads:
And if thou take a wif be wel y-war
Of on thyng whiche y declare ne dar. [2])

4. Several inferior MSS. completely omit the lines, such as Oxf. Corp. Chr. Coll., New Coll., Bodl. Poet. 223 (Misc. 1133); Cambr. Trin. Coll. R. 3. 3 & 3. 15; Brit. Mus. Ad. 5140, Eg. 2864, Harl. 7333, Lansd. 851, Sloane 1686. [3])

5. Finally still another reading is offered by MSS. like Bodl. Laud 600 & 739; Cambr. Univ. Mm. 2. 5; B. M. Eg. 2863, Harl. 1758, Roy. 18. C. II, Sloane 1685; Petworth & Lichfield:
And if þou take a wif þat to þe is vntrewe
Ful ofte tyme it shal þe Rwe. [4])

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[1]) Thus also Roy. 17 D. XV. The conditions in the Devonshire, Northumberland and Hodson MSS. on this point (cf. Koch *P. T.* p. xxxviii ff.) are not known to me. Note that these two variants divide Koch's first group (E—Dd) and make the existence of his second (Gg) doubtful (1. c. p. xxxxi).

[2]) Joined by Harl. 7334, Paris Bibl. Nat. angl. 39 (cf. Halfmann's diss. Kiel 1898, p. 19) and Bodl. 686, which all read *peril* for *thing*. Ad. 35286 (cf. Koch 1. c. p. xxxxiii) wants a leaf here.

[3]) Also Caxton's two eds.; cf. Tyrwhitt's note to ver. 9180. The Merchant's Tale is wanting in Ad. 25718 and the conditions in the Helmingham MS. are unknown to me, while I have unfortunately omitted to notice the readings in Cambr. Univ. Ii. 3. 26 and Glasgow Univ. Hunt. Mus. U. I. I. — Observe that the omission of these lines unites Koch's groups V & VI (1. c. p. xxxxv ff.).

[4]) Cf. Thynne's ed. Bodl. 414 and Rawl. Poet. 141 both lack the Merchant's Tale while Barlow 20 (a very poor MS.) reads:
And if þow take a wif and she be faire
by-war þe þanne of þe repaire.
Cf. also Coll. Phys. f. 111 b.:
And if thow take a wif in dede
In sorow and care thi lif shaltow leede.

It will be observed that in all the variants the first half-line *And if thou take a wyf* — is identical, from which it has generally been inferred that the original MS. offered this reading and no more, the couplet being afterwards completed by the scribes. [1]) Such a conclusion is greatly strengthened by the fact that one MS., Hengwrt, originally contained this half-line only, the rest of the couplet being supplied in a later hand. [2]) Now these conditions prove, *first* that Chaucer's MS. was in a state more or less like that of a draft, [3]) *second* that the five chief variants may be used as preliminary indications of various groups within the textual tradition. But the question whether all af them or only some were derived straight from the poet's autograph, and how many of them form really independent textgroups must be further investigated before it can be finally decided.

The two last groups noticed above admittedly consist of rather poor authorities. No. 4 has been examined by Zupitza, who splits it into two further subgroups, but this fact is of no textual interest in view of the bad readings of the group;[4]) it is represented in print by the Corpus and Lansdowne MSS. [5]) The other group

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1) See Tatlock p. 209[2] and *The Harl. MS. 7334,* p. 24[2]. Cf. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 47. 371 f.

2) See the Six Text ed. p. 444, cf. Skeat *The Eight Text ed. of the Cant. Tales,* Ch. Soc. 1909, p. 37. — Note also the reading of such inferior MSS. as Bodl. Hatton & Rawl. Poet. 149:

And if þou take a wif
And life in disese and langour al þi lif

Cp. Cambr. Fitzw. MacLean 181, f. 104 (formerly Ashburnham 127):

And yf þ[u] take to the a wyfe
And lyfe in langour al thi lyfe

3) It is pretty clear from the context that Chaucer deleted the unfinished couplet himself, though the scribes must have failed to perceive the cancelling marks: E 1296—1304 translates a passage from Theophrast, again referred to in 1307—12, while in 1305 f. Chaucer had started a new argument only to drop it at once (correctly explained by Tyrwhitt in his note on the passage, but misunderstood by Skeat V. 355).

4) See *Specimens* II & III, Koch's Tc[1]- & Co-groups.

5) For their close connection see Koch pp. 274 ff. & 294; it is

has been investigated by Koch; it offers a still further debased text, represented in print by the Petworth MS. [1]) That these two groups really go back to one ancestor and form one group only, representing a single badly executed copy of the original, is clearly proved by the great number of erroneous readings in which the MSS. agree.[2]) This group I would term the *Oxford* group, as most of its representatives are found here, while the subdivisions would be the *Corpus* and *Bodley* subgroups; the other MSS. which on the whole are much better textual authorities I should call the *All England* tradition. But in spite of their poor text the three typical representatives of the Oxford group sometimes join in readings which are actually superior to those of the All England tradition and must be considered authoritative. Such cases are B 2025, where only the Oxford members have the full form *ffor now I wole ȝou roune,* while other MSS. omit the two first words [3]) — B 3622, where the All England representatives spoil the metre by repeating *fader*[4]) — B 4612, where the same MSS. commit the error of making the fox bring

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clearly indicated by the frequent omissions (often combined with spurious insertions) in *Melibeus* and elsewhere. — Sloane 1686 joins them in several omissions and in inserting two spurious lines after C 487 & 488 (cf. all the MSS. in *Specimens* III).

1) See Koch *Specimens* IV, espec. p. xlv — his Pe-group (VII).

2) Cf. Koch p. 7. — On account of the worthlessness of the group I have generally not troubled to collate the unprinted MSS. belonging to it, but rely on the evidence gathered by Zupitza and Koch (from 26 MSS. of the Pardoner's Tale) and an independent collation of the printed authorities. These are firmly united by such variants as *expert* in B 4 (the other branch *ystert,* first rejected by Koch (p. 49), but correctly accepted in his ed.), and *loke* in D 941 (the other branch has *kike* (best) or *like);* cf. the superfluous insertion *and langle* in G 1397 and the suppression of the correct reading *lyne* in I 2.

3) Thus El. He. Gg.; Dd. Eg.[1]; Ha.[1] Ad.[3] (Ha.[2] is defective here and the two contaminated MSS. Ad.[1] & Eg.[2] join Co. La. Pe.).

4) El. He. (Gg. defective); Dd. Eg.[1]; Ad.[3] (Ha.[2] def.). Co. La. Pe., supported by Sloane 1685 and the contaminated MSS. Ad.[1], Eg.[2], & Ha.[1], have *fader* once only.

Chauntecleer *in to* instead of *out of þe ȝerd*[1]) — B 368, where the Oxford members insert a metrically necessary *maner*[2]) — and I 794, where they have five words not in the other MSS.[3])

Other independent Oxford readings cannot however be accepted in the face of the united All England evidence;[4]) thus almost all the links peculiar to the Oxford group are proved to be spurious already by the fact that they occur in a few MSS. only, at most in a single subgroup.[5]) Besides internal evidence goes strongly against them, as in the case of this unique specimen,

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1) Thus Co. La. Pe., supported by Harl. 1758 & Ha.[1] — Ad.[1] & Eg.[2] read *onto this yerd.*

2) Omitted by El. He.; Dd. Eg.[1] Ha.[2] & Ad.[3] (Ad.[1] & Eg.[2] support Co. La. Pe.). Gg reads *of þese* instead of *maner* (Ha.[1]: *at þy).*

3) Selden (for Co.) La. Pe. & Ha.[1]: *whiles thei haunten that craffte* — omitted by El. Gg. Christchurch (for He.); Eg.[1] (for Dd.), Ad.[1] (Ha.[2] & Ad.[3] def.). — See also Koch p. 273.

4) Miss Hammond bases important conclusions on the reading *þe tale of Melibe* (B 3079), found mostly in Oxford MSS. (Co. La. Sloane 1686, Harl. 7333, Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 3, Mm. 2. 5. MacLean 181, Christchurch, & Coll. Phys.; Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Harl. 1758, Sl. 1685 have *þis),* taking it to be an authentic early version, for which Chaucer later substituted *my tale of M.* (p. 258). Though this view is accepted by Wells (p. 708), it is almost certainly mistaken as well as her general attempt (pp. 165 ff. & 241 ff., cf. p. 113 & *Phil.* 3.159 ff.) to classify the MSS., not according to textual variants, but to their arrangements of the tales and links (in this she follows the precedent of Bradshaw *Coll. Papers,* p. 102 ff.; but see already Furnivall, *Queries* 1868. II. 152).

5) In three MSS. of the Bodley subgroup, Barlow 20, Laud 739, & Roy. 18. C. II, there is a link connecting the Merchant and the Wife of Bath (cf. Skeat III. 446 & Hammond p. 297); 1. 7 f. (imitated from B 1629 f.) occur again, slightly changed, as 1. 5 f. in a link between the Chanon's Yeoman and the Doctor, found in several members of this subgroup. viz. the three mentioned above, Hatton, Rawl. poet. 149, Seld. B. 14, Cambr. Mm. 2. 5, Roy. 17. D. XV, Sloane 1685, Petworth (Hammond p. 294) and the Delamere MS. (cf. Furnivall, *Queries* 1872, I. 353 f.), to which may be added Eg. 2863, MacLean 181, & Coll. Phys. (Skeat prints it (III. 434) from Thynne). The same MSS. plus Harl. 1758 & Cambr. Ii. 3. 26, but without Selden & Roy. 17 (cf. the authorities in Hammond p. 284, to which I add MacLean 181) have a Shipman's Pro-

connecting the tales of the Nun's Priest and the Manciple in a MS. at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (not printed before): [1])

The prolog of þe mauncypul.

Wote ye not wher ys a toun
That me calleth bob up and doun
There our oste spake now lete se wt þe best
Who schal tell as meryly as hath þe preste
Comme ner mauncypull and tell a tale her
Alle redy oste quoth he with gode cher
But hawe me excused ful sympully y Rim
And with a glad cher his tale he bygan.

There is, however, one case in which practically all MSS. of the Oxford group show an important link, missing in the All England tradition: the Man of Law's Epilogue, B 1163—90. [2]) Its authenticity can hardly be doubted; the unanimous consent on the part of the Oxford members is strongly in favour of its

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logue, printed by Furnivall from 9 MSS. in the Six-Text as Specimen II of the *Chief Moveable Prologues* in the *C. T.*

1) MacLean 181, f. 263 (sec. half of the XV cent.). It rather looks as if the scribe had arbitrarily shortened the real prologue of the Manciple, finding it too long (in the same way he omits B 2023—77 & 2093—2108, evidently sharing the host's opinion of *rym dogerel).* — The Lansdowne MS. has a very complete set of independent spurious links (cf. Wright pp. 51, 67, 113, 133, 141), and there are some additions to the *Tales,* unique in more than one respect, in Harl. 1758 (see Six-Text p. 474 f., also in the old prints, cf. Tyrwhitt's note on ver. 10227) and in the Delamere MS. (see the Ch. Soc. print of Cambr. Dd. p. VI.[1]).

2) Printed from 23 MSS. as Specimen I of the *Chief Moveable Prologues* (Six-Text). Add to these Eg. 2863, MacLean 181, Phys., and the Glasgow and Delamere MSS.; also the eds. by Caxton and Thynne (Hammond, *Phil.* 3. 159 ff.) and *probably* the Northumberland and New College MSS. as well.

genuineness, which is also supported by internal evidence. The most significant lines are the concluding ones:[1])

B 1174 "How goode men", quod oure host, "herkeneþ me!
Abydep for goddes digne passioun!
For we schal han a predicacioun;
This lollere heer wil prechen vs som what."
"*Nay, by my fader soule! þat schal he nat,*"
B 1179 *Seyde þe Esquier,* "heer schal he nat preche,
He schal no gospel glosen here ne teche!
We leuen alle in þe grete god," quod he,
"He wolde sowen som difficulte
Or springen Cokkel in oure clene corn,
And þerfore, oost, I warne þe biforn.
My Ioly body schal a tale telle,
And I schal clynken ȝou so mery a belle,
That I schal waken al þis compaignie.
But it schal not ben of philosophie,
Ne Phislyas, ne termes queinte of lawe,
B 1190 Ther is but litel latyn in my mawe.

Now it is practically impossible that Chaucer should have made the squire, be he never so jolly, swear by the soul of his father who was very much present among the *compaignie.*[2]) As a matter of fact two Oxford MSS., Rawl. Poet. 223 (Misc. 1133) & Royal 17. D. XV, as well as Harl. 7334 & Coll. Phys. — the only two MSS. where the link occurs outside the Oxford tradition — read *Sompnour* instead of *Esquier* in B. 1179, while another — contaminated — Oxford MS., Selden B. 14, reads *Shipman* and actually uses the link to connect the Man of Law's Tale with that of the Shipman, two tales otherwise never combined. Though Selden B. 14 is a very indifferent authority its evidence was long

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1) Here from Koch's ed. p. 111, based on the Corpus MS.

2) Cf. Koch *The Chronology of Chaucer's Writings* (Ch. Soc. 1890) p. 57. Yet Bradshaw thought that Chaucer's first intention was to make a tale by the Squire follow here *(Coll. Papers,* p. 115).

accepted as offering the one real solution of the difficulty, but this view is now recognized as untenable, and the significance of the link in the scheme of the *Tales* is at present not at all clear. [1] However, the absurdity of giving the speech to the Squire is so palpable that the scribe of the Oxford ancestor must surely have imagined to find pretty strong authority in the original for such an extraordinary reading. Now observe that while there was at first only one Yeoman among the pilgrims, the Squire's servant, Chaucer later added a Canon and another Yeoman. [2] If, then, Chaucer had originally put the first Yeoman into the Epilogue in question — and indeed he is the only one of those left without a tale whom the speech obviously fits — nothing would have been more natural than writing *Esquier* above the *Yeoman* in B 1179 to distinguish him from the new member of the company. [3] The Oxford scribe thought this a correction and accordingly introduced the wrong name. This theory gains much in probability when it is remembered that in his MS. Chaucer must in the immediate neighbourhood of the Epilogue have placed a copy of a story which he wanted to work into his *Tales*, the old Robin Hood rhyme of *Gamelyn*, evidently intended for no

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[1] Skeat first acquiesced in the Selden arrangement (III. 417 ff., cf. *Rev.* 5. 430 ff.), but later he saw the futility of it *(The Evolution of the C. T.* p. 12 f., and *The Eight Text Ed.* pp. 19 f. & 29 f.); thus Koch too (p. 234, but see *Chronology* p. 58), cf. Hammond p. 277 f. — The reading *Sompnour* is defended — though rather halfheartedly — by ten Brink (II. 166 & 620), Hammond *(Phil.* 3. 163), and Tatlock, *Harl. 7334* pp. 22^2 & 25; but this is evidently a mere secondary guess, as proved by the fact that three of the four MSS. actually have the Squire's Tale following, while the Summoner's Tale does not follow in the fourth (Harl. 7334) either.

[2] Kittredge's contention *(Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* 2. ser. vol. 30, p. 87 ff., cf. Emerson in *Quart.* 2. 94 ff.) that Chaucer did not introduce these persons as an afterthought, but that they were in his mind from the first, is not convincing.

[3] This was probably not done by Chaucer himself, but by his literary executor, who prepared the *Tales* for publication after the poet's death. Cf. below.

other person than the Yeoman.[1]) However, he never carried out his intention, and after his death his MS. remained with a Yeoman's Prologue, promising a tale which had not been written, but for which material had been collected and inserted. Both prologue and "copy" were omitted as irrelevant by the All England scribes,[2]) while their real significance was misunderstood by the Oxford scribe who took *Gamelyn* for Chaucer's own work and copied it as the Cook's second story, *before* the tale of the Man of Law, instead of after it.[3])

Now in the All England MSS., after the Man of Law's Tale, the Tales of the Wife of Bath, the Friar, and the Summoner follow, all three being linked together; then come the tales of the Clerk, the Merchant, the Squire, and the Franklin, all linked up too. But in most Oxford representatives the Tale of the Man of Law is followed by those of the Squire and the Merchant.[4]) While the

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1) It is found in most Oxford members of both subgroups besides in some All England representatives, especially Harl. 7334 (cf. about the London group below); in Christchurch 152 it seems to have been introduced later by the scribe (ff. 58 b—71 b), and in Eg. 2726 a XVII. cent. copy is inserted (ff. 56—63) from Laud 600 (see Furnivall, *Queries* 1868. II. 248; cf. *Athen.* 1868. II. 248). Add to the MSS. noticed by Hammond p. 425 Eg. 2863, MacLean 181, Rawl. Poet. 149, Hatton, & the Delamere MS. The Tale is certainly older than Chaucer (see F. Lindner in *Engl. Stud.* 2. 94 ff. & 321 ff., & 9. 111 ff., cf. Zupitza in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 21. 69 ff. & Wells p. 25 ff), but its appropriateness to the Yeoman was already recognized in Thomas' *Preface* to Urry's ed. (1721); cf. Skeat III. 380 f., 399 ff., and his sep. ed. 1884, p. xiv f.; ten Brink II. 196; Wells p. 676.

2) Cf. *Athen.* 1868. II. 248. Though Skeat *(The Evolution of the Cant. Tales,* Ch. Soc. 1907, p. 26) and Koch (see the note in his ed. p. 111) think that the link was rejected by Chaucer himself, there is not the slightest evidence for this view.

3) This is the position of *Gamelyn* in all MSS., except Rawl. Poet. 149, where there is no Cook's Tale (cf. Hammond p. 186). Roy. 17. D. XV. has a very characteristic heading: *Her Endeth o tale of the cooke ⁊ her folowyth a nother tale of the same cooke* (cf. also Ward's *Cat. of Romances* I. 508—15, and Skeat's sep. ed. p. xv f.).

4) Practically all MSS. showing the Man of Law's Epilogue (i. e. all those noted by Hammond p. 171 f. as her group IV (Skeat's C &

first move is easy to understand in the circumstances described above, the second can only be explained on the supposition that in the MS. copied by the Oxford ancestor the Merchant's Tale had accidentally gone astray and got in *after* the Squire's Tale instead of before it.[1]) The MS. would then have looked like this: Clerk's Prol. & Tale — Squire's Tale & Epil. — Merchant's Prol., Tale & Epil. — Franklin's Tale. The transcriber of the Oxford ancestor now moved up the Squire's Tale in accordance with his reading in the Man of Law's Epilogue, which changed the link into a Squire's Prologue; then he used the Squire's Epilogue to join on the Merchant's Tale, altering the reading *frankeleyn* into *merchaunt.*[2]) The Merchant's Prologue he cut out completely,

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D types, IV. xxiii) have this arrangement. The only real exception is a subdivision within the Corpus subgroup, MSS. Corpus, Lansd., & Sl. 1686, in which the Squire's Tale alone follows the Epilogue; then after Wife, Friar, & Summoner (with links) we have the Clerk, Merchant, & Franklin, all totally devoid of any prologues and epilogues and wanting the end of the Merch. Tale (from E 2318). This must probably be explained through contamination (see for the textual contact between the two chief groups Koch pp. 50, 53, 68 ff., 89 ff., 98 ff., 152 f.): the common ancestor of the subdivision followed an Oxford MS. in the Squire's Prol. & Tale, and an All England MS. in the Clerk, Merchant, & Franklin, omitting the links, however, because he did not know what to do with the rather contradictory evidence. — But to Miss Hammond this group (her IV b, Skeat's C-type) gives evidence as to the oldest state of the *Tales,* when Chaucer had not written the links here (cf. pp. 249 f., 257 & 310 f.; note that this is the old opinion of Bradshaw, who thought Clerk, Merchant, Squire, Franklin four independent fragments *(Collected Papers,* p. 122 ff.)). To argue thus from a single fraction within a subgroup of the worst branch of the whole textual tradition is, however, scarcely convincing (the numbering of the tales in Cambr. Mm. 2. 5, which suits the Corpus sequence (Hammond p. 246 f.) is of course only evidence of more contamination, as Skeat says in *The Eight Text Ed.* p. 61).

[1]) Note a similar dislocation of the tales of Shipman and Prioress in the Petworth MS. (cf. Hammond p. 200) — The transposition of E 1195—1200 won't explain the move, as Furnivall thinks p. 28[2].

[2]) Thus the contaminated Hengwrt MS., Petworth and 11 other Oxford MSS. (see Spec. III of the *Chief Moveable Prologues* in the

leaving the tales of the Clerk and Franklin to be connected by means of the Merchant's Epilogue.[1]) This combination was afterwards effected in various ways by later scribes.[2])

At the end of the Clerk's Tale some Oxford members and many All England representatives have a stanza giving the Host's comments on the story of Grisildis.[3]) It is usually explained as Chaucer's first attempt at composing a Clerk-Merchant link, later rejected in favour of the present Merchant's Prologue; but it is

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Six-Text ed.); add to these the Delamere MS., Eg. 2863, & Mac Lean 181. — In F 699, where *quod the frankeleyn* occurs in rhyme, these MSS. have *quod þe marchaunte certeine* (thus also Coll. Phys. f. 110, which through contamination brings the genuine Merch. Prol. on f. 245, preceding Shipman).

1) A few MSS. move up the Franklin's Tale behind that of the Merchant, tacking it on by means of the Merch. Epil. (Hatton & Cambr. Ii. 3. 26) or the so-called Host stanza + the Squire's Prol. (MacLean 181, f. 118). — Skeat tried to combine the various stages of corruption, noticed here, into an authoritative scheme of five successive editions of the *Tales,* represented by [1]) Hengwrt, [2]) Petworth, [3]) Corpus & Lansd., [4]) Harl. 7334, [5]) Ellesmere & Cambr. Gg & Dd *(The Evolution of the Cant. Tales & The Eight Text Ed. of the C. T.,* Ch. Soc. 1907 & 1909). But it is impossible to accept the corrupt Oxford readings as authoritative early variants as he does (see e. g. *Evolution* p. 32 f. and cf. the reviews by Koch *Engl. Stud.* 41. 127 ff., and Macaulay *Rev.* 5. 246 ff.).

2) Cf. Spec. IV of the *Chief Moveable Prologues* (Six-Text), and Hammond pp. 302 f. & 310 f. See about the Caxton eds. Hammond *Phil.* 3. 159 ff., and ab. Thynne Skeat's reprint p. xxviii, cf. his *Evolution of the C. T.* p. 31 f. and App. A to Tyrwhitt's *Preface.* In this way the last eight lines of the Merchant-Squire link were lost, and only restored to the text by Tyrwhitt (see his *Introd. Disc.* § xxiii), who printed them as a separate Prologue, as has been done ever since (cf. Skeat III. 462) — except by Koch.

3) See about its occurrence Tatlock *Harl. 7334,* p. 23^1. — It is present in both Oxford subgroups, viz. in New. Coll., Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 15, & Harl. 7333 (Corpus subgroup), and in Barlow, Harl. 1758, & Roy. 18. C. II. (Bodley subgroup); this makes Koch's theory of its presence here being due to contamination rather improbable (p. 18, cf. *Festschrift zu Schipper* p. 246 f.).

difficult to understand why, then, so many scribes independently copied both links. Another objection is that the stanza is not suited to the present text, because it destroys the effect of the repetition by which the Merchant's Prologue is joined to Chaucer's Envoy concluding the Clerk's Tale.[1]) In my opinion however, the break caused by the jocular words of the Host makes the Merchant's exclamation all the more effective. It certainly seems as if the light, humorous touch of the stanza was due to Chaucer's definite wish for artistic relief from the savage attacks on women in the Envoy and the Merchant's Prologue;[2]) the whole passage ought then to be printed like this:[3])

"If thou be fair, ther folk been in presence
Shewe thou thy visage and thyn apparaille;
If thou be foul, be fre of thy dispence;
To gete thee freendes ay do thy travaille;
Be ay of chiere as light as leef on lynde,
And lat hym care and wepe and wryng and waille!

This worthy clerk whan ended was his tale
Oure hooste seyde and swoor by goddes bones:
"Me were leuere than a barel ale
My wyf at hom had herd this legend ones!
This is a gentil tale for the nones!
As to my purpos: wiste ye my wille —
But thyng that wol nat be lat it be stille!"

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[1]) Thus Furnivall who thought that the Envoy and the preceding stanzas (E 1163—1212) were an afterthought on Chaucer's part, added later than the Host stanza (p. 27 f., cf. Six-Text p. 477). This was first accepted by Skeat (IV. 424), who, however, later rightly objects that it cannot be inferred from the present position of the stanza (*The Evolution of the C. T.* pp. 8 & 26; *The Eight Text Ed.* p. 25). But Hammond follows Furnivall (p. 257).

[2]) Furnivall seems to have had a similar impression (p. 28). — Of course the undoubted connection between this stanza and the Monk's Prologue (see Tyrwhitt's note to ver. 9088, cf. Wells pp. 708 f. & 728 ff.) is no obstacle to this view; Chaucer's tendency to repeat himself is wellknown (cf. Hammond p. 252 f.).

[3]) E 1207—12 a, 1212 b—h, 1213—16; Ellesmere text, own punctuation.

"Wepyng and waylyng, care and other sorwe
I knowe ynogh on euen and a-morwe",
Quod the Merchant, "and so doon othere mo
That wedded been! I trowe that it be so!"

From this it would appear that the stanza was from the first intended by Chaucer for its present place; accordingly it cannot be regarded as a special textual peculiarity of the All England tradition, even if it were not found in several Oxford MSS. The same observation also applies to another point in the text of the *Tales,* the position of four of the Monk's *Tragedies,* dealing with events more or less contemporary: the deaths of the two Pedroes, of Visconte, and of Ugolino. These stanzas occur in the Oxford MSS. in the middle of the *Tragedies,* between Zenobia and Nero, but in the All England authorities they stand at the end, after Croesus. [1]) The last arrangement is generally considered to be wrong for a similar reason as above, seeing that in the Monk's Epilogue the Host alludes to the last stanza of Croesus. The All England order is accordingly regarded as the earlier, while the Oxford arrangement is taken to be the later, revised scheme. [2])

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1) Thus 22 Oxford MSS. (the number given by Tatlock p. 171 *less* Cambr. Dd where they stand last, though the Ch. Soc. reprint has them in the middle (but cf. pp. xi & 501), and the contaminated Harl. 7334, but *plus* Eg. 2863 & MacLean 181), and 10 All England representatives (deduce the contaminated Phys., Seld, & Linc. MSS. from Tatlock's total, but add Eg. 2726, Ad. 35286, & Camb. Dd). They occur in *both* positions in Harl. 7333 (Tatlock *ib.)* and in the Delamere MS. (cf. Furnivall, *Queries* 1872, I. 353 f.). About the Caxton eds. see Hammond, *Phil.* 3. 167 f.

2) Cf. Furnivall (after Bradshaw) p. 24 f., Skeat III. 429 & *The Evolution of the C. T.* pp. 8, 21, 29. Hammond has noticed (p. 241 ff.) that most MSS. of the Corpus subgroup and a few Bodley members omit twenty lines of the Monk's Epilogue, B 3961—80, while altering B 3981; this she thinks a genuine early state of the link, later revised and added to by Chaucer (cf. Skeat *Evolution* p. 35, *Eight Text Ed.* p. 22, and Wells p. 710 f.). But there is very poor MS. authority for this view, and besides it would involve the attribution of the boisterous lines B 3981—95, which are eminently well suited for the rude Host, to the courteous Knight —

However, the whole episode certainly becomes much more lifelike and drastic, if after the direct interruption by the Knight the Host, evidently a somewhat drowsy listener, is made to remember a stanza spoken a little earlier, rather than the Monk's very last utterance.[1]) Further, there was no reason for the All England scribes to move down the lines, but the Oxford copyist might as well as as any modern editor have fancied that attention ought to be drawn to the correspondence between the last stanza of Croesus and the beginning of the Epilogue, and so have moved up the intervening stanzas.[2]) Consequently there is no reason to go against the strong textual authority of the All England tradition; the four contemporary tragedies must stand last.[3])

The last two cases are typical of the contrast between the two great branches of the textual tradition, Oxford v. All England. That the latter branch derives mainly from a single copy of the original is indicated by a few passages where it is wrong and the Oxford group is right, such as the five instances given above. But the All England representatives also show influences from independent copies of the poet's MS., which divide the authorities into three groups, as suggested by the variants of E 1905 f., already noticed. The first of these groups is chiefly represented by the Ellesmere MS., supported by Hengwrt and to some extent by Cambr. Gg. 4. 27.[4]) The Hengwrt MS. (in Wales)

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practically an artistic impossibility (note the delicacy of touch in the Knight's speech B 3957—69). Surely the omission was an accidental one, probably originating in the ancestor of the Corpus subgroup; this seems also to have been the opinion of Furnivall (cf. Six-Text) and Koch (p. 98).

1) See B 3984 ff. — of course this point was made long ago by Tyrwhitt (cf. his note on ver. 14685).

2) It has been asserted (see e. g. Tatlock p. 171 f.), that the scribes might have shifted the lines to make the order chronological, but then they ought to have shifted many more tragedies. Anyhow they could not reasonably have made this their object in view of the Monk's utterances in B 3174 ff.

3) Thus also Tyrwhitt and Koch (cf. *Engl. Stud.* 41. 135[1] & 47. 391 f.).

4) Koch's E-subgroup (*P. T.* p. xxxvi f.), cf. pp. 29—34 & 420. Coll. Phys. joins this group in some readings.

is early and fairly well executed;[1]) its text is closely connected with that of Ellesmere but also shows contamination with the Oxford group.[2]) Where it agrees with Ellesmere the common readings are often noteworthy, as in D 1375—80:

> And so bifel that ones on a day
> This Somnour — euere waityng on his pray
> ffor to somne an old wydwe, a Ribibe,
> ffeynynge a cause, for he wolde brybe —
> Happed that he saugh bifore hym ryde
> A gay yeman vnder a fforest syde.

This is much better than the various versions of the other MSS., which insert *Wente* or *Rod* at the head of D 1377, and *And* at the head of 1379.[3]) But Hengwrt's isolated readings give no evidence of its being partially derived from an independent ancestor, as is sometimes suggested,[4]) and this deprives its special addition to the Prologue, A 252 b-c, of any authority; also the lines are rather awkwardly inserted, in the middle of a sentence:[5])

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1) See Furnivall p. 50; cf. reprod. of f. 204 in the Ch. Soc. *Autotype Specimens*. Some amusing instances of the way in which early English Protestants read Chaucer are found in this MS.; in B 234, G 305, 350, & 517 the word *pope* has been struck out and replaced by *byshop* (cf. also G 217 and see Koch p. 149).

2) Koch pp. 61—8 & 138—41, cf. *Engl. Stud.* 41. 133, and note such instances as the omission of 6 words in B 2726 (in Heng. & Co. La. Pe. Ha.) and the transposition of I 470 (after 474 in Heng. & La. Pe., after 471 in Selden (for Co.)).

3) Koch p. 69. But note that Eg.[1] reads like El. He. (though it has the same corrupt conclusion of D 1377 as Dd.: *an old wyf horrible)*. All editors, however, accept the other readings, though they are only scribal attempts to solve an imagined difficulty, *Happed* being understood as an intransitive instead of a transitive verb.

4) Cf. Skeat *The Evolution of the C. T.* p. 34, and Hinckley *Notes on Chaucer*, p. 259; but see Koch pp. 143—9. — It is, however, the best All England MS. after Ellesmere, and as the latter is partially derived from an independent source, Hengwrt may in a way be considered the purest All England representative — in spite of its Oxford contamination.

5) See Furnivall p. 50 f. and the note in *Globe Ch.* p. 4 (Pollard thinks they are genuine, but omitted by Chaucer himself). Koch

He was the beste beggere in his hous,
And yaf a certain ferme for the graunt;
Noon of his brethren cam ther in his haunt
For thogh a wydwe hadde noght a sho,
So plesaunt was his *In principio,*
Yet wolde he haue a ferthyng er he wente.

The well-known and early MS. Gg. 4.27 at the University Library, Cambridge, includes in its collection of Chaucer's Works a copy of the *Tales* (ff. 132—443), beautifully executed, but with a peculiar orthography,[1]) and with a text which it is not easy to classify. It is closely connected with Ellesmere, especially in the Parson's Tale, through such obvious errors as *Daniel* for *Dauid* (I 955),[2]) *temptacion* for *damnacion* (I 968), and *vertues* for *vices* (I 1047),[3]) but it also appears to be strongly contaminated with the Oxford group.[4]) It has an imposing list of independent sins of omission and commission,[5]) so that its own additions in the

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rejects them (p. 149, cf. his ed.), but Tatlock accepts them, quoting them from a few other MSS. of no special value *(Harl. 7334,* p. 23[1]). They are found in Thynne, Speght, Urry, Morell, Tyrwhitt (cf. Skeat V. 27 f.). Note Flügel's explanation of them in *Anglia* 23. 233 ff. — Cf. also the variant *mountayne in* D 1887, only found in this MS., and accepted by Skeat and Koch, though the ordinary reading *mount* will really do as well.

1) See Furnivall p. 51 ff.; Hammond p. 189, and Wild p. 14 ff. Skeat's theory, that it was written by a "Norman" scribe, is not very satisfactory *(Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1899—1902, p. 439 ff.).

2) Skeat, however, thinks *Daniel* a reading rejected by Chaucer himself (VI. 408).

3) Note also the common omissions in I 894 & 1053, and cf. Koch pp. 83—9.

4) Connection with Petworth is proved by the omissions in B 2398, 2430 f., 2432, 2694, and by the readings in D 1176 *(leuyn)* & E 209 (ȝ'yng); with Corp. & Lansd. by the omission in B 2475 ff., the transposition of C 679 f., and the readings in E 120 *(thouȝt)* & 625 *(heuye)*. See also Koch pp. 157—62.

5) Note especially the spurious insertions in A 563 & 2060, and after F 1109; cf. also Koch's account of its *isolated readings* p. 165 ff. (thirty pages!).

Parson's Tale can scarcely lay claim to any authority.[1]) When, on the other hand, it joins Ellesmere the two exhibit some unique and very good readings, as in D 1191, where they alone have the reading "Verray *pouerte it syngeth* proprely",[2]) — and in F 455, where they read *love*, while all other MSS. have the meaningless *Ire*.[3]) The good readings in Cambr. Gg are thus evidently due to the common All England tradition[4]) — like those in Hengwrt — and not to any independent source of its own.[5])

The famous Ellesmere MS.[6]) also represents this joint tradition, but besides it has a good many traces of independent origin, and especially several unique passages, such as A 3721 f.:

> And vnto Nicholas she seyde stille:
> "Now hust! and thou shalt laughen al thy fille".

The couplet is not found outside Ellesmere;[7]) probably it was added by Chaucer in the margin of his MS., and on that account was missed by most of the scribes. This happened at any rate to

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1) See I 273, 511 (repeated from 512!), 654, & 700; cf. Koch p. 196.
2) This is proved right by the source, Juvenal *Sat.* X. 21 f. *(Cantabit* &c.), quoted in the margin (cf. Koch p. 85, Skeat V. 320 f., Lowes in *Phil.* 13. 26). Other MSS. read *pouerte is synne* (Co. La.; Eg.[1]; Ha.[1], Ad.[3]; Pe. *(signe)*) or *synne pouerte is* (Dd.; Ad.[1] & Eg.[2] *(is povert)*).
3) Thus Co. La. Pe.; He.; Dd. Eg.[1]; Ad.[1] Eg.[2]; Ha.[1], Ha.[2], Ad.[3]. But see F 450 (Koch p. 86).
4) And in some instances to contamination with Ellesmere.
5) Zupitza's collation of the Pard. Tale in *Specimens* pt. III, p. iii f. prove Gg to be connected with Bodl. 686 & Phill. 6570 (of which at any rate the former seems to be a contaminated Ellesmere relative — like Ad. 25718), but they do not prove it to form an independent group, as indicated on the MS. pedigrees *Spec.* IV. p. xlvi f.; cf. Koch p. 89 (his Gg-group, *P. T.* p. xxxx f.).
6) First described by Todd *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer,* 1810, p. 128 ff.; printed complete by the Ch. Soc. 1868 ff. (a goodly number of corrections given by Flügel, *Anglia* 30. 401 ff.). Issued in facsimile 1911.
7) It is not in Cambr. Gg, as Skeat says *(Evolution of the C. T.* p. 34 f.). Tyrwhitt did not know it, though it is in Thynne's ed. (see Skeat's reprint, 1905, p. xxvii).

another couplet, as is perfectly clear from the circumstances under which it occurs in the Ellesmere MS.

In all other MSS. the long — too long — catalogue of noble and unfortunate wives in the Franklins Tale stops with Teuta (F 1453 f.). But Ellesmere adds two lines more, F 1455 f.:

> The same thyng I seye of Bilyea,
> Of Rodogone, and eek Valeria.

And the couplet is — as is almost every couplet of the whole *Compleynt of Dorigene ayeynes ffortune,* the title of F 1355 ff. in Ellesmere — accompanied by a Latin note in the margin:

Memorandum Strato regulus. Vidi & omnes pene Barbares capitulo. XXVI.° primi. Item Cornelia &c. Imitentur ergo nupte Theanam / Cleobiliam / Gorgun / Thymodiam / Claudias atque Cornelias / in fine libri primi.

Singulas has historias & plures hanc materiam concernentes recitat beatus Ieronimus contra Iouinianum in primo suo libro capitulo. 39°.

These notes are evidently due to Chaucer himself [1]) and must have been jotted down in his draft as a memorandum that more lines were to be added;[2]) however, the ambitious continuation planned here was finally limited to the one meagre couplet F 1455 f.[3]) Elsewhere in the Franklin's Tale there is another pas-

[1]) They are also in He. Dd. Ad[3].

[2]) There is a similar case in the Wife of Bath's Tale, only here no lines were actually added. At D 1200, in the middle of the Wife's long harangue on Poverty, we read in the margin of El.: *Vnde & Crates ille Thebanus proiecto in mari non perno [paruo] auri pondere Abite inquit pessime male cupiditates ego vos mergam ne ipse mergar a vobis.* This is from *Hieronymus adversus Jovinianum* II. 9, and Chaucer may have intended to insert it after D 1199 f.:

> Pouerte is this, al-though it seme alenge,
> Possession that no wight wol chalenge.
> *Lo, Crates threw his good into the se,*
> *That he ne sholde of it y-swolwed be.*

Observe also the strange note to I 959 in El.: *Memorandum mors intrauit per fenestras.*

[3]) The three stories mentioned here are in Jerome, as Chaucer says (cf. Skeat V. 398 f.).

sage, which clearly reads as an afterthought. When Arveragus has permitted Dorigen to keep her rash promise six lines are added in the Ellesmere MS. only, F 2493—8:[1])

> Parauentuere an heepe of yow ywis
> Wol holden hym a lewed man in this
> That he wol putte his wyf in Iupartie?
> Herkneth the tale er ye vp on hire crie!
> She may haue bettre ffortune than yow semeth —
> And whan þat ye han herd the tale, demeth.

This has quite the character of a later addition, made by Chaucer to keep ud the fiction of a story *told* to the pilgrims, and perhaps also inserted for personal reasons, to enable the poet to make a hit when reading aloud.[2])

Of course it is theoretically possible to maintain that all these independent features of the Ellesmere volume are unauthentic and were introduced by its particular scribe,[3]) but when an authority as good as this MS. has isolated readings of admitted excellence, which there was no reason for any scribe to insert, the textual critic has no choice but to accept them.[4]) Nevertheless it is inevitable

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1) These are in Caxton's sec. ed., while F 1455 f. are in Thynne. Tyrwhitt did not accept either passage (see his notes on ver. 11766 & 11802). Outside Ellesmere they occur in one MS. only, Ad. 35286 (cf. Tatlock *Harl. 7334,* p. 23[1]), and this is closely contaminated with El. (or its ancestor), as appears from its having all the marginal notes of El. (also those of the Frankl. T.), sharing even such a peculiar heading as that of D 2243 ff. *The wordes of the lordes Squier and his keruere for departynge of the fart on twelue.* Note also the omission of G 564 f. in these two MSS. only.

2) Cf. the concluding lines, F 1621—4:

> Lordynges, this question thanne wolde I aske now:
> Which was the mooste fre, as thynketh yow?
> Now telleth me er that ye ferther wende;
> I kan namoore, my tale is at an ende.

Of course Chaucer got a hint for them from Boccaccio's *Filocolo* (libro IV, quest. 4; cf. Tyrwhitt's note on ver. 11926, Skeat V. 400, Landau *Quellen des Dekameron* 2. ed. p. 94, Rajna in *Romania* 32. 242, Lowes in *Phil.* 15. 689 ff.); but the form is his own.

3) See e. g. Zupitza in *Archiv* 94. 442; cp. Imelmann in *Die Neueren Sprachen* 24. 179 f.

4) Cf. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 47. 381.

that there should be a certain number of errors in the MS., the most significant of which is its reading in D 2224: [1])

Certes it was a shrewed conclusion

All other MSS. make the lord think of the churl in this way:

"I trowe the deuil putte it in his mynde!
In Ars Metrik shal ther no man fynde
Biforn this day of swich a question:
D 2224 *Who shulde make a demonstracion*
That euery man sholde haue yliche his part
As of the soun or savour of a fart!" [2])

It is quite clear that the Ellesmere line does not go so well with the context as that of the other MSS.; [3]) no doubt it is a spurious insertion, made by the scribe because he perceived that his original had lost a line here. This would make the Ellesmere MS. at best a copy's copy of Chaucer's original, and it is probably still farther separated from this ultimate source, since it undoubtedly contains a mixed text, derived partly from that faithful piece of transcription which has given us the All England tradition, partly from an independent copy. On the other hand the Ellesmere is decidedly not a late MS.; the writing and decoration of the volume are in very early 15th cent. style, and the well-known pictures of the pilgrims show dresses from the late 14th century, so that everything points to a date very soon after Chaucer's death in 1400. [4])

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[1]) Note also *man child* for *knaue child* in E 444 (not found in any other MS), and cf. the comparatively numerous omissions, especially in the prose stories (B 2260, 2510, 2514, 2551, 2746 f.; I 122, 190, 698, 941), but also of B 3147 f., C 103 f., E 1358—61 (cf. Six-Text, App. VI); see further Koch pp. 109—25. — The omissions of such words as *greet* (B 3861) and *verray* (F 1410) in El. & Co. La. Pe. (not in He. Gg.; Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Ha.[1], Ha.[2]. Ad.[3]) show contamination on the part of the Oxford group cf. Koch p. 104 ff.).

[2]) Ellesmere text except in D 2224 (from MSS. Co. Pe. La.; He. Gg. Ad. 25718; Dd. Eg.[1], Ad.[1], Eg.[2]; Ha.[1] Ha.[2] Ad.[3]).

[3]) Nevertheless both Pollard and Koch print the Ellesmere version.

[4]) See E. Markert's diss. *Chaucer's Canterbury-Pilger und ihre Tracht* (Würzburg 1911), p. 3 f., cf. *Athen.* 1911. II. 210 f. — The fact

Moreover it is certainly the leading authority within the All England tradition, and forms practically an independent branch by itself, the *Ellesmere group.*

The leading representative of the second branch is found at the University Library of Cambridge, marked Dd. 4. 24, a fair and early MS.;[1]) accordingly I shall term this branch the *Cambridge group.*[2]) It consists of eight MSS., falling into two subgroups, one of five members the chief of which are Dd & Eg. 2726 (Haistwell), and another of three, Christchurch 152, Ad. 5140, and Eg. 2864 (Ingilby).[3]) Unfortunately the readings of the five first MSS. are sometimes rather arbitrary,[4]) while the three last are all more or less contaminated with the Oxford group,[5]) so that the division into subgroups is not very conclusive.[6]) Probably the only safe method in dealing with this group is not to adopt

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that six figures are much worse executed than the rest probably shows that the pictures were done by two persons (cf. W. H. Hooper's woodcuts for the Ch. Soc.), and not that the majority were copied from an earlier MS.

1) Beg. of XV cent., but *not* late XIV cent. as the Cat. says. The name *Wytton,* repeatedly noted in the MS., is presumably that of the scribe.

2) Group 2 above, Koch's Dd-undergroup *(P. T.* p. xxxvii ff.)

3) Cf. Zupitza *Specimens* pt. I. Koch adds MS. Hodson 39 to the first subgroup (see Sec. Suppl. to *Spec.* pt. V.) The Dd MS. has been printed entire by the Ch. Soc. 1901—2. (gaps supplied from Eg. 2726 (Eg.[1]), another early and well executed MS.).

4) See about Dd Koch pp. 210—31 and note such omissions as A 2754—57, 2779—82, B 3570, 4353—6; F 69—72 & B 2917 (with Eg.); B 2185 f., 2390, 2584 (with Eg. & Hodson); cf. the spurious insertions in E 1680 & G 1396 (with Eg.).

5) Christchurch has *Gamelyn* (f. 58 b ff); Eg. 2864 (Eg.[2]) & Ad. 5140 (Ad.[1]) (Tyrwhitt's Askew I & II, closely united i. a. by the omission B 2547—2635, a leaf having been lost in their common ancestor, cf. *Cat. of Add. to MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* 1906—10, p. 241) show the peculiar Oxford readings in the Monk's Epilogue, thought they do not omit B 3961—80 (cf. Hammond p. 242[3]). All these MSS. are late (sec. half of XV cent.; see reprod. of Christchurch and Ad. 5140 among the Ch. Soc. *Autotype Specimens).*

6) Christchurch often goes with Dd.; note especially that they both (together with the Devonshire MS.) have the (correct) reading *saffron* in C 345, where the rest of the group have *savour.*

other readings than those supported by practically all its members,[1]) except when the group is joined by the Ellesmere MS., as in the case of the important set of additions to the Wife of Bath's Prologue: D 575—84, 609—12, 619—26, 717—20.[2]) The absence of these passages both from the Oxford group and from one of the All England groups might be explained by contamination, but is more probably due to their having been jotted down by Chaucer in the margin of his MS.[3]) Their character of later additions will become evident by a glance at the context while in the case of D 609—12 & 619—26 it will also appear that these two passages are separated quite meaninglessly by the intervening lines D 613—18. This suggests the following rearrangement of the Ellesmere text:

And trewely, as myne housbondes tolde me,
D 608 I hadde the beste Quonyam myghte be:
613 Myn Ascendent was Taur and Mars ther-Inne!
Allas! allas! þat euere loue was synne!

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1) Many of the agreeements Koch finds between El. He. Gg and Dd (or Eg^1) (cf. pp. 39 ff., 75 ff., 94 ff., 125 ff.) cannot be of much value though Gg is certainly closely connected with the Cambridge group (cf. Koch pp. 149—51), as the readings *shene* (A 104), *ffrom* (B 4307), *gentyl* (F 945) are found both in Dd. $Eg.^1$ and in $Ad.^1$ & $Eg.^2$ (but *telle* (D 1792) and *cogitacioun* (G 72) are only in Dd. $Eg.^1$). Koch notes numerous agreements between Dd and the Oxford group (with which he counts $Ad.^1$, since it was used to fill gaps in Pe. & La.!), but many of these do not concern the Cambridge group as a whole (the omissions in B 2387 & 3059 are found in $Ad.^1$, which also together with $Eg.^2$ has the correct readings in A 963 *(Theseus)* and D 1950). G 1238 f., not found in El. or $Eg.^1$, are present in $Ad.^1$ & $Eg.^2$, and ought not to be excluded from the text, as Koch does (cf. *Engl. Stud.* 47. 400). And in G 814 he certainly ought to read *othre,* not *oure* as in El. Dd. $Ha.^1$ (caught from the next line).

2) All these lines are in El. Dd. $Eg.^1$ Christchurch (and in the contaminated MSS. Seld. B. 14 & Roy. 17. D. XV.). Some of them are in Cambr. Gg. & Ii, Harl. 1758, & Laud. 600. Cf. Six-Text (Koch's note p. 76 is rather misleading; at least D 609 ff. are *not* found in the margin of Harl. 7334, as he says here).

3) Cf. also Skeat, *The Eight Text Ed.* p. 23.

I folwed ay myn Inclinacion
By vertu of myn constellacion
That made me; I koude noght withdrawe
618 My chambre of Venus from a good felawe —
609 ffor, certes, I am al Venerien
In feelynge, and myn herte is Marcien:
Venus me yaf my lust, my likerousnesse,
612 And Mars yaf me my sturdy hardynesse;
619 Yet haue I Martes Mark vp-on my face
— And also in another priuee place —
ffor, god so wys be my sauacion,
I ne loued neuere by no discrecion,
But euere folwed myn appetit,
Al were he short, or long, or blak, or whit;
I took no kepe, so that he liked me,
How poore he was ne eek of what degree.

Printed like this the transition is easy from the licentious line D 608 to the obscenity of 613, while *Venerien* in 609 corresponds with *My chambre of Venus* in 618, and the remark about *Mars* in 612 is naturally continued by the mention of *Martes Marke* in 619; printed in any other way the confusion becomes extreme. [1])

For these lines the Cambridge group was evidently dependent on the common All England tradition as represented by the Ellesmere ancestor, but it may also claim a unique passage which really proves it to be partially derived from an independent copy of Chaucer's MS. This passage follows the Nun's Priest's Tale in both Cambridge subgroups, but not everywhere in the same form. In Eg. 2726, f. 173 b (supported by Dd & Christchurch) it reads like this: [2])

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1) Of course marginal additions are peculiarly apt to be copied in wrong places.

2) Cf. also Thynne's ed., the contaminated Roy. 17. D. XV, and possibly the Devonshire MS.; it is not in the Northumberland MS. (the only member of the Cambridge group without it), cf. Zupitza, *Specimens,* pt. I. p. v. — The Christchurch version is printed at

B 4637 Sire nonnes preest our hoost seid anoon
yblessed be thy breche and euery stoon
This was a mery tale of Chauntecler
But by my trouth yf þou were seculere
Thow woldest be a tredefull aright
ffor yf þou have corage as þou hast myght
The were nede of hennes as I wene
Ye mo than. VII. tymes seventene
Se which brawnes hath þis gentle preest
So grete a nek and soch a large breest
He loketh as a Sperhauke with his yien
Hym nedeth nat his colour for to dyen
With brasile ne with greyne of portyngale
Now sir faire fall you for your tale
And aftir þat he with full mery chere
B 4652 Seid vn to another as ye shull here.

But in Eg. 2864, f. 233 b (and Ad. 5140, f. 283) it has a different conclusion:

B 4651 And after that he with ful mery cheer
Seyde vn to the nunne as ye shal heer
Madame and I durste I wolde you pray
To telle a tale in fortheryng of our way
Than myhte ye do vn to vs gret ease
Gladly sir quod she so that I myht please
You & this worthi company
And began hir tale riht thus ful sobrely. [1])

This continuation is palpably spurious, concocted by some scribe to make the link join on to the following tale, that of the

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the end of the Six-Text ed., though often overlooked, e. g. by Skeat IV. 289, Koch p. 220, Hammond *Phil.* 3. 16[1] (cf. Tatlock *Harl. 7334* p. 23[1]).

[1]) The print in the Six-Text ed. p. 601 of the version in Ad. 5140 unaccountably omits the six last lines here. — Also in Hodson 39 (Koch, Sec. Suppl. *Spec.* V. p. 73 ff.).

Nun; it was already rejected by Tyrwhitt while Zupitza rejected the whole passage. However in one form or another the Epilogue occurs in all the Cambridge members (except one), and this circumstance in connection with the consideration that the first sixteen lines fulfil no useful purpose from a scribe's point of view certainly are in favour of their genuinenes. Still the last couplet, B 4651 f., has a very awkward ring, especially the grotesque phrase *unto another,* which spoils the metre and gives no sense.[1]) Presumably is was added by the scribe of the Cambridge ancestor to give a sort of conclusion to the lines, which were probably not finished by Chaucer and for that very reason omitted by the ancestors of the other groups.[2]) Then a later scribe changed *another* into *the nunne* in D 4652 and added three more couplets to make the epilogue join on to the Nun's Tale.[3]) However, with the exception of B 4652 f. the passage ought certainly to be accepted into the text.

In at least one case more the Cambridge authorities unite in offering a tempting reading of real importance. All the other groups introduce the biblical text of the Pardoner's Sermon somewhat abruptly at the very beginning of his Prologue, C 333 f. But the Cambridge group has a much more suitable order,

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[1]) Cf. Pollard's note in *Globe Ch.* p. 140. But this is no reason for suspecting the genuineness of *all* the 16 lines, and the repetition in B 4641 of B 3153 is rather an argument for than against Chaucer's authorship.

[2]) Skeat says (IV. 289) that he suspects the *three* last lines are spurious, but elsewhere he thinks all 16 lines genuine, though rejected by Chaucer himself (III. 433 & IV. xviii, cf. *The Evolution of the C. T.* p. 26, and *The Eight Text Ed.* p. 22); thus also Furnivall (*Third Report of Ch. Soc.* 1872, p. 11), and Koch (*Engl. Stud.* 47. 397). S. B. Hemingway opines (*Notes* 31. 482) that the lines were intended to introduce the Wife of Bath. — Note that the passage is not marked as a special link in the MSS. (except in Ad. 5140, where it is headed *Incipit prologus fabule secunde monialis* (f. 283)), but directly continues the Nun's Priest's Tale (cf. e. g. C 919—68).

[3]) Observe that in Christchurch & Roy. 17 D. XV, which have the 16 lines only, the Manciple's Tale follows and not the Nun's.

omitting the lines here and introducing them after C 346, where Ellesmere and the other MSS. read:

And after that thanne telle I forth my tales:
Bulles of popes and of Cardynales,
Of Patriarkes and bishoppes I shewe;
And in latyn I speke a wordes fewe
To saffron with my predicacion;
C 346 *And for to stire hem to deuocion*
Thanne shewe I forth my longe cristal stones.

Here the Dd MS. and all its fellows change C 346, inserting C 333 f. in an altered form:

C 346 a In euery village and in euery toun
b This is my Teme, and shal, and euere was:[1])
c *Radix malorum est cupiditas.*

This arrangement is much happier than the usual text and has such a genuine colour that it can hardly be due to the Cambridge scribe, who would not have any special temptation either to make such a change. Probably it was an afterthought of Chaucer's, who in this way sacrificed the ironical first line of the passage C 346 ff. in order to get an opportunity of introducing the Pardoner's theme in a really effective way.[2])

On the other hand when a reading is not supported by the whole Cambridge group, but only by a few members, it must generally be viewed with great suspicion. No authority can be claimed for the peculiar readings of Dd & Eg. 2726, neither in A 4111, 4132, 4255, where they introduce further Northern

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[1]) As to the construction cf. *Fame* 2156: *Whiche that y nat ne kan* (thus MSS. Fairf. 16 & Bodl. 638, followed by *Globe Ch. (ne wot);* Skeat prints *naught* as in Thynne, and inserts *nevene* before it — quite superfluously).

[2]) In my opinion the change is certainly authoritative, as Tyrwhitt too was inclined to think (note on ver. 12279). But Zupitza rejected it *(Spec.* I. v)., and no modern editor has accepted it.

dialectal characteristics *(fonnes, Gar vs haue, wat),*[1]) nor in several instances in the Nun's Priest's Tale.[2]) The most important is the addition of two lines after B 4060:

He fethered hir an hundred tyme a day
And she hym pleseth all þat euer she may.

But there is no reason to accept those,[3]) nor the additional line B 1995:

That to him durst ride or gon

— evidently made up by a scribe to fill an apparent gap in *Sir Thopas.*[4])

In one important case, however, an addition in Dd & Eg. is also supported by two other Cambridge MSS., Christchurch & Hodson 39.[5]) But the support is scarcely sufficient, and the six lines thus added to the Wife of Bath's Prologue (D 44b-g)

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1) But *mysgaa* in A 4255 is supported by Ad.[1] (and accepted by Koch). Cf. Tatlock, *Harl. 7334* p. 6, about a similar tendency in this MS. to emphasize Chaucer's use of Northern dialect here.

2) Cf. Koch p. 231 about the variants in B 4368, 4536, 4576 (all accepted in his text as well as that of B 4266, supported by Ad.[1]). — The omission in these two MSS. (plus some Oxford members, cf. the Six Text ed., pp. xiii—xvi) of F 671 f. is of course not authoritative either, though Tyrwhitt thought so (note on ver. 10984, where for once he makes a bad guess, cf. Skeat V. 386).

3) Cf. Tyrwhitt's note to ver. 14876 and Koch p. 219.

4) Tyrwhitt accepted it together with some lines from Speght (see his ver. 13732 ff. and his note on ver. 13722; cf. F. B. Snyder in *Phil.* 6. 133 ff., correcting the note in Skeat. V. 190). Pollard *(Globe Ch.* p. 90) also accepts it, saying surprisingly that it is found only in Harl. 7334 (where it is not, but it occurs in the contaminated MS. Roy. 17. D. XV, cf. Furnivall's *Corr. & Add.* to his *Temp. Pref.)* Skeat is doubtful about it (V. 190, cf. his *Evolution of the C. T.* p. 35), though he prints it, but Koch uncompromisingly rejects it (p. 218, cf. *Engl. Stud.* 47. 386).

5) Cf. Tatlock, *Harl. 7334,* p. 23[1]. The lines are also in some members of the Oxford group (besides the fragmentary MS. at Sion Coll.): Roy. 17. D. XV, New Coll., Seld. B. 14, Cambr. Ii. 3. 26, Trin. R. 3. 15. Note that the last four MSS. (plus Harl. 7333 & Helmingham) show the same spurious version of E 775 as Dd. Eg. (cf. Furnivall's App. VII to the Six Text).

generally occur in a very unsatisfactory form, as in Eg. 2726, f. 79 b:

> Of which I haue pikked out the best
> Both of her nether purs and of her chest
> Diuers scoles maketh *diuers* clerkes
> And diuers practyk in many *a* sonder werkes
> maketh the parfite *man* sekerly
> Of. V. husbondes scolyng am I

Christchurch reads like this,[1]) but Dd deletes the words italicized above by pricking them out, in the common medieval way, writing *parfyt* above *diuerse werkes* in l. 3, and adding *werkman* before *parfyt* in l. 5.[2]) These new readings certainly make the lines more satisfactory, but they could hardly be due to Chaucer, for then one would have to conclude that Dd *alone* had access to a better MS., for which there is no evidence.[3]) On the other hand there are several indications that Wytton, the Dd scribe, was a very independent soul who did not hesitate to correct the text, as in A 1212 ff., where other MSS. read:

> That if so were þat Arcite were yfounde
> Euere in his lyf, by day or night *or stounde,*
> In any contree of this Theseus —

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[1]) Except that it has *sondry* for *a sonder in* l. 3 and *scoleying* for *scolyng* in l. 6 (not *scoleryng,* as in Tyrwhitt, of which Skeat makes a "ghost-word", meaning "young scholar", cf. VI. 224). As to *scoleye* see A 302.

[2]) It also reads *sondry* in l. 4.

[3]) Tyrwhitt was doubtful about the lines (note on ver. 5626). Furnivall (the Dd print p. v f.) and Koch (p. 220) reject them, but Skeat (V. 292 f., cf. *The Eight Text Ed.* pp. 23 & 42) and Tatlock (p. 201[2] & *Harl. 7334,* p. 23) accept them. Observe that the hint taken from E 1427 f. is carried out in these lines at such a length that the result is not like Chaucer.

But in Dd the clever, though superfluous correction into *o stounde* is made,[1]) so Wytton may be considered quite capable of changing the six lines as above on his own responsibility..

Taken all in all I do not think it advisable to ignore the readings of the Cambridge group in cases where it is completely united, as B 4637 ff. and the re-arrangement of C 333 f. & 346. At the same time it must be admitted that the ancestor of the group is guilty of such spurious variants as B 4651 f. and perhaps even D. 44 b-g. And unfortunately this tendency continued to make itself strongly felt in almost all members of the group, so that one subgroup, Ad. 5140 & Eg. 2864 (& Hodson 39), added a spurious continuation of the Nun's Priest's Epilogue, while another (Dd & Eg. 2726) freely introduced various peculiarities into the text, especially such new lines as B 1995 & 4060 b-c. The effect of all this is to make the Cambridge group, though on the whole it contains a good text, a somewhat unreliable guide in details;[2]) it is never safe to accept its readings except after close inquiry.

The variants of E 1305 f., noticed above, indicate the existence of still another text-group, 3, one member of which long played a very important part in the textual criticism of Chaucer[3]) This is the famous Harleian MS. 7334 at the British Museum, a big and stately folio, clearly written and handsomely decorated, but executed in a rather workmanlike way, without the artistic beauty of such copies as Cambr. Gg or even Lansdowne 851.[4]) However, its text is no doubt superior to that of the latter, and in so far

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1) Both Eg.[1] & Eg.[2] have *or*, Ad.[1] has *other*. The correction into *oo* is accepted by Tyrwhitt and Pollard but rejected by Koch (in spite of his remark in *Archiv* 102. 413) and Skeat (V. 68; see however *Athen.* 1901. I. 728 & 821).

2) Note e. g. A 2370, where Dd. Ad.[1] Eg.[2] (plus Ha.[1], La.) read *rightes,* while Eg.[1] El. He. Ad.[2]; Ha.[1] Ad.[3]; Co. have the correct *rytes* (Pe.: *myghtes;* Gg.: *rygh).* — The addition of the four words *& vse hem selfe* in I 689 by Eg.[1] & Christchurch (supported by Selden) is of doubtful value too (cf. Koch pp. 102 & 104, not accepted in his or any other ed.).

3) Koch's Har. 4-group (*P. T.* p. xxxxi. ff.).

4) Cf. the reprod. among the Ch. Soc. *Autotype Specimens.*

Wright did well in choosing it as the basis of his new edition of the *Canterbury Tales* for the Percy Society in 1847—51 (repr. ab. 1853). [1]) Bradshaw thought it the most authentic of all MSS. of the *Tales*, though he could not quite account for its peculiar readings, [2]) many of which Pollard asserted were Chaucer's own "second thoughts", deriving from a MS. revised by him and carelessly copied by Harl. 7334.[3]) At the same time the excellence of the Ellesmere text was thought more apparent than real, as it was supposed to have been "edited" by a clever scribe after Chaucer's death. [4]) This view was still held by Skeat, [5]) but now it is generally agreed that the actual conditions seem to be exactly the opposite, and that it is the Harleian MS. which offers a text, freely emended and corrected by a scribe of exceptional ability, with decided opinions of his own upon the question of Chaucer's text.[6]) His corrections are very often of the shallow kind, in

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[1]) See the *Introduction* p. x f. Tyrwhitt evidently — and as events have proved, with reason — suspected the superficially attractive readings of this codex, since he does not make much use of it (cf. Child in *Mem. Am. Acad.* 1861 p. 448 n.). Wright professed to follow the MS. closely, but silently he corrected a good many of its readings (see Skeat p. 22 ff. & *Athen.* 1893 I. 765, cf. Koch *P. T.* p. x). In 1885 the MS. was printed in full by the Ch. Soc.

[2]) *Collected Papers* p. 104, cf. Prothero's *Memoir,* p. 225 n.

[3]) *Globe Ch.* p. xxix, cf. *Athen.* 1901 II. 631 & *Enc. Brit.* (1910) VI. 17; see also Hammond p. 178 (but note Koch's doubts *Arch.* 102. 412 & *Engl. Stud.* 27. 5).

[4]) One of Bradshaw's theories, hesitatingly accepted by Furnivall (p. 23 f., cf. *Athen.* 1901. I. 216), still held by McCormick in *An English Miscellany* (1901) p. 299, and even by Carleton Brown in *Publ.* 26. 30 (cf. also *Athen.* 1909 I. 556); see, however, Koch *P. T.* p. lxx ff.

[5]) IV. viii he calls Harl. 7334 a most dangerous MS. (cf. *Athen.* 1893 I. 765), but in his *Evolution of the C. T.* (p. 17 ff.) and *Eight Text Ed.* (p. 29 ff.) he takes it to represent the last stage in his elaborate scheme of Chaucer's re-arrangements of the text, while Ellesmere contains an "edited" text.

[6]) This view was first held by F. J. Mather (in his volume of selections from the Tales, 1899, p. 138, cf. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 29. 118 ff.) and by Liddell (p. cxx; cf. J. Frieshammer *Die sprachliche*

great favour wtih emendators of all ages, such as A 1799, where Ellesmere and the other MSS. read:

Who may been a fole, but if he loue?

It appears, however, that this scribe *was* in love, as he emends:

Who may been a fol, if that he love![1])

Sometimes he seems to follow the approved modern conjectural methods, though scarcely with a happy result, as in A 2075:

This goddes *on* an hert ful hyhe seet,[2])

where he writes:

This goddes *son* an hert ful *hy he* seet.[3])

Often he does not understand the text as in B 3851:

Thyn sys fortune hath turned in-to Aas,[4])

where the gambling simile quite escaped him and he tried to make sense of the line by writing:

Thyn fortune is torned into an aas.

Many of the corrections in Harl. 7334 are still less convincing,

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Form der Chaucerschen Prosa, Halle 1910, p. xix); it was conclusively proved by Tatlock in his monograph on the MS. (Ch. Soc. 1901, rev. by Hammond *Journ.* 9. 564 f. and by Koch, *Anglia Beiblatt* 22. 267 f.), where he also shows (p. 29) that the present MS. is but a careless copy of this emended text. — Perhaps several copies existed once; the scribe of the Cambr. Gg codex seems to have known a similar volume, cf. the instances given by Koch p. 165 and especially D 393, where Gg combines the readings of Ha.[1] and the other MSS. *(And of).*

1) Wright prudently inserted *not* after *may;* cf. Skeat V. 74.

2) This is the reading accepted by all editors and given by the Cambridge Group, supported by Harl. 7335 & Ad. 35286 (of the same group as Harl. 7334, cf. below).

3) Other odd readings are A 3322 *(Schapen with goores in þe newe get* — thus also Ad.[1] & Eg.[2]), B 2466 (cf. Tatlock *Harl. 7334* p. 5[1]), C 717 & 786; see further Tatlock 1. c. p. 28 and Koch pp. 377—418 — more than forty pages of variants!

4) Thus El. He. Gg. Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2]; Ad.[3] — The Oxford scribe evidently did not know what to make of *sys* (or he may have written the word rather indistinctly), since both Corp. and Petw. simply write *S,* which Lansd. has completed into *Sustre!* (cf. Tatlock p. 165).

and as far as I can see there is not one real emendation in its text. [1])

Zupitza has shown that textually this extraordinary codex is joined by two other MSS., Harl. 7335 and the Paris MS., to which Koch added Ashburnham 125 (now B. M. Ad. 35286) [2]) Of these MSS. Paris is especially close to Harl. 7334, [3]) while the two others go together, [4]) sometimes joining Harl. 7334 [5]) (the Paris MS. I have not examined), though never in its freak readings such as the spurious couplets inserted after D 2004,

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1) Though several of its readings are thought very tempting, not only by Pollard (e. g. A 782, see *Globe Ch.* p. xix) and Skeat (A 686 & 831 (where Ha.[1] is joined by Eg.[1]) cf. *The Eight Text Ed.* of *the C. T.* p. 38) but even by Tatlock *(Harl. 7334,* p. 5 f.), such as I 869 (where the Lat. quot. is acc. by both Skeat and Pollard) and especially B 4380, where also Tyrwhitt found it necessary to correct the common reading (cf. his note on ver. 15196). See, however, already Francis Thynne's comment on the passage (Furnivall's ed. of the *Animaduersions,* p. 59 ff.), cf. Skeat V. 250 & *Eight Text Ed.* p. 39 f.; Koch (p. 418) now follows Skeat, though he once accepted Tatlock's view *(Anglia, Beiblatt* 22. 267).

2) *Specimens* pt. II, p. v ff. & pt. V, p. v ff. Tatlock *Harl. 7334,* pp. 4 & 27[1], wants to add Laud 600, but does not offer any evidence.

3) See e. g. C 818, cf. *Spec.* II. v and espec. J. Halfmann *Das auf der Bibl. Nat befindliche MS. der C. T.* Diss. Kiel 1878 (rev. by Koch *Engl. Stud.* 29. 116 ff.; see also Gesenius, *Archiv* 5. 1 ff.). The Paris MS. is especially rich in spurious additions, of which the most important are 7 lines after A 3208, 4 after D 1730, and 2 after D 1470 & 1962; E 2126; F 784, 952; G 486. Like Harl. 7334 it offers a badly contaminated text, strongly influenced by the Oxford tradition, and this fact, misunderstood by Zupitza, Koch, & Liddell, made them believe in a MS. of this group being the ancestor of the Oxford family. This is palpably absurd; Zupitza gives only *three* readings (*Spec.* II. vi.) in support of this statement!

4) Koch *P. T.* p. xxxxiii.; note such a case as G 72, where both read *cogitacioun* for *contagion* (joined by Gg; Dd. Eg. 2726; Selden, Lansd.).

5) They agree with Ha.[1] & Gg in reading *wekede woman* for *angry wyf* in D 779 (thus also Ad.[1] & Eg.[2], Dd reads *angry womman,* but Eg.[1] has the correct reading), though not in other peculiar

2012, 2037, 2048.[1]) As three out of four members of this branch are at the British Museum I shall term it the *London group,* taking Harl. 7335 and Ad. 35286 as typical representatives.[2]).

Both these MSS. — sometimes joined by Harl. 7334 — have several readings in common with other All England representatives,[3]) especially with the Ellesmere group which they support in its important addition of A 3155 f.:

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readings of these two MSS. (e. g. B 1038, *ryȝtful* for *skilful*). Generally they do not share the agreements between Ha.[1] and the Oxford group (Koch p. 233 ff.); thus they have not got the spurious substitute for A 2655 in Co. La. Pe. Ha.[1] Eg.[2] (Ad.[1] completely omits this line).

1) Three of these were accepted by Skeat *(Eight Text Ed.* p. 23 f.)

2) They both date from the first half of the XV cent. and are written clearly and firmly, evidently by professional scribes, in a businesslike style of execution. Harl. 7335 (Ha.[2]) has lost many leaves; it begins in the middle of the Knight's Tale (wanting A 1—1200, 1475—1542, 2563—2630), and then goes on to those of the Miller (A 3447—3514 lost), Reeve (no Cook), Man of Law, Wife of Bath (B 1139—62 & D 1—102 lost (2 leaves, no room for the Man of Law's Epil. B 1163—90), 939—1210 lost), Friar, Summoner, *Nun,* Clerk (E 768—901, 1106—1235 lost), Merchant, Squire, Franklin (all links in order), Doctor, Pardoner (C 565—77 & 592—610 lost), ending imperfect (C 676 last line). This MS. Tyrwhitt put at the head of his authorities, for which he was needlessly censured by Child *(Mem. Am. Acad.* 1861, p. 448). — Ad. 35286 (Ad.[3]) has the same order, adding Shipman, Prioress, Topas, Melibee, Monk, Priest, Manciple, Cook, Yeoman, Parson (A 1—153, 234—396, 1269—1898; B 68—623; E 1236—1308; I 382—441, 472 - end lost; no Man of Law's Epil. or Host Stanza). Skeat does not mention this MS. (in spite of Miss Hammond's remark p. 174); a careful collation of both with the 8 printed MSS. would be a real boon to the Chaucer Student.

3) They join He. Gg in reading *good* in E 1367 (where the rest have *wys)* and Ad.[2], Dd. Ad.[1], Eg.[2] Co. La. in transposing E 459 f. (wrongly). Ad.[3] reads *laste* in E 1710 like He. Gg (rest: *feeste;* Ha.[2] wants the first half of this line) and has B 3731 instead of B 3723, like El. He.; Ad.[1], Eg.[2] (Ha.[2] defective here). Ha.[1] & Ad.[3] read *knew* for *coude* in A 476 (like Dd. Eg.[1]) and *haue* for *loue* in B 1980, like He. Gg (Ha.[2] is defective in these two instances).

Ther been ful goode wyues many oon,
A 3155 And euere a thousand goode ayeyns oon badde;
That knowestow wel thy self but if thou madde.
Why artow angry with my tale now?

This couplet is probably a later addition by Chaucer, like A 3721 f. and the insertions in the Wife of Bath's Prologue and the Franklin's Tale. [1])

Certain important readings of the London group, however, strongly suggest an independent origin. In the first instance three members of the group (the Paris reading is unknown to me) have the correct reading *sterres* in A 2037, while practically all other MSS. have the meaningless *sertres.* [2]) Still, this might conceivably be a happy guess on the part of the London scribe, but such an explanation will hardly do in the case of E 2230. The passage E 2227 ff. reads in Harl. 7335, f. 127 b:

Pluto that is the kyng of fayrye
And many a lady in his compaignye
ffolwying his wif the quene proserpina
E 2230 *Which that he rauysshed out of Ethna*

Cf. above. — The present couplet is found only in El. Gg. Phys. Ha.^{1}, Eg.^{2}, Ad.^{1}, Ha.^{2}, Ad.^{3} (the three last insert *be* before *madde,* and instead of *why* in A 3157 Ha.^{2} + Ad.^{3} read *what,* and Eg.^{2} & Ad.^{1} *But).* Tyrwhitt was doubtful about it (see note on ver. 3156), but it is surely genuine (cf. espec. Lowes in *Phil.* 8. 326). — Note that in G 226, where El. & Ha.^{1} have the obvious blunder *corones three* (cf. Koch p. 109), Ha.^{2} & Ad.^{3} have the correct reading (thus also in A 2799 & 3090, where El. Gg. Ha.^{1} alone are wrong).

2) Outside the London group only Christchurch and Bodl. 414 have *sterres* (cf. Tatlock, *Harl. 7334,* p. 30^3). The true explanation of the corruption was given by Liddell in his *Selections* from the *Tales,* p. 169, and by Skeat *The Evolution of the C. T.* p. 37^1. Koch conjectures *cercles (Engl. Stud.* 47. 350, cf. his ed.) in which emendation — though he does not know it — he has been forestalled by the scribe of the common ancestor of Ad.^{1} and Eg^2, both showing this reading.

Whil that she gaderid floures in a mede
In claudyan ye may the storye rede
how that here in his grysly carte he fette

Ad. 35286 and the Paris MS. have substantially the same reading;[1]) but practically the whole Oxford group have E 2230 like this:

Whiche þat he rauysshed out of proserpina.[2])

The meaningless final word was evidently caught from the preceding line by the Oxford scribe, while the whole of E 2230 reads quite differently in the Ellesmere and Cambridge groups:[3])

Ech after oother right as a lyne.[4])

This is obviously a scribal substitute which must have been inserted because the head of the All England tradition, the Ellesmere ancestor, inadvertently had left out the original line,[5]) so

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[1]) The former reads *ethena* (cf. Halfmann's diss. p. 46), the latter *Sithea* (f. 119 b), which palæographically is very like *Ethea,* a variant actually found in Sloane 1686.

[2]) Thus Co. La. Pe. Laud 600 (f. 160) & 739 (f. 124 b), Barlow 20, Rawl. Poet. 223 (f. 104 b), Seld. B. 14 (f. 128 b); Cambr. Mm. 2. 5, Trin. Coll. R. 3. 3; Eg. 2863, Roy. 17. D. XV & 18. C. II, Sloane 1685. — A leaf is wanting here in Harl. 7333; the latter part of the Merchant's Tale is lost in Rawl. Poet. 149, and the whole Tale is omitted in Bodl. 414 & Rawl. Poet. 141.

[3]) Some scribes have tried to emend the line by reading *Pyna* (Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 15, f. 118) or *Andochia* (Fitzw. McLean 181, f. 116, and Bodl. Hatton[1], f. 96 b). Morris printed *Sicilia* in the Aldine Ch., and Koch adopts this reading, arguing learnedly in its favour in *Engl. Stud.* 47. 376 f., without suspecting that the humble scribe of Harl. 1758 had had the same happy idea; he writes *Cecilia* (on erasure). Tyrwhitt who knew a good thing when he saw one of course follows Harl. 7335 (cf. his note on ver. 10104).

[4]) Thus El. Gg. Bodl. 686; Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Christchurch — joined by the fourth London member Ha.[1]. Pollard and Skeat (cf. V. 367) accepted this absurd reading.

[5]) Note that the Hengwrt MS. has a totally different reading here in a later hand (see the Six-Text):

Whos answere hath doon many a man pyne.

Phys. is also independent (f. 126 b):

Walkyng to and fro in the gardyne.

that the original reading has been preserved by the London representatives only. And that this variant is the genuine one is conclusively proved by Chaucer's own reference to his source, for Claudian expressly states in his poem *De Raptu Proserpinae* that Proserpine was gathering flowers in a valley near Ethna, and in practically all MSS. of his work this valley is also called Ethna. [1])

Such a case definitely proves that the ancestor of the London group had access to Chaucer's original MS. The only possible alternative is that the London scribe might have emended E 2230 by looking up the passage in Claudian, but this is not very likely, and besides several other instances point to an independent origin for the group. [2]) The most important ones occur in the beginning of the Doctor's Epilogue, C 287—300:

> Oure hooste gan to swere as he were wood:
> "Harrow," quod he, "by nayles and by blood!
> This was a fals cherl and a fals Iustise.
> As shameful deeth as herte may deuyse
> Come to thise false Iuges and hir Aduocatz!
> Algate this sely mayde is slayn, allas!

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[1]) The Brit. Mus. MSS. Ad. 10091 & 12021, Eg. 2627, Harl. 2753 & 5198, Roy. 15 A. vii, and the Copenhagen Royal Library MS. Gl. Kgl. Saml. 4to 1905, all read *Ethna* in II. 72; cf. the note in Th. Birt's ed. of Claudian *(Mon. Germ. Hist. Auct. Ant.* X. 366). Most editors put *Henna* here (and in II. 8 & 289, cf. the eds. by Jeep (1875) and Koch (1893)), as it seems wrongly (see Birt *l. c.* p. cliv). Anyhow Chaucer is sure to have read *Ethna* in his MS.

[2]) Observe also that one of the London members, Ha.[1], contains the best copy of *Gamelyn* (cf. Tatlock's monograph p. 25 f. and Skeat's ed. p. xxx f.) — which of course does not prove that this MS. belongs to the Oxford group (as Zupitza thinks, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 21. 107 ff.), but simply that *Gamelyn* must have been found in the London ancestor and later been left out of Ha.[2], Ad.[3], & Paris, as indicated, perhaps, by the omission of the Cook's Tale (which as usual precedes *Gamelyn* in Ha.[1]) in the Paris MS. and by its being moved down after the Manciple in Ad.[3] and possibly in the incomplete Ha.[2] as well (cf. Tyrwhitt *Introd. Disc.* § XIII).

C 293 Allas, to deere boughte she beautee!
Wherefore I seye al day, as men may see,
That yiftes of ffortune and of Nature
C 296 Been cause of deeth to many a creature
C 299 Of bothe yiftes that I speke of now
Men han ful ofte moore for harm than prow!

In this form the passage stands in the Ellesmere and Cambridge groups and in the Bodley division of the Oxford group.[1]) The London group has the introductory lines as above, but then Harl. 7335 and Ad. 35286 (joined by Hodson 39) go on:

C 293 Wherefore I seye alday that men may see
That yiftes of fortune or of nature
Ben cause of deth to many a creature.
C 299 Of bothe yiftes that I speke of now
Men han fuloften grettere harm than prow.
297 *Hir beaute was hir deth y dar wel sayn;*
Allas, so pitously as she was slayn.

Thus the group adds a new couplet, also found in Harl. 7334 and the Paris MS. (joined by Lichfield and Ashburnham 124), which however leave out C 299 f. The Corpus division of the Oxford group has got both couplets, but transposes them and inserts a spurious line instead of C 299:

But her of wil I not procede as now.[2])

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[1]) El. He. Phys. Bodl. 686; Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Christchurch, Devonshire; Pe. Bodl. 414, Barlow, Rawl. Poet. 149, Cambr. Mm. 2. 5, Trin. R. 3. 3,Fitzw. McLean 181, Sloane 1685, Lincoln, Delamere, Phill. 8136 & 8137; Sloane 1686, Ad.[2], Selden, Hatton. — The Epilogue is not found in Gg. Phill. 6570; Northumberland; Rawl. 223, Glasgow, Trin. R. 3. 15, Eg. 2863, and a few other MSS.

[2]) Thus Co. La. New Coll. Cambr. Ii. 3. 26, Harl. 7333, Helmingham (and the editions by Caxton and Thynne); Laud. 739, Harl. 1758, Roy. 17. D. xv & 18. C. ii also transpose the lines, but have not got the spurious form of C 299. All ten MSS. (joined by Ha.[1], Paris, Lichfield & Ashb. 124) have a spurious couplet instead of C 291 f. (pronounced "more vigorous" by Pollard, *Globe Ch.* p. 145):

Soo falle upon his body and his bones
þe deuyl I bekenne him al at ones.

This was rejected by Tyrwhitt;[1]) otherwise the Corpus arrangement has been adhered to in most modern editions.[2]) Nevertheless the MS. conditions as noted show tolerably clearly that C 299 f. must be a later addition by Chaucer, probably made to replace C 297 f., which the Ellesmere and Cambridge ancestors correctly left out, while the London and Oxford ancestors wrongly preserved them, inserting the additional couplet in different places, however.[3])

The London group shows some further variants in a later passage of the Epilogue, C 318-28:

> "Thou beel amy, thou Pardoner", he sayde,
> Telle vs som myrthe or lapes right anon.
> "It shal be doon", quod he, "by Seint Ronyon!"
> "But first", quod he, "here at this Ale stake
> I wol bothe drynke and eten of a cake!"
> And right anon the gentils gonne to crye:
> "Nay, lat hym telle vs of no ribaudye!
> Telle vs som moral thyng, þat we may leere
> Som wit, and thanne wol we gladly heere".
> "I graunte ywis", quod he, "but I moot thynke
> Vp-on som honeste thyng while that I drynke."

Here all four London MSS. read instead of 319 f. & 326—7:

> "Telle vs *a tale; thou canst many oon*".
> "Hit shal be don", quod he, "*and that anon*".
> — — — — — — —
> "*Gladly*", *quod he and seide as ye shal heer.*
> "*But in the cuppe wol y me bethynke*".[4])

These lines were probably also genuine, but were given up by

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[1]) See note on ver. 12233.

[2]) It is preferred by both Skeat and Pollard (cf. also Furnivall, *Athen.* 1872. I. 274), but Koch has the correct Ellesmere arrangement.

[3]) Later the Bodley ancestor omitted it through contamination with some All England MS., while the Corpus ancestor introduced the spurious features of C 291 f. & 299 as noticed above.

[4]) Quoted from Harl. 7335.

Chaucer in favour of the accepted reading. An editor must, then, all through this Epilogue follow the Ellesmere authority, omitting C 297 f., but he ought to give the London versions of C 297 f., 319 f., & 326—7 in his notes as readings rejected by Chaucer himself. [1])

The close connection between Harl. 7335 and Ad. 35286 has been clearly indicated in the preceding; still they too differ in some cases. On at least one of these occasions Harl. 7335 is supported by the Paris MS. [2]) in an excellent variant, both moving the couplet F 999—1000 six lines down, a really great improvement, as will be seen from the following quotation from the Ellesmere MS., with the couplet inserted in both places. Dorigen is making her rash promise to the importunate Aurelius:

F 995 "I seye, whan ye han maad the coost so clene
Of Rokkes that ther nys no stoon ysene,
Thanne wol I loue yow best of any man
— Haue heer my trouthe — in al þat euere I kan;
F 999 ("Is ther noon oother grace in yow?" quod he.
"No, by that lord," quod she, "that maked me!)
ffor wel I woot þat it shal neuer bityde!
Lat swiche folies out of youre herte slyde.

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[1]) They are, however, thought spurious by Koch p. 298 and by Tatlock *Harl. 7334* p. 19[3] — When correcting his draft Chaucer would presumably not have taken the trouble *to rubbe and scrape;* the rejected readings were probably merely pricked out and the final ones added in the margin, as Shirley did in MS. Ashm. 59, f. 23 (& f. 15 b, 27 b, 37 b, 43 b, 45, 46 b, 55 b). Here the fifth stanza of Lydgate's *Prayer to St. Edmund* reads:

Tencresse prelates in their holynesse
And folke religyous in peir holynesse charite
Vertuous wydous in þeir holynesse humilite stedfastnesse.

Such corrections might easily be misunderstood, and still more so when the line to be deleted was *underlined* as in the copy of Chaucer's so-called *ABC* l. 59 in MS. Pepys 2006, p. 388:

And with his blod put that in his remembrance he wrot
þe blisful bille
Of mercy put that in his remembrance.

[2]) Cf. Halfmann's diss. p. 48 (& 20).

What deyntee sholde a man han in his lyf
ffor to go loue another mannes wyf
That hath hir body whan so þat hym liketh?"
F 1006 Aurelius ful ofte soore siketh.
[F 999] ["Is ther noon oother grace in yow?" quod he.
"No, by that lord," quod she, "that maked me!"]
Wo was Aurelie whan þat he this herde,
And with a sorweful herte he thus answerde.

Practically all other MSS. have the couplet in the first place,[1]) but it is easily seen that the latter is by far the more suitable. The brief exchange of words between the two antagonists is much more effective here; also the clumsy repetition of the name Aurelius in F 1006 & 1007 is satisfactorily got rid of, when they are divided by F 999 f. Besides F 1001 really goes better with F 999 than with F 1000. Probably the couplet is a later addition by Chaucer, made in the margin in such a way that it came more natural to the scribes to insert it after F 998 than after F 1006 where it really belonged, as the London scribe alone perceived.[2])

The worst error Harl. 7335 commits is the insertion of a spurious Franklin's Epilogue, joining his Tale to that of the Doctor and made up of the last six lines of the spurious link

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1) Only two indifferent Oxford MSS., Barlow 20 & Harl. 7333, support Harl. 7335 & Paris, while Harl. 7334 & Ad. 35286 have the common sequence here (but I have not examined all MSS. on this point).

2) Ha.[1] & Ad.[3] must have joined the majority through contamination (probably with the Oxford and Ellesmere groups respectively). Tyrwhitt accepted the re-arrangement (cf. his note on ver. 11317), but no modern editor has done so. On the other hand both Skeat and Pollard move D 1295 f. (in the Six Text ed.) down as D 1307 f. on the authority of Harl. 7334 only (cf. *Queries* 1910. I. 201 f. and Tatlock *Harl. 7334* p. 31). This new position, however, suits the couplet very badly, as Koch notes in *Engl. Stud.* 47. 366; in his ed. he places them again (doubtfully) at D 1295 f. And this position is really quite satisfactory; the somewhat loose construction of D 1293—97 is just like Chaucer.

Yeoman-Doctor, which occurs in the Bodley subgroup.[1]) However, Ad. 35286 is not free from mistakes either, reading *fuyre* in F 950, where Harl. 7335 correctly has *furye.*[2]) In some cases it offers isolated readings which are tempting, though hardly authoritative,[3]) especially in A 1906, where Harl. 7335 and a few other MSS. read:

And on the westward in memorie[4])

while the great majority of MSS. add *side* after *westward.*[5]) Ad. 35286 has a much better version (cf. A 1903):[6])

And on the *gate* westward in memorie.

Still this is probably no more than a happy guess, which may,

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[1]) See Bradshaw *Coll. Papers,* p. 135[1], cf. Skeat IV. 289. It was hesitatingly accepted by Tyrwhitt (11929—34, cf. *Introd. Disc.* § XXVIII and see Hertzberg p. 639), who prints the third line (11931) as it occurs in the Boodley subgroup (cf. Skeat III. 434):

Telle vs a tale *of som honest matere*

while Harl. 7335 reads (f. 153 b):

Telle vs a tale *at my prayere.*

[2]) El. Gg. Ha.[2]: *a furye;* Ad.[3] He. Co. Pe.: *a fuyre;* Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] La.: *a fire* (cf. A 2684, see Zupitza in *Archiv* 94. 442, and already Morell p. 440 f.); Koch reads *furye,* but omits *a (Engl. Stud.* 47. 380 f.). — On the other hand Ha.[2] has the wrong reading *boles* in A 1699 (like He. Ad.[1] Eg[2] Co. La. Pe. — El. Gg. Eg.[1] Ha.[1]: *bores* (Ad.[3] Dd. def.)), and it omits the two last lines of the Squire's Tale, F 671 f., with Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Hods. 39, La., and many MSS. of the Bodley subgroup (cf. Six Text pp. xii—xvi); they are found in Ad.[3] El. He. Gg. Christch. Co. Pe. Cambr. Mm. 2. 5, Harl. 1758, Roy. 18. C. II, Sloane 1685 (Ha.[1] def.). Tyrwhitt mistakenly omitted the couplet (see his note on ver. 10984, but cf. Skeat V. 386). — The *Six Text* ed. errs in stating that E 2281—8 are omitted in Harl. 7335 (as well as in La. Sloane 1686, Harl. 1758); they are found plainly enough on f. 127.

[3]) In A 2385, a nine-syllable line, it changes the common reading *whan* into *what tyme* (cf. Tatlock, *Harl. 7334,* p. 30).

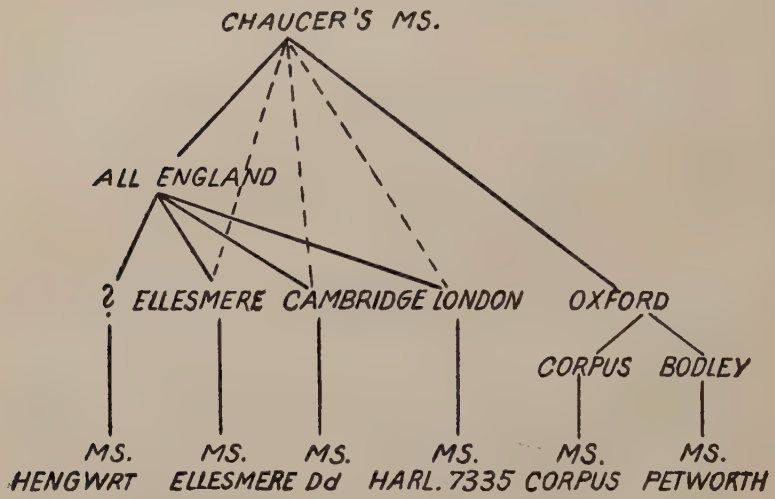
[4]) Thus El. He. Gg. Eg.[1] (omits *on the)* Co. La. Ad.[2] (all *of* for *on).*

[5]) Thus Ad.[1] Eg.[3] Pe. &c.

[6]) Joined by Oxf. Trin. Coll. 49; Ha.[1] has one of its freak readings here: *And westward in þe mynde and in memory* (cf. Tatlock, *Harl. 7334,* p. 30).

however, be printed in brackets in the text.[1]) as probably Chaucer's own MS. wanted a word here.

The final result is consequently that the three MS. families now examined on one hand testify to the existence of a common All England tradition, but on the other hand they give evidence of the partially independent origin of each family, so that we shall have to recognize three groups, Ellesmere, Cambridge, and London, partly within and partly outside the All England tradition. The scheme for the textual transmission of the *Canterbury Tales* may, then, be drawn up like this:



Though the All England tradition is greatly superior to the Oxford variants these cannot be quite neglected, as is strikingly shown in the Tale of *Melibee,* where the All England MSS. (and Petworth) omit 13 words, while Corp. & Lansd., which have these, proceed to omit the next 36 words.[2]) Within the

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[1]) It is at any rate better than to accept the reading *side,* with Koch *(Engl. Stud.* 47. 349), or to follow Ha.[1], as Skeat and Pollard do.

[2]) See B 2525 f.; cf. B 2944, where most of the printed MSS. (except El. He. Dd.) omit various words.

All England tradition the Ellesmere is much the best group and in doubtful cases it is always safest to accept its evidence, especially when supported by one of the other groups, as in the omission of the couplet that in some MSS. needlessly disturbs the connection between A 2680 and 2683:

> And she agayn hym caste a freendlich eye
> For wommen as to speke in comune
> Thei folwen all the favour of fortune[1])
> And was al his chiere as in his herte.

Ellesmere is not always joined by the same groups,[2]) while sometimes it is opposed by the entire All England tradition and practically only supported by Oxford representatives; but even here it is often clearly right, as for instance in D 702, where Ellesmere, Cambr. Gg, Harl. 7334 and Corp. Lansd. Petw. read *Ech falleth,* proved the correct reading by a marginal note *Uterque cadit* - -, while the other groups have *failleth.*[3]) In such a case the All England tradition as represented by Hengwrt and the Cambridge & London groups, is evidently wrong, while the Oxford family and the independent Ellesmere group both got the right reading, as also in D 1949 f.:

> As helpe me crist as in a fewe yeres
> I han spent vp-on diuerse manere freres.[4])

A 2681 f. exist only in Ad.[2] Eg.[1], Ha.[1] Co. La. Pe. Ha. 7333 — not in El. He. Gg. Phys. Dd. Ad.[1] Eg.[2]; Ha.[2], Ad.[3], Paris — so that the couplet was evidently inserted by the Oxford scribe. Still he may have found it in Chaucer's MS., deleted by the author as superfluous; the lines need not be spurious, as Koch thinks *(Engl. Stud.* 47. 354). — Cf. also G 1421 where only the Oxford group (joined by Hengwrt) reads *a myte* (preferred by Skeat & Pollard).

2) In A 791 El. He. Gg. Ad.[3] La. Pe. read *our,* and the Cambridge group *your* (cf. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 47. 345), but in C 711 this group alone joins El. Gg. Bodl. 686, & Rawl. Poet. 223 in correctly inserting *half.*

3) Thus He. Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2]; Ha.[2] Ad.[3]

4) Thus El. Gg. Co. La., opposed by He. Ad.[2] Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2]; Ha.[1] Ha.[2] Ad.[3]; Pe. — which have *I* after *as* in D 1949 and omit *a* here (Pe. has *I haue* in D 1949 and reads *many*

Only when practically all the groups unite against Ellesmere, as in G 1303, where this MS. and Eg. 2726 have *herte,* while the other MSS. read *werke,* it is probably safer to follow the latter. [1]) In other instances, however, where Ellesmere stands almost alone in representing the All England tradition, the opposition against it is so divided that it can hardly be said to have any authority. [2]) A case in point is D 136, where Ellesmere (joined by Gg) reads *as I of tolde,* while the Cambridge and London groups (Dd. Ad.[1] Eg.[2]; Ha.[1] Ha.[2] Ad.[3] — joined by He.) have *as I to yow tolde,* and the Oxford group (Co. La.) combines the two readings: *as I to yow of tolde,* corrupted by *Petworth* (probably misheard by the scribe) into: *as I to ȝou haue tolde.* [3])

3. *The Text.*

When the Ellesmere MS. takes such high rank as a witness to the text of the *Canterbury Tales* this is owing to the great intrinsic value of its readings, and not to the undoubt-

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dyuers freres in D 1950, together with Dd. Ha.[1]). — Similar cases are C 94 (El. Ad.[2] Pe. Sloane 1685: *two* — He.; Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2]; Ha.[1] Ha.[2] Ad.[3]; Co. La.: *mo),* D 1406 (El; Ad.[1] Eg.[2]; Co. La Pe.: *hir weye* — He. Gg.; Dd. Eg.[1]; Ha.[1] Ha.[2] Ad.[3]: *and pleye),* and A 60, where El. Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Co. La. Pe. have *armee* (thus Tyrwhitt, Pollard, Koch, Zupitza *(Archiv* 103. 178 f.), and Flügel *(Journ.* 1. 124 f.), but Gg. Eg.[1] Ha.[1] (& He?): *ariuee* (preferred by Skeat, cf. V. 8 & *The Eight Text Ed.* p. 55 f., but see Hammond p. 273).

[1]) Thus Koch and Pollard; but Skeat follows Ellesmere.

[2]) Though the editors often reject its readings, as in F 423, where both Skeat, Pollard, and Koch read *yit no man,* like Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Ha.[1] Co. (El. He. Gg. have *man yit,* Ha.[2] Ad.[3] La. Pe.: *ȝit man).*

[3]) Koch follows Ellesmere, Skeat and Pollard prefer the Cambridge-London reading. — Other instances are A 829 (cf. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 47. 345), E 2146, and E 281 where El. He. have *men* (thus Koch); Gg. Dd. Eg.[1] Ha.[2] Ad.[3]: *hem*; Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Ha.[1] Co. La. Pe.:*thes men* (acc. by Skeat & Pollard).

ed correctness of its grammatical forms. It was the latter quality which Furnivall and others chiefly admired in the volume, believing it to contain a faithful reproduction of Chaucer's own speech. [1]) This view has, however, now been shown to be erroneous; the MS. has only very imperfectly preserved certain peculiarities of the old London dialect, which must have been present in Chaucer's language. [2]) The London scribes who copied his work used the Standard English in a further developed form than Chaucer himself, and in this way the dialectal characteristics mostly disappeared from his writings. [3]) So far it is no doubt true that we do not know what Chaucer wrote, as Saintsbury says; [4]) still the difference between Chaucer's language, which already must have been standardized to no small extent, and that of the scribes of the next generation cannot have been so very great after all. [5])

It is more important that the study of Chaucer's prosody suffers from the somewhat uncertain state of his text. In former days students were inclined to regard his lines as very rough and uneven in structure, but this view passed away, when the old pronunciation again was understood, and during the last generations the tendency has been to look upon Chaucer's verse

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1) See Furnivall p. 45, Skeat IV. xvii, and especially J. Frieshammer *Die sprachliche Form der Chaucerschen Prosa,* Halle 1910, p. 132; thus also G. Hempl in *Chaucer's Pronunciation and the Spelling of the Ellesmere MS.,* Boston 1893, but cf. Koch *P. T.* p. xviii f. (& Björkman, *Engl. Stud.* 32. 275 ff.).

2) See Wild p. 8 ff. & 354 ff.; cf. E. Björkman in *Engl. Stud.* 51. 84 ff., also L. Morsbach *Ueber den Ursprung der Neuenglischen Schriftsprache* (1888) p. 152 ff., W. Heuser *Alt-London* (1914) p. 48 ff., and H. C. Wyld in *Engl. Stud.* 47. 84 ff., superseding Skeat's remarks on *Chaucer's Use of the Kentish Dialect (Essays on Chaucer* p. 659 ff., cf. VI. xxxii f.).

3) See Karl Luick *Historische Grammatik der engl. Sprache* I. 49 ff.

4) *Hist of Engl. Prosody* I. 165; cf. Imelmann in *Die Neueren Sprachen* 24. 182.

5) The archaic character of Chaucer's language is undoubted (see H. C. Wyld *A History of Modern Colloquial English* 1920, p. 52 ff.), but is probably stressed too heavily by Wild, cf. H. M. Flasdieck *Forschungen zur Frühzeit der Neuenglischen Schriftsprache,* Halle 1922, p. 11 ff.

as extremely regular, perfect in harmony and melody.[1]) As a matter of fact, however, many of his lines as vouched for by the best All England MSS. make a somewhat rough impression, of which the poet was probably aware himself, since in *Fame* 1097 f. he prays Apollo to make his poetry

— — sumwhat agreable,
Thogh som vers faile in a sillable.

But most of the scribes took a more syllabic view of English prosody; accordingly they frequently inserted small words to fill up the lines, thus truly creating *the stretched metre of an antique song*. This was done both when a syllable was thought wanting at the head of a line,[2]) and elsewhere, and modern editors have gladly availed themselves of the results,[3]) though in this way they print

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[1]) See the comments on *Chaucer's Verse and Language,* 1575—1847, collected by Hammond p. 464 ff.; cf. Koch's *Crit. ed. of Chaucer's Minor Poems* (1883) p. 5 f. & Pollard's *Ch. Primer* p. 136. A more cautious view is taken by Kittredge in his *Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus* 1891.

[2]) This type of the 9-syllable line was something of a favourite with Chaucer, see Freudenberger's diss. *Uber das Fehlen des Auftaktes in Chaucers heroischen Verse* (1889, cf. Zupitza in *Archiv* 84. 356, Skeat VI. lxxxviii, Hammond p. 497 f.). Nevertheless its existence was denied by ten Brink *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst* (thus even the 3. ed. by Eckardt 1920, § 304), and this dislike was shared by the scribe of Harl. 7334 (or rather by its ancestor), who altered many of these lines (cf. Skeat III. xliv—vii and espec. Tatlock *Harl. 7334*, p. 10 ff.). Modern editors still continue largely to correct them, e. g. in B 497 (Skeat inserts *that* (cf. V. 156) and Pollard reads *awok* with Ha.[1] alone), I 20 (Skeat & Pollard read *euere moore* (instead of *alwey)* like He. alone, but see Skeat V. 371 & VI. 407), D 91 (Skeat & Pollard read *he heeld* for *that,* like He. Ha.[1]; Co. La. Pe.), B 3611 (Skeat, Pollard, Koch all insert *wel* with He. Gg; Dd. Eg.[1]; Ha.[1]), E 583 (Skeat & Pollard insert *ful* with Ad.[3]; Dd. Ad.[1] Eg.[2]; Ha.[2] Ad.[3]; Co. La. Pe.).

[3]) That Chaucer often omitted a weak syllable in the interior of a line was correctly maintained by Zupitza *(Archiv* 94. 443, cf. Skeat VI. xcii & Hammond p. 498 f.), but denied in E. Hampel's diss. *Die Silbenmessung in Chaucers fünftaktigem Verse,* Halle 1898, p. 6 (cf. Saintsbury's *Hist. of Engl. Prosody,* I. 171[1] & 175[1]). Mo-

Chaucer's lines in a more "correct" state than that in which he left them. [1]) Certain critics have even gone so far first to construct certain metrical rules which they thought Chaucer ought to have observed, and then to make up a good many lines in conformity with their preconceived notions. [2]) However, it ought to be perfectly obvious that no real knowledge of Chaucer's verse structure can be gained by declaring that all real irregularities were absent from it and that those actually present must be removed

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dern editors quietly correct most of the cases, e. g. D 2201, where Pollard reads *herdë* (impossible), Skeat inserts *al* (from Ad.[1]) and Koch *that*. The best textual tradition, however, gives ample evidense of this metrical habit of Chaucer's, variously "emended" by the rest of the MSS., as in A 660 (El. He. Gg. — Dd. Eg.[1] Ha.[1] Ad.[3] Pe. insert *to,* Co. La. *him,* acc. by Skeat, Pollard, Koch and by Morell, Morris, Liddell); A 3140 (El. He. Gg. Dd. Eg.[1] — Ad.[3] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Ha.[1] Ha.[2] Ad.[3] insert *you,* acc. by Skeat, Pollard Koch); B 4368 (El. He. Gg. Ad.[3] Co. Pe. — La. insert *hire,* Dd. Eg.[1] *hire eek* (acc. Koch), Ad.[1] Eg.[2] *than,* Ha.[1] *pat,* acc. Skeat, Pollard); D 1324 (El. He. Gg. Eg.[1] Ha.[1] La. — Dd. inserts *wele,* Ad.[1] Eg.[2] *best,* Ha.[2] Ad.[3] *ought,* Co. Pe. *pat,* acc. Sk. Ko.); D 1370 (El. He. Gg. Eg.[1] Ha.[2] Ad.[3] — Dd. inserts *bet,* Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Co. La. Pe. corrupt the line in various ways, Ha.[1] has *yknowe,* acc. Sk. Po. Ko.); E 2140 (El. He. — Ad.[1] Eg.[2] insert *the,* Gg. Dd. Eg.[1] Ha.[1] Ad.[3] *hise* (acc. Ko.), Ha.[2] Co. Pe. *alle his* (acc. Sk. Po.), La. *al).*

1) Compare their similar attitude in other cases, e. g. D 727, where El. He. (& Dd. Ha.[1] Ha.[2] Ad.[3]) have a hiatus after *sorwe (care),* but Gg. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] insert a second *the* (acc. Koch) and Co. La. Pe. read *penaunce* (acc. Skeat, Pollard). But in D 1426, where most MS. have a hiatus (except Dd. Ha.[1] which insert *eke),* all editors accept this. In E 1017 where El. He. Dd. Eg.[1] Ha.[1] have a metrically superfluous *so,* the editors omit it (with the rest of the MSS.); in H 217 Pollard accepts the (superfluous) *hire,* but Skeat and Koch reject it, like He. Eg.[1] Ad.[3].

2) Note i. a. Skeat's rule that the preterite never rhymes with the past participle, which makes him reject the reading of G 534 in El. and most other MSS.: *he went(e) (:yhent:torment),* preferring the Gg. Dd. variant *is went* (cf. his *Introduction* to the *Ryme-Index of Chaucer's Minor Poems,* Ch. Soc. 1889, p. vi; Pollard and Koch also accept this reading). But Chaucer's practice does not really conform to this rule (cf. Lounsbury I. 399 ff. & II. 72, Kittredge in *Studies* I. 6 f,. and Skeat VI. liii ff).

by emendation [1]) — though this seems to have been the prevalent idea of both scribes and editors. [2])

As a matter of fact medieval scribes were evidently no less fond of correcting a text than modern editors, [3]) and often both tried their hands at the same passage, as in the somewhat awkward line about Emelye and Arcite in the Knight's Tale (A 2683):

And was al his chiere as in his herte.

Nearly all MSS. agree in this reading, which gives perfectly good sense, though at first it looks a little awkward. [4]) But Coll. Phys. reads *As she was,* and Harl. 7334 has *and in his herte,* while Shirley attempted a still more radical emendation (in Harl. 7333):

And was al his as by chere of herte.

Then Tyrwhitt patched up a new line: [5])

And was al his in chere, as his in herte.

Finally Koch had a shot at it: [6])

And was al his in chiere as in hir herte.

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1) Thus Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 15. 401, and note the treatment of the trisyllabic line in Chaucer by O. Bishoff *Ueber zweisilbige Senkung und epische Caesur bei Ch.,* Diss. Darmstadt 1897, p. 5 ff. (also in *Engl. Stud.* 24. 353 ff); cf. ten Brink *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*[3] p. 139 ff., Koch *P. T.* p. xvi f., Skeat VI. xciii ff. and C. F. Babcock in *Publ.* 29. 65 f. (but see J. Schipper *Grundriss der Englischen Metrik* (1895) p. 132 ff. and Saintsbury *Hist. of Engl. Prosody* I. 171 f.).

2) Pollard is of course right in attacking these methods (Eversley ed. of *Cant. Tales* I. viii f.), but he is not quite innocent of them himself (cf. above). The case against them is stated very well by Hammond p. 481 ff.; cf. Fr. Tupper in *Publ.* 25. 164 ff.

3) See E. Moore *Contributions to the textual criticism of the Divina Commedia,* p. xi ff.

4) Cf. Skeat V. 90 (he inserts a *she* before *was,* with He. Dd. Eg.[1], but this does not change the sense of the line).
See his note on ver. 2685 where he says that the first *in* is found only in Caxton's 2. ed. (thus also Furnivall in Six Text, cf. *Globe Ch.* p. 37).

6) Cf. *Engl. Stud.* 47. 354. — Other unnecessary emendations are found in D 865, where Co. La. omit *now* and insert *þe* (acc. by Koch) and Gg omits *grete* and inserts *þe,* and in D 888, where He. Co. La. Pe. instead of *birafte* read *he rafte* (acc. by Skeat).

A very characteristic instance of scribal emendation is found in the Merchant's Tale (E 1335 f.):

> O flessh they been / and o flessh as I gesse
> Hath but oon herte / in wile and in distresse.

This is the reading of most MSS. of the All England class (Ellesmere, Hengwrt; Cambr. Dd, Eg. 2726; Harl. 7335, Ad. 35286, and Corpus), but the repetition of *o flessh* jarred on the artistic perceptions of other scribes, who instead of it put *o blood* (Cambr. Gg, Harl. 7334, Lansd.), *o bon* (Ad. 5140 & Eg. 2864), even *two soules* (Petw.).[1])

Sometimes these scribal emendations are much more brilliant, though hardly correct. The scribe of the ancestor of Cambr. Dd and Eg. 2726 read in the MS. before him (E 2125—7):

> O noble Ouyde ful sooth seystou god woot
> What sleighte is it thogh it be long and hoot
> That he nyl fynde it out in som manere.

The parallel passage from Ovid may have been quoted in the margin; anyhow the scribe knew that Chaucer alluded to *Metamorphoses* IV. 55: *Quid non sentit amor?*[2]) — whereupon he calmly changed *he* into *loue* in the last line above.[3]) — The

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[1]) In A 2025 even Ellesmere (& Gg) make the mistake of "correcting" *The barbour* into *The laborer* (Morell); see Skeat V. 81, and especially MacCracken, *Notes* 28. 230 (note that Ad.[1] & Eg.[2] read *Tharmerer* (Tyrwhitt). Cf. F 548, where the same two MSS. have the impossible *Troilus* instead of *Iason,* evidently because the scribe did not understand the repetition of the latter name in the next line (see Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 47. 379); D 634, where MSS. Gg. Dd. Eg.[1] Ha.[1] correct *on the lyst* into *with hyse fyst* (Koch pp. 70, 73); possibly also I 900 (Eg.[1] & Ad.[1] have *suche flessh* for *soden flessh)* and the four passages in the Parson's Tale, found only in Gg: I 273, 511, 654, 700 (cf. Koch pp. 191 ff. & 196).

[2]) Cf. Skeat V. 365; note that in the following lines (E 2128 ff.) Chaucer again refers to the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, where, this line occurs.

[3]) See Tyrwhitt's note on ver. 10000; Koch prefers this reading. The emendation of the scribe is, however, no better than that of Paget Toynbee, who reads *somme of excellence* in G 52 (though not found in any MS) because of the parallel passage in Dante's *Paradiso*

scribe of Ellesmere (or its ancestor) seems to have been somewhat critical of Chaucer's tendency to repetition, as appears from his treatment of C 636 f., which in other MSS. read like this:

Thou shalt swere sooth thyne othes and nat lye
And swere in doom and eek in rightwisnesse.

The repeated *swere* evidently jarred on his ear, so he replaced the first by *seye* — in spite of the marginal quotation from Jer. IV. 2: *Iurabis in veritate, in Iudicia & Iusticia.*[1]) And in A 931 f. he evidently thought Chaucer's alliteration a little to violent:

I wrecche which þat wepe and waille thus
Was whilom wyf to kyng Cappaneus.

So he quietly changed *waille* into *crie,* which is ingenious, but hardly correct.[2]) In one case, however, the Ellesmere scribe seems to have corrected a real error, in the Parson's Tale (I 678), where he alone has St. Augustine's saying about *Accidie* in a sensible form: *it is anoy of goodnesse and ioye of harm.* All other MSS. unvaryingly read *anoye of harm,*[3]) which makes it more than likely that this mistake was found in the original MS. Another case of this kind is B 4067, where practically all MSS. write about Chauntecleer:

But swiche a ioy was it to here *hem* singe

though the sense obviously demands *him,* found only in Harl. 7334, Ad. 5140, & Eg. 2864.[4])

XXXIII. 20 f. (see his *Dante in Engl. Lit.* I. 15, cf. *Athen.* 1904. II. 518). Note also the emendation of Wytton, the Dd scribe, in A 1212 (cf. above).

1) This note is in El. He. Dd. Eg.[2] Ad.[3] Pe., and was evidently found in the poet's own MS. — Outside El. the reading *seye* is found only in Ha.[1], and it is practically impossible that all the other MSS. should be wrong here; nevertheless both Skeat and Pollard print *seye* (Tyrwhitt has *swere).*

2) Acc. by Koch, but see Imelmann, *Die Neueren Sprachen* 24. 180.

3) Both Tyrwhitt and Wright have this reading.

4) Both scribes and editors are entitled to correct such small slips, parallel to misprints in modern books. Note Koch's proof *(Engl. Stud.* 47. 360) that the MSS. and eds. are wrong in reading *sente* for *sende* in B 1091 (cf. *To* in B 1089).

In the presence of these mistakes it becomes doubtful whether the unsatisfactory versions of certain lines in all known MSS. may not be due to the poet himself and accordingly ought *not* to be emended. For instance A 516 occurs in practically all MSS. in this form:

He was nat to synful man despitous. [1])

Harl. 7334 alone has an emended version:

He was to senful man nought despitous

and this has been accepted by all editors, from Tyrwhitt to Koch, though it certainly is a mere scribal emendation. It is even possible that good textual authorities may actually be right in some of their unsatisfactory readings, while the corrections in other MSS. are unauthentic. At any rate such an explanation may be offered in the case of B 4266, where the Ellesmere and London groups (El. He. Gg. Ha.[1] Ad.[3]) have an Alexandrine:

But herkneth to that o man fil a greet meruaille

while the Cambridge group (Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2]) omit *herkneth* (thus all editors) and the Oxford group (Co. La. Pe.) omit *to* and read *in gret pereyle.* [2])

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[1]) Thus El. Ad.[1] Eg.[2] — He. Gg. Ad.[3] Co. La. Pe. have *men* for *man,* like Dd. Eg.[1] which also read *with* for *to* (Imelmann has misunderstood the case completely *(Die Neueren Sprachen* 24. 179)). — Cf. also E 2220, where all editors (except Wright) give a patched-up version of the reading in Ha.[2] Co. La. Pe. (cf. Koch p. 273 & *Engl. Stud.* 47. 375), while the best reading is that in El. He. Ha.[1] (varied somewhat in Gg. Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Ad.[3]):

Phebes hath of gold hise stremes doun ysent.

[2]) Other Alexandrines are E 2220 (cf. above), A 1894 (see Saintsbury, *Hist. of Engl. Prosody* I. 175[1] and Hammond pp. 273 & 499 f.), and especially A 1933:

Of loue which þat I rekned haue and rekne shal.

Thus El.; Ha. Pe. omit *þat,* Co. La. omit *I.* Gg. Ha.[2] Ad.[3] (& Ad.[1] Eg.[2], omitting *that)* read *reken* for *rekned haue* (acc. by Tyrwhitt, Skeat, Pollard); Ad.[2] He. Dd. Eg.[1] simply omit *haue* (acc. by Koch *Engl. Stud.* 47. 349, but thus already Morell). Wright omits both *þat* and *haue,* Morris omits *rekne.* In all cases the extra foot was probably unintentional on the part of Chaucer (Koch is mistaken *(Engl. Stud.* 47. 363) in thinking D 575 an Alexan-

That Chaucer upon occasion could write rather hastily is a well known fact,[1] and is also proved by some lines in the tragedy of Nabugodonosor (B 3349—56):

> This proude kyng leet maken a statue of gold
> Sixty cubites long and seuen in brede,
> The which ymage he bothe yonge and oold
> commanded[e] to loute and haue in drede;
> Or in a ffourneys ful of flambes rede
> He shal be brent that wolde noght obeye!
> But neuere wolde assente to that dede
> Daniel, ne hise yonge felawes tweye.

Now, though of course there were three men in the fiery furnace besides Daniel, Chaucer obviously wrote *tweye* for the sake of the rhyme, so that this mistake must have occurred already in his own MS.[2] It is no use, then, to try to account for the mistakes occurring in all existing MSS. by supposing these to have been derived not from the poet's original, but from a copy of it.[3] All the eight

drine). — Note also B 4232 (El. He. Gg. Ad.[3] have a metrically superfluous *heere,* not in Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Co. La. Pe. and omitted by the editors), A 3285 (El. Dd. Eg.[1] Co. La. have *ich* for *she* in the other MSS.), D 885 (El. He. Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[3] have *he* for *she),* E 2395 (El He. Gg. Ha.[2] have *his* for *thy).*

[1]) Cf. e. g. his mistranslations in *Boece* (H. F. Stewart, *Boethius* (1891) p. 222 ff. & Skeat II. xxiv ff.) and his (unnoticed) slip in G 139: *Euery seconde or thridde day she faste* — where his sources (see Kölbing, *Engl. Stud.* I. 215 ff.) have: *et biduanis et triduanis jejuniis* (cf. G 172 f., see Skeat V. 407). Possibly Chaucer's wrong translations in A 1902 & 2281 *(open werre* & *Smokynge the temple;* cf. Hinckley, *Notes on Ch.* pp. 83 & 96) and A 2019 *(hoppesteres;* see Tyrwhitt's and Skeat's notes, cf. *Queries* 1864. II. 114 & Hammond p. 273 f.) are due rather to careless reading than to scribal errors in his MS. copy of the *Teseide* (a similar explanation of *Troilus* I. 132 f. is given by McCormick in the *Globe Ch.* p. 440, but cf. Skeat about certain errors in *Melibee (Acad.* 1891. I. 325) and see Koch on *Leg.* 2422 in *Anglia* 43. 239 f.).

[2]) See on similar inaccuracies Skeat *Evolution of the C. T.* p. 27 ff. and Koch *C. T.* p. 3.

[3]) Koch *P. T.* p. xxxv, cf. *Engl. Stud.* 47. 338 ff.; but see Moore, *Publ.* 30. 119[8].

mistakes mentioned by Koch in support of this theory [1]) are of such a kind that they might easily have been committed by the author himself, seeing that they consist chiefly of grammatical and metrical slips, [2]) besides a few oversights like that in B 3657:

Bothe Est and West North and Septemtrioun

where *North* ought obviously to be *South,* an error not likely to have been introduced by a scribe, [3]) while some omitted paragraphs in the translation of *Melibee* may very well have been wanting in the French MS. Chaucer used. [4])

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1) A 179; B 1826, 2252 f., 3657, 3734; C 826; E 2230; I 443. Two of these cases are purely fanciful: E 2230, where the London group has a satisfactory reading (cf. above), and A 179, where Koch prefers an emendation of his own, *reulelees (Anglia, Anzeiger* 5. 138 & *Engl. Stud.* 47. 342; cf. *Athen.* 1902 II. 722 & 1903 I. 51) to *rechelees,* found in practically all MSS. and certainly correct (acc. by Morell, Tyrwhitt, Morris, Pollard, Liddell, cf. Macaulay in *Rev.* 4. 4, Emerson in *Phil.* 1. 110 ff., Jespersen in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* 1903—4, p. 92 f.; Harl. 7334 has *cloysterlees,* acc. by Wright & Skeat, cf. Zupitza in *Anglia* 1. 476 ff. and ten Brink in *Engl. Stud.* 24. 464 ff.).

2) Such as the clerical error *that* (for *than?)* in C 826 in all the best MSS. (El. He. Gg. Dd. Eg.[1] Christch. — omitted by Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Devonsh. Northumb. Bodl. 686 — corrected into *and (that* (or *thanne)* for *right)* in Ad[2]. Ha.[1] Paris and the Oxford members (acc. by Skeat, Pollard), into *thou* by Tyrwhitt, Wright Koch), the missing metrical syllable in B 3734 (thus El. He. Gg. Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Ad.[3], acc. by Tyrwhitt & Pollard — Ha.[1] Co. La. Pe. insert *ful,* acc. by Wright & Skeat — Koch reads *fyre),* the superfluous syllable in B 1826 (thus El. He. Gg. Dd. Eg.[1] Ha.[1] Ad.[3], acc. Wright — Co. La Pe. omit *the,* acc. Skeat, Pollard, Koch — Ad.[1] Eg.[2] omit *chief,* acc. Tyrwhitt).

3) Cf. Pollard's note in the *Globe Ch.* p. 127. *North* is the All England reading (El. He. Gg.; Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2]; Ad.[3]); the Oxford MSS. (Co. La. Pe. + Ha.[1]) omit the word. Tyrwhitt reads *South* (see his note on ver. 14385); so does Skeat, while Koch proposes *North (Engl. Stud.* 47. 392 f., cf. Boethius II. vi.; but here Chaucer has *Nothus).* — Cf. also I 443, where the names of *Iacob* and *Ioseph* are transposed in all MSS.; note, however that Ad. 35286 instead of the first name has *I* [erasure].

4) Thus B 2252 f. (cf. the notes by Tyrwhitt IV. 335, Skeat V. 206, Koch *C. T.* p. 266; Pollard says unaccountably *(Globe Ch.* p. 96)

It seems certain, then, that Chaucer's original MS. must have contained a good many slips of his own pen,[1]) but on the other hand some of the inaccuracies with which his text are frequently charged prove on closer inspection to be purely imaginary ones.[2]) The most important of these cases is perhaps the beginning of the Shipman's Tale (B 1191—1209), where a woman is clearly speaking in B 1202—9, as the personal pronouns show. From this it has been inferred that Chaucer had once intended the tale for the Wife of Bath, but later transferred it to the Shipman without making the necessary corrections.[3]) This is, however, impossible; not only are there no other traces of a woman teller in the story, but the opening, B 1191—1201, is evidently spoken by a man, and in the following lines Chaucer simply made the male narrator introduce a woman as the representative of her sex.[4]) The whole passage ought to be printed like this:

B 1191 A Marchant whilom dwelled at Seint Denys
That riche was — for which men helde hym wys!
A wyf he hadde of excellent beautee,
And compaignable and reuelous was she,
Which is a thyng that causeth more dispence
Than worth is al the chiere and reuerence
That men hem doon at festes and at daunces.
Swiche Salutacions and contenaunces

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that he found the lines in the Cambr. MS. (Gg)), 2623 f. & 2854 (see Tyrwhitt 1. c.); cf. I 616 (see Skeat V. 465).

1) Such technical errors are common enough in all literature; see for some striking instances H. Christensen *Das Alexanderlied Walters von Châtillon* Halle 1905 p. 105 f., cf. *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 44. 673 ff.

2) Note e. g. the well-known case of the Nun Chaplain (A 164), see Furnivall in *Essays on Chaucer* p. 181 ff. & *Anglia* 4. 38 ff.; cf. *Acad.* 1880. I. 385, 1881. II. 472 f., 1890. II. 152 f.; *Queries* 1888. II. 485 f.; *Archiv* 132. 399 ff.; *Quart.* 2. 304 ff.

3) See Tyrwhitt's note on ver. 12942, cf. Hertzberg p. 643 f. and ten Brink II. 168 & 628, Koch *C. T.* p. 246; Furnivall p. 10; Skeat III. 420 & V. 168, *Evolution of the C. T.* p. 28; Lounsbury III. 435; Wells pp. 703 & 722.

4) Cf. Düring's German transl. III. 426—9.

Passen, as dooth a shadwe vp on the wal. —
But wo is hym that payen moot for al,
B 1201 The sely housbonde! algate he moste paye!
— "He moot us clothe and he moot vs arraye
Al for his owene worship richely.
In whiche array we daunce iolily;
And if þat he noght may, par auenture,
Or ellis list no swich dispence endure,
But thynketh it is wasted and ylost:
Thanne moot another payen for oure cost,
B 1209 Or lene vs gold!" — and that is perilous![1])

However, quite apart from a case like this, the text of the *Canterbury Tales* shows so many traces of hurried composition, [2]) that the MS. of the work as left by Chaucer at his death can hardly

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[1]) Cf. Pollard, *Globe Ch.* p. 79, who however makes the woman's speech extend from the beginning of B 1201 to the end of B 1209 — almost certainly wrongly. — In this way the passage becomes exactly the opposite of a technical failure, a conscious artistic touch (incidentally depriving the ingenious speculations of Tatlock p. 198 ff. (cf. Hammond p. 296 f.) of their chief support). Similarly E 1684—7 is neither an oversight (Skeat V. 359, Herzberg p. 629), nor a later insertion (Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 47. 372 f), but a palpable hit at the wife (Kittredge, *Phil.* 9. 454 f. — though the right reading in 1686 is certainly *ye,* not *we,* cf. Tatlock p. 204). The Man of Law's introducing a verse tale with the self-satisfied statement *I speke in prose* (B 96 ff.) is simply a joke on Chaucer's part (see W. Ewald, *Der Humor in Ch.'s C. T.* Halle 1911, p. 13), not another oversight, as Lowes thinks *(Publ.* 20. 795 f.), cf. Wells p. 700 f., Hammond pp. 252 & 280 (Skeat's explanation III. 406 is unsatisfactory, cf Lounsbury III. 436).

[2]) Note also two passages in *Melibee,* B 2274 & 2967, where the French text is badly rendered. Koch tries to emend as usual *(Engl. Stud.* 47. 380); like most editors he cannot bear any blemishes on Chaucer's text, not even those the poet might not have considered faults himself, like the spelling *Petrak,* which is found in all the best MSS. (B 3515, El. He. Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Ad.[3] La.; cf. E 31 & 1147 and see Tatlock p. 159 & G. L. Hamilton, *Notes* 23. 169 ff) and which the poet surely got from the French (cf. A. S. Cook, *Rom. Rev.* 8. 210 ff).

have been more than a rather rough draft.[1]) Nor is this surprising in view of the fragmentary state of the work: two tales are unfinished, those of the Cook and the Squire, while many of the links which were to have connected the single tales are lacking.[2]) In fact the incompleteness of the poem was early commented on by the scribes; in some MSS. there is a characteristic note at the end of the unfinished Cook's Tale:

Off þis tale Chaucer made namore.[3])

Wytton, the scribe of Cambr. Dd, points out in his heading to *St. Cecile* that the tale is *withoute a Prologe*,[4]) and the scribe of Harl. 7335 has a note on the same fact (f. 90):

Allocucio hospitis deficit.[5])

Accordingly it is clear that most of the scribes believed the *Tales* originally to have been a complete whole, the missing portions of which might yet be discovered,[6]) and many later

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1) Cf. F 1161, where El. has *wowke,* while the Oxford group read *ȝeer* and the Cambridge and London groups *day* (He. Gg. Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2]; Ha.[2] Ad.[3]), accepted by Tyrwhitt, Wright, and Skeat. Pollard preferds *wowke* and so does Koch, rightly referring to F 1295 *(wyke);* nevertheless the readings differ so greatly here that possibly a word was wanting in Chaucer's draft, supplied by El. through a happy guess. — Note also B 4594, where the MSS. (exc. El.) insert *eke* in various places; was it added by Chaucer above the line?

2) Cf. Lounsbury III. 431 ff.

3) Thus the Shirleian MS. Harl. 7333, f. 60; cf. Eg. 2864, f. 64 b, Hengwrt, & Phys. f. 78. Cp. the similar note in Cambr. Dd: *Here endith the Squyeres tale as meche as Chaucer made* (cf. Phys. f. 109 b).

4) Cf. the Latin heading in Eg. 2726, f. 217 *(prologo deficiente).*

5) Miss Hammond's reading *desinit* (p. 244) is wrong (cf. f. 99).

6) They also tried to make the collection as comprehensive as possible by including continuations like that by an unknown Canterbury clerk, the *Tale of Beryn,* purporting to be the second story told by the Merchant, with a very lively prologue (in the Northumberland MS. only, ed. Furnivall, Ch. Soc. 1887), and Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (cf. Skeat III. 384 ff.). The latter occurs in three MSS. of the *Tales,* Christchurch (not noted in Erdman's ed. p. IX, but see Hammond p. 456), Ad. 5140, & Eg. 2864, of which the two last take

editors were evidently haunted by the same notion, hoping to recover the tales lacking in the printed editions from MSS.[1]) In 1775, however, Tyrwhitt recognized that the many "defects and inconsistencies" of the work were due to its having never been finished by the author, and that the missing links made the order of the tales doubtful,[2]) while in 1847 Thomas Wright was the first clearly to state that the gaps in the sequence divided the work into eight "detached portions" or fragments, each comprising the Prologues and Tales of the following pilgrims:

1. Knight, Miller, Reeve, Cook.
2. Man of Law.
3. Wife of Bath, Friar, Summoner.
4. Clerk, Merchant, Squire, Franklin.
5. Physician, Pardoner.
6. Shipman, Prioress, Chaucer himself *(Sir Thopas & Melibee)*, Monk, Priest.
7. Nun, Chanon's Yeoman.
8. Manciple, Parson.[3])

This may be called the All England arrangement, as it is the

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care to point out that this tale is by a different author; see Eg. f. 292 b: *Heer begynneth the Laste tale of Caunterbury talis tolde homward and maad bi daun John Lidgate Monk of Bury* (cf. Ad. ff. 314 & 357). — The spurious Ploughman's Tale in the Christch. MS. (by Hoccleve, ed. A. Beatty, Ch. Soc. 1902) was evidently added later (though by the same scribe) on the leaves left blank for the continuation of the Squire's Tale, ff. 228 b—31.

1) See Hearne *Collections* II. 199 (1709), and cf. the acceptance of spurious tales like *Gamelyn & Beryn* (in addition to that of the Plowman) as late as Urry's ed. (1721), though Timothy Thomas doubted their authenticity in the Preface.

2) See his *Introd. Disc.* §§ IV, XIII, XVII, XXIV f., XXVII (where he finally rejected the three spurious tales).

3) Cf. the *Introduction* to his ed. p. v f.; his choice of Harl. 7334 as the basis for his text compelled him, however, to place Fragm. 7 before Fragm. 5 (cf. also Skeat's latest views upon the subject, *Evolution of the C. T.* p. 23). Ten Brink also accepted this order (II. 156 ff.), except that he split the last fragment into two (II. 188 f.).

order found in the Ellesmere and Cambridge groups;[1]) the Oxford sequence differs chiefly through having cut up Fragment 4 in various ways.[2]) When, therefore, Bradshaw wanted to investigate the problem on the basis of *all* MSS., he had to split parts 4 & 8 into six fractions, thus getting *twelve* fragments in all;[3]) later he moved part 6 up behind part 2, an arrangement found in MS. Seld. B. 14 only and of no authority whatever.[4]) He did not think it possible to arrange the tales correctly according to the allusions to time and place, but Furnivall, who attempted this, eagerly accepted the above combination, because in this way the references to Rochester and Sittingbourne were made to follow each other in the right order.[5]) On the other hand he split a couple of fragments (4 & 8) into two,[6]) and thus the well-known

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1) See Skeat, IV. xxiii, cf. *Acad.* 1891 II. 96 (he gets nine fragments by needlessly splitting no. 4 into two). The arrangement of the London MSS. is somewhat confused; cf. above.

2) The order 1, 2, Squire, Merchant, 3, Clerk, Franklin, 7, 5, 6, 8 is that of most Oxford MSS. (cf. above); it was accepted by all editors (cf. the *Trial Tables* in the Six-Text and see ab. Caxton Hammond p. 202, cf. *Phil.* 3. 159 ff.) till Tyrwhitt adopted the All England arrangement (note, however, Hammond's remarks p. 203 f. on Wynkyn de Worde's ed. 1498).

3) See his *Skeleton of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales,* written 1867, publ. 1871, repr. in his *Collected Papers* (1889), p. 102 ff. Cf. also Prothero's *Memoir* p. 348 ff., and cp. Bradshaw's own notes on a flyleaf of a MS. of the Tales at the Cambr. Univ. libr., Ii. 3. 26.

4) The Selden MS., however, moves 2 down before 6; Tyrwhitt kept 2 in its place, but made the epilogue introduce 6, as in Selden (*Introd. Disc.* § XXXI). Furnivall seems to have been under the impression that the latter position was authoritative and that Bradshaw made his great discovery by seeing the connection between the Man of Law's Prologue and Epilogue (p. 21 f.; cf. above).

5) P. 22 ff.; cf. Skeat III. 375—80; Pollard *Ch. Primer* p. 107 f.; Hammond p. 160 ff.; Wells p. 682.

6) Fragm. 4 was split into two parts, E (Clerk-Merchant) & F (Squire-Franklin), because of the allusion to early morning in the Squire's Tale (F 73), cf. Furnivall p. 29, Skeat III. 462; this division is however purely arbitrary, see ten Brink II. 171 & 620, cf. Wells pp. 725 & 732. — Fragm. 8 was also divided into two, H (Manciple & I (Parson), because the two prologues indicate the time

nine fragments of the *Six-Text* were established: A (1), B (2 + 6), C (5), D (3), E + F (4), G (7), H + I (8).[1])

This arrangement is based on the assumption that the links of the *Tales* give an exact account of an actual pilgrimage, and it used even to be held that Chaucer had here utilized reminiscences from a trip of his own;[2]) however, this notion is now rightly discarded.[3]) But the simple fact has hardly yet been sufficiently grasped that in his framework the poet developed the pilgrimage *motif* artistically,[4]) wishing to individualize a collection of human types as gaily and vivaciously as possible, while his plan certainly did not include a detailed report on the state of the pilgrims' road from London to Canterbury towards the close of the fourteenth century.[5]) Furnivall tried to show that the pilgrimage

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as morning and afternoon respectively, cf. Furnivall p. 36 f., Skeat III. 502 (but see his *Eight-Text Ed.* p. 28), Wells p. 744; in this connection much was made of the fact that in the Hengwrt MS. (alone!) the word *Manciple* in the first line of the Parson's Prologue is written on an erasure (Six-Text p. 589; see, however, Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 47. 402 f.).

1) See Furnivall p. 9 ff., especially p. 42 f. (cf. Hammond p. 158 f. & Wells p. 675 f.). This was the outcome of his collaboration with Bradshaw (cf. p. 44); previously Furnivall had worked out some *Trial Tables* (see *Queries* 1868 II. 150 f. & 246 f., later printed in the Six-Text as "superseded"), where he practically follows the All England arrangement, only splitting no. 4 into two, thus getting nine fragments here also (I—IX; acc. by Koch *C. T.* p. 3). It will be seen that Fragm. 5 was — unnecessarily — moved up too (cf. Skeat III. 434; Pollard, *Ch. Primer* p. 109); Shipley even wants to place it after 1 (*Notes* 10. 260 ff. & 11. 146, cf. Furnivall, *Acad.* 1895. II. 297), while Moore prefers the order 1, 2, 5, 6, 3, 4, 7, 8 (*Publ.* 30. 116 ff.), cf. Wells p. 678 f. & S. B. Hemingway in *Notes* 31. 479 ff.

2) Skeat III. 372 ff.; Pollard *Ch. Primer* p. 99 ff.; Koch *Chronology* p. 48 ff.

3) Thus already Tyrwhitt *Introd. Disc.* § V. & n. 6, cf. Tatlock p. 131 f. (but see Koch, *Monatschrift* I. 503); Wells p. 674.

4) Even ten Brink's treatment (II. 144 ff) is not quite satisfactory; see, however, Kittredge p. 146 ff. and the suggestive paper by H. S. V. Jones in *Phil.* 13. 45 ff. (cf. Wells p. 683 ff.).

5) See Brae in *Queries* 1851. I. 515 & Skeat III. 375[2], cf. Lawrence

must necessarily have lasted three or four days, as this was the time usually spent in travelling the fifty miles from London to Canterbury, a view which is still generally held.[1]) But the only definite indication we have as to Chaucer's plan in this respect is that he seems to have intended to make his pilgrims sleep *once* on the road; when the company have listened to the Life of St. Cecile, they are overtaken at Boughton-under-Blean, about five miles from Canterbury, by a Canon and his Yeoman, who have been trying to catch up with them for the four miles or so they have ridden this morning.[2]) This episode is also characteristic of Chaucer's stereotyped allusions to time; nearly all the

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in *Phil.* 11. 255. — In this way Chaucer's joking reference (H 1 ff.) to the *litel toun*

whiche þat ycleped is *Bobbe up and doun*
Under the Blee in Caunterbury weye

has become the centre of a fierce discussion about the identity of this locality, see *Athen.* 1868—9, *Queries* 1869—70; cf. Furnivall p. 31 ff., Littlehales *Notes on the Road from London to Canterbury in the Middle* Ages (Ch. Soc. 1898) p. 36 ff. (J. Dixon has some sensible remarks on the question in *Queries* 1865 II. 13).

[1]) P. 12 ff., 38 ff., 119 ff.; *Queries* 1892. I. 474 (cf. *ib.* 522 f.) & 1893. I. 395; *Acad.* 1896. II. 14. See also *Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrimage* (Ch. Soc. 1903), Skeat III. 377 f., *Globe Ch.* p. XXVIII, Flügel in *Anglia* 23. 239 ff., Tatlock in *Publ.* 21. 478 ff., Wells p. 682. — This would make them cover a little less than 14 miles a day, hardly even the pace set for Richard II's burial procession in his will of 1399; this corpse was to be carried to Westminster, surrounded by 24 wax candles, travelling "14, 15, or 16 miles a day, as the stations suited" (cf. Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* I. 164 ff.).

[2]) G 554 ff., see Tyrwhitt's note on ver. 16023 and Skeat V. 415. As a matter of fact we have definite information that the distance could be covered by large companies in two days or even less; see Wylie's *Reign of Henry V.* I. 95, cf. Tudor Jenks *In the Days of Chaucer* (1904) p. 288 ff. Observe also that according to Froissart (IV. ch. 12) the sixty English knights and squires, returning with their servants etc. from the tournament of Saint-Inghilberth in May 1390, rode from Dover to Rochester (ab. 45 miles) in less than a day (ed. Buchon III. 57). — Furnivall notes p. 137 ff. some equally quick rides, but objects (p. 141) that the pilgrims could not

fragments have a reference to some hour in the morning, certainly not made because the poet intended each of them to introduce a new day.[1]) He simply inserted the allusions as touches of local colour, which he did not trouble to fit into a careful scheme of topographical and chronological landmarks.[2]) Such a rather haphazard method of work was of course responsible for a good many inconsistencies, which quite possibly would have been removed if Chaucer had been able to complete and revise his work. This, however, he did not live to do, and modern critics

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change their horses on the road. This is, however, exactly what they could do, as a document of 1396 shows that there were regular hackneymen at Southwark, Dartford, Rochester &c with fixed prices (see Webb, *Archæologia* 20. 95 f.). Nevertheless I think Chaucer provided the pilgrims with other mounts, by the sire Pegasus.

1) See A 3906 *(half wey pryme* — characteristically changed in Harl. 7334 into *passed prime,* cf. Tatlock's monograph p. 5[1]), B 14 *(ten of the clokke),* F 73 *(pryme),* G 588 (cf. above), H 16, and finally I 5, where practically all the MSS. read *Ten of the Clokke,* a clear slip on Chaucer's part, as the context shows, and not the only one here (see I 10 f., cf. Tyrwhitt *Introd. Disc.* § XLI, Brae in *Queries* 1851 I. 419 ff. & 473 f., Garnett in *Athen.* 1902 I. 625, Skeat V. 444, Tatlock 1. c. p. 20 f.). Ad.[1] Eg.[2] & Christch. read *ffourè,* acc. by all editors (cf. Skeat, *Eight-Text Ed.* p. 43), but this is certainly only a scribal guess. — In the astronomical allusion in the Man of Law's Prol. the correct reading of B 5 is *the eight and twentithe day* [of April], found in El. Dd. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Eg.[2] Ha.[2] Ad.[3] and accepted by Tyrwhitt (cf. *Introd. Disc.* § V.) & Koch, not *eightetethe,* as preferred by Brae & Skeat *(Queries* 1851. I. 315 ff., 345 f., 385 f.; 1868. II. 271 f., 348, 398) as well as by Wright & Pollard. This probably dates at any rate this part of the *Tales* in 1393, cf. Scherk in Hertzberg's transl. p. 666 f. (but see *Essays on Chaucer* (Ch. Soc.) p. 415 ff., Ehrhart in *Engl. Stud.* 12. 469 f., Koch, *Chronology* p. 48 ff. & *C. T.* p. 5).

2) That Chaucer also got local colour through inserting portraits of living people is suggested by the mention of *Henr. Bailiff, Ostyler* in Southwark and *Xpian Ux[orþ eius* ab. 1380 (see *Queries* 1857 I. 228); cf. A 4356 ff. & B 3081 ff., where *Henry Bailly hostylere* mentions *that good lief my wyf.* But the importance of this point may of course easily be exaggerated, as by Hinckley *Notes on Ch.* p. 3, and espec. by Kuhl in *Trans. Wisconsin Acad.* 18. 652 ff. (cf. *Rev.* 12. 512).

must accordingly put up with such defects as the unfinished state of the text make natural and inevitable; any artificial arrangement, even the most attractive, is quite indefensible, as nobody can really pretend to know what Chaucer's final moves would have been.[1]) Chaucer's draft of the *Tales* will have to be taken as our final text, as far as it can be reconstructed, and mus tbe represented by modern editors as faithfully as possible, with all its imperfections and irregularities, and not replaced by a more or less carefully corrected version.

The draft was probably written on loose paper quires, perhaps as many as 40 in all, each fragment possibly concluding with some blank leaves, intended for the continuation.[2]) There would inevitably be some, perhaps a good many deletions and corrections, some of which can still be traced; the MS. may then tentatively be said to have looked somewhat like this:

Part 1. 4420 lines (A 1—4422 in ab. 9 quires.[3]) A 3721 f. & 3155 f. added later; A 2681 f. struck out (A 252 b—c spurious).

Part 2. 1190 lines (B 1—1190) in ab. 2 quires. *Gamelyn* inserted (902 lines in ab. 2 quires).[4])

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1) Nevertheless, the modern critic's right to re-arrange the tales according to his lights is maintained by Moore (*Publ.* 30. 122[16]), cf. Tatlock, *Publ.* 21. 484 f. & *Harl. 7334* pp. 6 & 22 ff., also Lawrence, *Phil.* 11. 257 (cp. Wells p. 678).

2) This was already hinted at by Wright p. v (note that Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium* seems to have been composed in a similar way, cf. J. Hinton in *Publ.* 32. 81 ff., espec. p. 89). Miss Hammond makes the same observation p. 159 (cf. *Phil.* 3. 162), but further assumes that the work was published and circulated in single parts (p. 243, cf. *Athen.* 1911. II. 179 & 211 and see Carleton Brown, *Publ.* 26. 28 f.); this is, however, entirely unproven and most unlikely (see Koch p. 420, cf. *Anglia Beiblatt* 22. 282).

3) On the supposition that there were some 35 lines to a page (as the MSS. usually have) and 8 leaves to a quire. — The lines are numbered as in Skeat's ed. and the *Globe Ch.;* in future eds. the best way would probably be to number them according to parts (see about earlier numberings Skeat IV. xxi f.).

4) *Gamelyn* ought to be printed (from Harl. 7334) in an Appendix (as in Skeat IV. 645 ff.).

Part 3. 2294 lines (D 1—2294) in ab 4 quires. 26 lines added later: D 575—84, 609—12, 619—26, 717—20. D 607—26 to be printed in the following order: D 607—8, 613—18, 609—12, 619—26 (D 44 b—g spurious).

Part 4. 4069 lines (E 1—2440, F 1—1624) in ab. 8 quires. 10 lines added later: F 999 f., 1455 f., 1493—8. E 1305 f. struck out. F 999 f. to be printed after F 1005 f. The Host's stanza to be printed after E 1212 (as 4. 1212 b—h).

Part 5. 966 lines (C 1—968) in ab. 2 quires. C 297 f. struck out. In C 346 the reading of the Cambridge group is to be introduced, followed by C 333 f.; of C 319 f. & 326—7 rejected readings exist in the London group.

Part 6. 2537 lines & 922 prose paragraphs (B 1191—4652) in ab. 9 quires. B 3565—3652 to be printed after 3956 (B 1995, 4060 b—c, 4651 f. spurious).

Part 7. 1481 lines (G 1—1481) in ab. 3 quires.

Part 8. 436 lines & 1016 prose pars. (H 1—362 & I 1—1090) in ab. 5 quires.

Several MSS. of the *Tales* show marginal notes referring to authorities used in the text, chiefly in the tales of the Man of Law, Wife of Bath (Prologue), Clerk, Merchant, Franklin, and Pardoner.[1]) They mostly occur in the All England MSS., especially in Ellesmere and Hengwrt, in Cambr. Dd, Ad. 5140, Eg. 2864, and in Ad. 35286.[2]) No doubt all or most of them were added by Chaucer himself, probably to make his pages look as dignified and learned as possible; this can be definitely proved in cases where the quotations are found in a form corresponding with the version in the *Tales,* but not with the original text. Such a case is offered by a passage in the Tale of the Man of Law (B 776 f.):

> Ther dronkenesse regneth in any route
> Ther is no conseil *hyd,* withouten doute.

Nullum enim *latet* secretum ubi regnat ebrietas.

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1) See Skeat *Eight-Text Ed. of the C. T.* pp. 9—18, cf. Koch p. 8.

2) Practically none in Harl. 7334 & 7335; there are some in the Oxford MSS., chiefly from the Man of Law's Tale.

Here no edition, known to me, of the source *Liber De Contemptu Mundi* by Pope Innocent III contains the word *latet* (cf. Chaucer's *hyd*), and the inference must be that Chaucer quoted from memory here, unwittingly inserting a word which he duly rendered in his paraphrase.[1]) Another curious case is that of Dorigene's apostrophe to good women in the Franklin's Tale F 1442 f., with the accompanying note (in MSS. El. Heng. Ad. 35286):

"Lo, which a wyf was *Alceste*", quod she,
"What seith *Omer* of goode *Penalopee?*"

Alcesten fabule ferunt pro marito Adameto sponte de functam et *Penalopes* pudicia *Omeri* carmen est.

While the names of the note agree with Chaucer's version they differ from the forms in the source *(Hieronymus adversus Jovinianum),* where we read *Alcestin, Homeri, Penelopes* — sufficient proof that the quotation in our MSS. was originally written by Chaucer himself.[2]).

Other MS. notes, however, merely offer explanations of or comment on difficult passages, and are certainly not due to Chaucer.[3]) Some of these glosses may have been added by later correctors,[4]) but not those which occur in several MSS. of

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1) Besides the editions by Cochleus (Lipsiae 1534), Migne, and J. H. Achterfeld (Bonn 1855, giving the readings of a MS. of 1425, a Cologne ed. of 1503, reprinted in 1506 & 1509, and the first collected ed. of the Works of Innocent III, Cologne 1552, repr. 1575), I have examined five early editions (i. a. Paris 1488, St. Germain 1495, Cologne 1496).

2) Such notes ought accordingly to be given in an Appendix in modern editions (as Koch has done pp. 414—18).

3) Nor is he of course responsible for the introduction of notes into the text, as in the case of the Latin quotations in the Parson's Tale, I 597, 598, 639, found in most MSS. and acc. by both Skeat, Pollard, and Koch (thus also the addition *as seith seynt Ion,* found in Oxford MSS. only (not in El. Eg.[1] Ad.[1] Christch.); the Latin quots. in I 588 & 592 are found in Christch. only, though accepted by Skeat). Observe that in Eg. 2863 the notes to the Man of Law's Tale are written in red *between* the stanzas.

4) Whose hands are clearly discernible in some MSS., espec. Dd (see Koch p. 231 on its readings in A 3120, B 212 & 2585, G 711) and

different groups, especially the *latitantem,* written above the rare word *lotynge* in G 186.[1]) This and similar glosses the scribes must have found in their common source, the poet's draft, and as such explanations could not very well have been introduced by Chaucer himself they must be due to somebody who prepared the draft for publication after his death.[2]) Several traces of his activity are still left us;[3]) for instance he must have prepared the MS. for the rubricator, as directions for this person have by a mistake got into the text of widely different MSS.[4])

Harl. 7334 (see on A 408 & 2062 Koch p. 418 and on C 786 Tatlock's monograph p. 18).

1) Found in El. He. Dd. Co. La.; other cases in El. He. Dd. (cf. Skeat, *Eight-Text Ed.* pp. 5—8) are: A 1985 *(.i. impetus* written above *veze);* C 173 f. *(heere* is first glossed *audire* and then *hic);* B 1558 *(.i. obligacionem* written above *bond),* 1775 *(carnaliter* explains *fleshly),* 3466 *(simul* expl. *in feere),* 3801 *(lacerauit* expl. *to-tar).* In this way the *donge hille* of Heng. & Harl. 7334 in I 911 may have crept into the text instead of the usual reading *mixne.*

2) The existence of such a person was already assumed by Tyrwhitt *(Introd. Disc.* n. 33), cf. Wright p. vi.

3) He probably wrote the *Quere in Methamorphosios* at C 14 (cf. Skeat V. 261), now found in MSS. El. He. Bodl. 686, Dd. Christch. Ad.[3]; and he is certainly responsible for the pedantic reference *Augustinus* at C 117 (in El. He. Phys. Dd. Eg.[2] Ad.[3]), where Chaucer made a pun on the profession of the teller and the honorary title of the bishop of Hippo. — He may also have written the interesting note at the conclusion of the Priest's Tale, B 4634—5 (cf. Skeat V. 258; in El. He. Phys. Christch.):

> Now goode god / if that it be thy wille
> As seith my lord / so make vs alle goode men
>
> sc. dñs Archiepūs Cantuarien.

for which one would think there must have been good authority, presumably the poet himself. — As to later annotation of the *Tales* see App. B.

4) In Ellesmere & Corpus the note *pausacio* is put against E 6, 14, 20, 30, 38, 46, 56, and in each case the next line introduces a new paragraph (similar conditions in Ad. 35286 & Harl. 7335).

The work of the poet's literary executor does not seem, however, to have involved the writing of titles;[1]) at any rate the headings of prologues and tales in the MSS. differ so much, that they can scarcely have been derived from a single ultimate source. For instance the Monk's Tale is headed in six or seven ways of which the simplest is that of Ad. 35286, Hengwrt, Cambr. Gg & Petworth: *Here bigynneth the monkes tale* — continued by Ellesmere: *de casibus virorum Illustrium* — and further by Cambr. Dd: *Chaucer.*[2]) Out of this the Christchurch MS. made the following headings before the Prologue and the Tale respectively: *Chaucer de casibus virorum illustrium* (f. 154 b) — *The Monkys Tale* (f. 155 b). Eg. 2726 turns the whole thing into Latin: *Hic desinit prologus Monachi & Incipit fabula sua De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*[3]) — adding emphatically: *bonum est* — and so do Ad. 5140 & Eg. 2864: *Explicit prohemium monachi de Tragediis incipit narracio eiusdem de eodem.* Corpus & Cambr. Mm have *Here telleth the monke de casibus virorum Illustrium,* while Harl. 7334 has nothing at all, and Cambr. Fitzw. MacLean 181 simply reads *The prolog of þe monk* (f. 243) & *The Tale of þe Monke* (f. 244).[4]) — Probably the executor merely added marginal notes

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[1]) Of course these cannot be due to the author, as shown for instance by the headings of his own tale of *Sir Thopas.* Before the prologue Ellesmere reads (joined by He. Gg): *Bihold the murye wordes of the Host to Chaucer* — and after the tale: *Heere the Hoost stynteth Chaucer of his tale of Thopas* — to which He. adds: *and biddeth hym telle another tale.* Cambr. R. 3. 3 has this rubric before *Thopas* (f. 87): *A prolog and a tale tolde be Master Chaucer* (and a similar one before *Melibe*). Sloane 1686 reads rather prettily before *Melibe* (f. 247 b): *Pleasith you to here the Tale of Maister Chauncer.*

[2]) Probably Chaucer had himself noted Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* as his source in the margin, and this was erroneously mixed up with the title by the scribes (cf. Skeat III. 427).

[3]) Lansd. simply has: *Incipit fabula de Casibus virorum.*

[4]) Similarly Coll. Phys., but in Latin (f. 288 & 300 b).

like those last quoted, later developed in various ways by the scribes.[1])

The fact that Chaucer is not responsible for the titles of the single tales[2]) raises the question whether the attribution of *the lyf of Seinte Cecile* to the *Seconde Nonne* is really due to him. The MSS. are unanimous here;[3]) but this merely proves that his executor gave the tale to the Nun, not that he had any authority for it. There is no proper prologue to the tale and the Epilogue simply begins (G 554):

Whan told was al the lyf of Seinte Cecile —

so that, since Chaucer does not mention the narrator, it is quite possible that he had not made up his mind on this point and that the expression *Unworthy Sone of Eve* (G 62) is not a slip after all.[4])

Though most of the headings thus appear to have been added later, one rubric at least may be traced back to the original draft.

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[1]) In other cases the variants are just as many; there are at least five different headings of the Man of Law's Prol. in 15 examined MSS. &c &c. — But the Latin subheadings of certain tales seem to go back to the common editor; see especially the subdivision of the Tales of the Clerk at E 197, 449, 610, 785 (in El. He. Phys. Ha.[1] Co. La., and partly in Ad.[2] Ha.[1] Ad[3]), the Knight (A 1355, 1881, 2483), the Man of Law (B 386, 876), and the Squire (F 347, 671); also the rubrication of the Monk's Tale and the Parson's Tale. Cf. Skeat *Eight Text Ed.* p. 3 f.

[2]) Modern editors ought not to overload their text with all the paraphernalia of MSS., but simply print like Tyrwhitt: *The Clerkes Prologue, The Clerkes Tale* &c.

[3]) El. Gg. Dd. Eg.[2] Pe. Sloane 1685 & 1686, Roy. 17 B XV, Cambr. Mm. 2. 5, Fitzw. MacLean 181 *(Seconde Nonne);* Eg.[1] Ad.[1] La. *(Seconda Monialis);* He. Ad.[3] Paris, Bodl. 686, Roy. 18 C. II. *(Nonne);* Ha.[2] *(monialis);* Phys. *(Monache!).* It is curious that Christchurch speaks of *the first Nonnes tale of the lyf of seynt Cecile* (f. 232), though it occurs *after* the Prioress' Tale, here called *the Nonnes tale of Alma redemptoris mater* (thus also in Ad.[2] f. 82 b). — Note that the Corpus MS. only says (f. 177 b): *Here endeþ Seint Ceciles Tale.*

[4]) Cf. Tyrwhitt *Introd. Disc.* n. 30.

After the end after the Parson's Tale proper (I 1080) most copies have the line *Here taketh the makere of this book his leue,* [1]) which in view of the wording is not unlikely to have been written by Chaucer himself. It heads one of the strangest sections of the whole work, opening with the customary apology for the tale (*this litel tretys* — I 1081—4) and closing with the conventional wishes for the salvation of the author's soul (I 1090—2).[2]) But in between these two sections is sandwiched what is probably the most remarkable bit of prose the poet ever wrote (I 1085—90), in which he asks for forgiveness — "— and namely of my translacions and enditynges of worldly vanitees the whiche I reuoke in my retraccioun̄s: as is the book of Troilus, the book also of ffame, the book of the XXV. Ladies, the book of the Duchesse, the book of seint Valentynes day of the parlement of briddes, the tales of Caunterbury thilke that sownen into synne, the book of the Leoun, and many another book if they were in my remembrance, and many a song and many a leccherous lay that Crist for his grete mercy foryeue me the synne. But of the translation of Boece de consolacione, and oother bokes of Legendes of Seintes, and omelies, and moralitee, and deuocioun̄: that thanke I oure Lord Ihesu Christ, and his blisful mooder, and alle þe seyntes of heuene; bisekynge hem þat they from hennes forth vn-to my lyues ende sende me grace to biwayle my giltes and to studie to the Saluacioun of my Soule —."

This extraordinary passage has been regarded as spurious; [3]) it

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[1]) El. Gg. Eg.[1] Eg.[2] Pe. Harl. 1758 f. 230 b, Cambr. Mm. 2. 5. f. 252 b, Fitzw. MacLean 181, f. 303 b; also Pepys 2006, p. 376. Roy. 18 C. II. (f. 271) & Seld. B 14 (f. 309 b) read *auctour* for *makere,* and Ad. 5140 has a Latin form (f. 357): *Hic capit autor licenciam* — somewhat expanded in Lansd. Harl. 7334 reads *Preces de Chauceris,* and a few copies simply have a Latin colophon to the Parson's Tale like this: *Explicit tractatus Galfridi Chaucers de penitencia vt dicitur pro fabula Rectoris* (Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 15; curiously enough Cambr. Ii. 3. 26 reads (f. 236 b) *de septem peccatis mortalibus* instead of *de penitencia).*

[2]) Cf. the conclusion of *Melibeus* B 3075—8.

[3]) Hearne considered the whole conclusion (I 1080—92) "not to be genuine, but made by the monks" *(Collections* II. 200, cf. Hertzberg

is, however, certainly genuine, as it occurs in all complete MSS. of the *Tales.* [1]) Moreover the heading proves it to be the real conclusion of the great work, hurriedly added by Chaucer towards the end of his life, in a state of contrition and repentance. Hence the devout strictures on his own work, made to appease spiritual powers and to ease his own conscience, but not to be regarded as a formal negation of the very spirit of his art. If this had been Chaucer's intention he might simply have burned his draft of the *Tales,* which was certainly not published till after his death; however, he merely wanted to revoke any spiritual heresies possibly implied by certain of his *enditynges of wordly vanitees,* and this he did in the present passage, his *Retraccioun*s. [2])

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p. 670 ff. and Pauli's *Bilder aus Alt-England* p. 208; but see Nicolas p. 84 f., Lounsbury I. 413 ff, Tatlock p. 135 & *Harl. 7334* p. 24 f.). Tyrwhitt *(Introd. Disc.* § XLII & III. 310 f.) thought the present passage interpolated from Chaucer's *Retraccioun*s, a document of recantation which his confessor persuaded him to sign (cf. *Globe Ch.* p. 310 & Hammond p. 322) and Skeat agreed with this in so far as he thought the passage added later by Chaucer himself (V. 475, cf. Koch *C. T.* p. 412). But Spies regards the conclusion as an unbreakable whole *(Festschrift für Ad. Tobler,* 1905, p. 383 ff.; crit. Koch *Engl. Stud.* 37. 227 ff).

[1]) See Tatlock, *Publ.* 28. 524[3]; cf. Koch, *Anglia* 3, *Anzeiger* p. 179 ff. Its omission by the editors between Pynson and Urry (cf. Hammond p. 262) was probably due to the same religious reasons which have made certain scholars reject the entire Parson's Tale and claim Chaucer as a righteous Wicklevian (John Foxe *Acts and Monuments* 4. ed. 1583, p. 839; cf. H. Simon and W. Eilers in *Essays on Chaucer* p. 227 ff. & 501 ff, also ten Brink II. 190 f. & 622 f.) This view is quite abandoned now (see Koeppel in *Archiv* 87. 33 ff., Spies *ib.* 108. 430 ff & 110. 130 ff. (also in *Festschrift für Morsbach* (1913) p. 717 ff, cf. Koch in *Anglia, Beiblatt* 25. 84), Tatlock in *Phil.* 14. 257 ff. and espec. E. K. Maxfield and Grace W. Landrum in *Publ.* 39. 64 ff.); as to the still more exaggerated notion that in the General Prologue Chaucer sketched Wycliffe himself in the likeness of the *poure Persoun of a toun,* see *Queries* 1854. II. 387 (but cf. *ib.* 535), Lechler *Johan von Wiclif,* and H. Schacht's diss. *Der gute Pfarrer* Berlin 1904.

[2]) See Skeat III. 503 and note Tatlock's proof *(Publ.* 28. 521 ff., cf. Benham *Engl. Lit.* 1916, p. 612 f., and espec. Wells p. 747) that Chaucer was here following an old medieval tradition, also accepted

His literary executor is certainly not responsible for it, as Tyrwhitt hinted;[1]) on the other hand it would be he who added the Latin conclusion *Quicum patre &c*[2]) and the important colophon: *Here is ended the book of the tales of Canterbury compiled by Geffrey Chaucer of whos soule Ihesu crist haue mercy Amen*[3]) —

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by him in the concluding stanzas of *Troilus* (V. 1835—55, cf. Tatlock in *Phil.* 18. 635 ff.). Note that the division made here between *translacions and enditynges of worldly vanitees* and *books of Legendes of seintes and Omelies and moralitee and deuocion* is already indicated in the Prologue of the Legend, where certain poems are said to have made *lewde folk delyte* (415*) while some are *of other holynesse* (424*, later corrected into *besynesse).* — Interpreted as here the passage is quite in accordance with Gascoigne's statement about Chaucer's "too-late repentance" (cf. above ch. I. 2); see also Kittredge in *Phil.* 1. 13 (but this view is opposed by Jespersen pp. 56 & 62 and in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* 1903—4, p. 91 f.).

1) In view of this and of his theory about the suppressed description of the Nun in the Prologue *(Introd. Disc.* § VI, cf. Skeat V. 19) it may be as well to state that the only part of the *Tales,* which seems ever to have been suppressed out of consideration for the Church, is the latter part of the Summoner's Tale; some Oxford MSS. (Petw., Laud. 759, Sloane 1685, Roy. 18. C. II, MacLean 181, Holkham (cf. *Spec.* VI. 80)) omit the most offensive part about the Friar, D 2159—2294, concluding with four spurious lines (see *Six-Text;* Cambr. Mm. 2. 5 puts these after D 2224). That these MSS. should represent Chaucer's first draft of the Tale (as Furnivall thinks p. 24[2]) is of course impossible; nor was the omission accidental, since the two last spurious lines are clearly a corruption of D 2294.

2) Thus El. Ha.[1] Harl. 1758, Glasgow, Bodl. 414, Rawl. Poet. 223, and Hatton (whose scribe includes himself in the benediction by adding *And he that wrote this boke also);* expanded by Pe. & Ad.[1] and translated into English by Lansd. The addition of this doxology (cf. *Melibe* B 3078 — only in Gg. Co. La.) makes it likely that the editor was a clerk, as is also inherently probable; cf. the end of the *Gesta Romanorum* in the Strasbourg ed. 1488: — *qui sine fine viuit et regnat deus per cuncta secula benedictus. Amen.*

3) Thus El. Pe. Roy. 18 C II (f. 271) Cambr. Mm. 2. 5 (f. 252 b), Fitzw. MacLean 181 (f. 304), Harl. 1758 (whose scribe adds his name: *quod Cornhylle).* Ad. 5140 turns it into Latin (cf. Six-Text), and Cambr. Ii. 3. 26 has a new version (f. 237): *Explicit liber Gal-*

thus providing the *Tales* with the stamp of official authenticity. [1]) Accordingly all the scribes are quite clear about Chaucer's authorship, and often allude to it, [2]) while Lydgate writes in the Prologue of the *Fall of Princes:*

> He made the booke of Caunterbury tales
> Whan the pylgryms rode on pylgrimage
> Throughout Kent, by hilles and by vales,
> And all the storyes tolde in theyr passage,
> Endited them full well in our language,
> Some of knighthod, some of gentlenesse,
> And some of love, and some of perfitnes.
>
> And some also of gret moralite
> Some of disport including great sentence. [3])

It will be seen that while the title of the book is the *Tales of*

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fridi Chawcer De gestis Peregrinorum versus Cantuariam. Rawl. Poet. 149 (& Hodson 39) read *Expliciunt fabule (Cantuarie),* and Eg. 2864 simply has: *here endith Personnys Tale* (cf. Trin. R. 3. 15, see above); Rawl. Poet. 223 puts *Deo gracias!* (thus also Sloane 1686, which ends with the Manciple's Tale). Harl. 7334, Lansd. Glasgow, Bodl. 414 & Hatton have no colophon at all, and the rest of the copies imperfect (Eg. 2726 & Laud 600 were completed later), except 6 MSS. (Oxf. New Coll. & Trin. Coll., Lichfield, Lincoln, Delamere, Devonshire) whose conditions on this point I do not know.

1) The only case of this kind among Chaucer's works. Neither the doxology nor the colophon ought to be accepted into the text, as they usually are.

2) The balade at the end of the Clerk's Tale (E 1177 ff.) is headed in practically all MSS. *Lenuoy de Chaucer.* Bodl. 686 has the running title *Chaucers* on ff. 2—11, and when the Host is said to look *vpon me* in B 1884, Sloane 1686 (f. 243 b) & Corpus (f. 214 b) have the marginal gloss: *i. Chauncer.* In Coll. Phys. f. 28 b a similar marginal note at B 47 *De sermone Chauncer* has crept into the text and destroyed the sense:

> *The sermoun of Chauncer* though he but lewdly.

3) Lydgate goes on to mention *Mellibe, Grisilde, Tragedies,* cf. Hammond p. 59.

Caunterbury [1]) in the MSS. and in Chaucer's own allusions to the work in his *Retraccioun*s, Lydgate speaks of it under the time-honoured name of the *Canterbury Tales.*[2]) As the fame of the work increased during the 16th and 17th centuries this name came to be used about all extravagant stories, quite apart from Chaucer's work,[3]) so that among the books not to be suppressed according to the *Acte for thadvauncement of true Religion and for thabbolishment of the contrarie* (1542/3) were *Cronycles, Canterbury Tales, Chaucers bokes, Gowers bokes and stories of mennes lieves.* [4]) And in his *Worthies of England* (1662, p. 97) Fuller wrote that since Chaucer's time "*Canterbury-Tales* are parallel to *Fabulæ Milesiæ,* which are charactered, *Nec veræ, nec verisimiles,* meerly made to marre precious time, and please fanciful people."

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1) A formal title, put at the head of the Prologue, is found only in a few MSS., such as Hatton, Harl. 1758 (see Six-Text), Eg. 2864 (in Latin), and Arch. Seld. B 14, f. 4: *Here bigynneth the prolog of this book the which is namede the talis of Caunterbury in the whiche prolog thautour openly declarith the names of alle the pilgrimes there condicions ⁊ there array.* Note also Shirley's florid title in Harl. 7333, f. 37 (cf. Spurgeon I. 53 f.)

2) This is also used in a will of 1417 *(Queries* 1910. II. 26), but in another will (of 1420) is mentioned *librum meum vocatum Talys of Caunterbury* (Spurgeon p. 129[1]).

3) See Lounsbury III. 41, and cp. the instances collected by Spurgeon I. 88 f., 99, 111, 116; cf. *Dict.* II. 80, Watt *Canterbury Pilgrims and their Ways* (1917) p. 59, and Hammond p. 153 f.

4) First quoted in Urry's ed. 1721 (cf. the collections in Ad. 38181, f. 2), verified in Furnivall's ed. of. Fr. Thynne's *Animaduersions* (p. xiv). — It is a tempting inference that Chaucer used an old proverbial expression as his title; but there is no evidence that the expression existed before him. Cf. ten Brink's theory that the Wife of Bath was a proverbial figure in Chaucer's time (II. 130), see Kittredge p. 34.

CHAPTER III.

THE LONGER WORKS.

1. *The Legend of Cupid's Saints.*

THIS poetical apotheosis of virtuous women exists in three separate MSS., the most important of which is Ad. 28617, and in nine collections of late ME. poetry.[1]) None of the copies are earlier than the middle of the 15th century, except that in the early collection of Chaucer's works, Cambr. Gg. 4. 27 (ff. 445—80 b).[2]) This stands by itself and evidently goes back to an independent copy of the poet's original,[3]) while the rest of the MSS. form another group, a subdivision of which is made up by three Bodleian volumes, Fairfax 16, Tanner 346, & Bodl. 638, none of which are very good;[4]) the copy in Pepys 2006 is better, but incomplete.[5])

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1) In two of these, Cambr. Ff. 1. 6 & Bod. Rawl. C. 86, only a single legend is found, respectively *Thisbe* & *Dido*. — The two other separate copies are Ad. 9832 & 12524.

2) See Langhans in *Engl. Stud.* 56. 36 ff. and Bilderbeck *Chaucer's Legend* (1902) p. 32 f.; the latter maintains p. 34 ff. that Gg contains an early draft of the poem, but the material quoted in support of this view generally consists in faulty readings in Gg, e. g. 718 *(That tho was in that lond Estward dwellynge)*, 887 *(withoutyn ony bost)*, 1112 (see Skeat's notes on the text), 1729 f. (cf. *ib.)*, 1922 f. (omitted.) Cf. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 36. 133 ff.

3) Some variants are preferable to those of the other MSS., e. g. 928 *(In Naso and Eneydos)* & 1143 *(holy quene* for *noble q.)* — besides those accepted by Skeat, cf. his textual apparatus.

4) See espec. Bilderbeck l. c. p. 48 ff (note their many omissions and spurious lines in 1139, 2338, & 2150—3); also Skeat III. xlvii ff. and S. Kunz *Das Verhältnis der Handschriften von Chaucers Legend* diss. 1889, p. 34 (cf. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 15. 419 ff).

5) Bilderbeck undervalues this MS. & Ad. 28617 considerably (l. c. p. 62 ff.); note that they (& Rawl. C. 86) and Gg alone have 960 f.

By far the most important point of difference between the two groups is the existence of two forms of the Prologue. That in Gg was not discovered till 1864 by Bradshaw, and in 1871 Furnivall pronounced it the earlier, rejected draft, later worked up into the *versio vulgata* with its compliments to the Queen.[1]) This view prevailed for many years,[2]) though ten Brink showed in 1892 that several details pointed to the conclusion that the Gg Prologue was in reality the later, revised version.[3]) His results were, however, not generally accepted,[4]) until Lowes in 1904 finally proved that Gg contained the more mature version, arguing especially from Chaucer's artistic use of his sources.[5]) At the same time Lowes

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Koch's results *(Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 104 f., 43. 197 ff., & 44. 23 ff.) are not very clear; his evidence for contamination often appears coincidental, and there is not the slightest reason to believe in a third group of MSS., nor taht they all go back to one copy of the poet's original *(Anglia* 44. 65). Amy's diss. on *The Text of Chaucer's Legend* (1918, cf. Wells *First Suppl.* p. 996) I do not know, but I quite agree with his chief results in *Journ.* 21. 107 ff.

1) *Trial Forewords* p. 104 ff., cf. *Athen.* 1871 II. 528.

2) See Bech, *Anglia* 5. 354 ff.; Skeat III. xxi ff.; Kunz' diss. p. 8 ff.; Koch *Chronology* p. 43 ff.

3) *Engl. Stud.* 17. 13 ff.; acc. by Koeppel *ib.* 195 ff. & *Literaturblatt* 1893, col. 51 ff. See also Mather's ed. of the *Prologue* p. xxiii[1], Kaluza in *Engl. Stud.* 22. 281, and especially Binz in *Anglia Beiblatt* 11. 231 ff.

4) Both Koch *Chronology* p. 81 ff., Legouis (cf. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 30. 456 ff.), and Bilderbech *(op. cit.* p. 77 ff.) upheld the priority of Gg.

5) *Publ.* 19. 593 ff. J. C. French maintained in his diss. 1905 that the Gg prologue was an early draft; cf. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 36. 142 ff. & 37. 232 ff., *Anglia Beiblatt* 20. 129 ff., *Monatsschrift* 1. 502 (but see Tatlock p. 87 ff. & *Notes* 21. 58 ff.). Lowes amplified his proof in *Phil.* 8. 330 f. and *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (1913) p. 95 ff. *(cf. Anglia Beiblatt* 39. 365 ff); Koch is, however, not yet convinced (see *Engl. Stud.* 55. 174. ff.). Miss Hammond was still undecided in 1908 (p. 382, cf. Root *The Poetry of Ch.* p. 143), but Wells considers the matter settled by Lowes (p. 670). Langhans recognizes *(Untersuchungen zu Ch.* p. 77 ff.) that Gg offers the most mature version of the Prologue, but takes the extravagant view

tried to show that most or all of the single legends were composed before the *versio vulgata* of the Prologue, that this was written in 1386, and that the revision took place in 1394. [1]) But only two things are certain, that the Prologue was originally written at the command of Queen Anne, [2]) and that it was revised after her death on June 7, 1394, practically all the compliments to her being excised; [3]) the revision may, however, very well have taken place soon after the original composition of the Prologue. [4]) No doubt

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that the other version is not due to Chaucer, but to a clerkly interpolator (cf. *Anglia* 41. 162 f., *Beiblatt* 31. 207, & *Engl. Stud.* 36. 42 ff.; but see H. Lange *Anglia* 41. 393 ff. *Beiblatt* 29. 355 ff., & 30. 5 ff., cf. Koch, *Literaturblatt* 1919, col. 90 ff.).

1 *Publ.* 20. 749 ff., cf. Tatlock p. 121 f..

2) Cf. Lydgate's testimony (see ch. I. 2). This does not, of course, connect the composition with Chaucer's being granted a deputy in his office as Comptroller of the Customs in 1385 (see *Athen.* 1888. I. 116 and Moore in *Anglia* 37. 18 f. cf. Hulbert in *Notes* 36. 123) as ten Brink believed (p. 147 ff., cf. Skeat III. xvi ff.); see Tatlock in *Phil.* 1. 317, and espec. Hulbert *ib.* 10. 433 ff.

3) Lange's evidence that the revision was undertaken *after* Richards second marriage with Isabel of France on Nov. 4. 1396, is inconclusive (*Anglia* 39. 347 ff., cf. *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 1916, col. 981 ff.), while Koeppel's hypothesis that the change was due to an unsuccessful attempt of Chaucer's to adapt the *Legend* for the *Cant. Tales* (*Engl. Stud.* 30. 467, cf. *Literaturblatt* 1893, col. 52) is entirely unsupported by any evidence at all.

4) Cf. App. C. The supposed parallels between the Prologue and Usk's *Testament of Love,* noted by Skeat VII. xxv & 452 and by Tatlock p. 23 f., are not decisive and do not prove that the original Prologue is earlier than the Testament (ab. 1387). This also applies to the slight similarities with Clanvowe's *Book of Cupid* (see Skeat VII. 528, Kittredge *Phil.* 1. 14, and Langhans in *Engl. Stud.* 56. 56), while the undoubted parallels with Gower's *Confessio Amantis* VIII. 245 ff. (cf. Macaulay's ed. III. 545 f. & Kittredge in *Publ.* 24. 357 ff.) may very well represent borrowings on Chaucer's part. — The allusions to Chaucer's old age are found only in the Gg revision (262, 315, 400), but considering the extreme conventionality which has always characterized the poetical view of youth and

there was some demand for the poem at court;[1]) but our material is too vague and scanty to admit of general inferences, and the whole story of the poet's offence in uttering heresies against Love and his penance for it is obviously quite conventional, as it has a good many literary parallels.[2])

Evidently the work was never finished by Chaucer; it is clear that his original plan comprised many more women than the nine or ten he actually wrote about.[3]) The last legend deals with Hypermystre, but it suddenly breaks off the account of how

> — she was caught & fetered In prysoun
> This tale is seyd for this conclusioun.[4])

The concluding line is generally taken to be the introduction to the final moralisation, in which case one would of course have expected Chaucer to go on and finish the Legend with the half-dozen lines or so which were all that was still wanted.[5]) But the scribes did not take

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old age, this fact cannot be said to prove a long interval between the two versions.

1) Not improbably in connection with the Flower and the Leaf cult, see 69 ff. (81 * ff. & 188 * ff.), cp. G. L. Marsh in *Phil.* 4. 121 ff. & 281 ff., esp. p. 125.

2) See Machaut's two *Jugement* poems (see Höpffner, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 30. 403) and Jean de Meun's excuses for his attacks on women (*Rom. de la Rose* ed. Marteau, 15759 ff., cf. 8773 ff.); note the peculiar story Brantôme tells of Jean de Meun in his *Vie des Dames Galantes* (cf. F. Guillon *Jean Clopinel dit de Meung,* 1903, p. 169 f.) Nothing is gained by such speculations as those offered by Speght (see the *Argument* of the poem in his ed. 1598), Hammond (p. 302), Legouis (Engl. transl. p. 39 ff. & 97 ff), and Bilderbeck (*op. cit.* p. 93 ff., cf. already Bech in *Anglia* 5. 379, and see Lowes in *Publ.* 20. 801[2] & Root *ib.* 24. 142 f.)

3) See Bech, *Anglia* 5. 380 ff. and Tatlock *ib.* 27. 109, cf. Skeat III. xxviii.

4) Quoted from Gg, thus in all complete MSS.

5) See Kittredge in *Publ.* 24. 361 & Amy in *Journ.* 21. 117 f.; cf. Skeat III. 351.

this view of the line. They considered it the actual conclusion of the tale, as it declared itself to be, [1]) an attitude which is especially pronounced in the case of Ad. 12524, where the legend of Ypermystre is followed by Gilbert Banestre's legend of Sismond, after which the whole poem closes with the following rubric on f. 28 b: *Heyr endyth the legend of ladyis.* [2])

It is almost unbelievable that this bald concluding line can have been written by Chaucer; it has all the appearance of being added by his literary executor to make the poet's unfinished draft look like a complete work. [3]) If Chaucer had added it himself after the revision of the Prologue it must have been to get the work ready for publication; but the fact that the rejected prologue is preserved in all MSS. except one decisively proves that the poem could never have been published in the author's own lifetime. [4])

Only one of the MSS. ascribes the work to Chaucer, Selden B. 24, which has the following colophon on f. 191 b: *And thus ended Chaucere The legendis of ladyis.* Unfortunately this is a very late and unreliable MS.;[5]) Shirley has no copy, and the Gg volume is not an exclusive collection of Chaucer's works, so that the presence of the poem here does not necessarily imply Chaucerian authorship. However, Lydgate knew that the poet wrote *a legend of perfite holines* which was to have comprised nineteen good women , but fell short of the number, because so many did not

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1) Thus Koch too (*Literaturblatt* 1920, col. 18 ff.).

2) See about Banestre W. Farnham in *Publ.* 39. 137.

3) It ought accordingly to be omitted from the editions, or to be inserted in brackets only.

4) See Root, *Publ.* 24. 150 ff. The revised prologue was probably inserted on loose sheets at the beginning of the autograph and correctly copied by the Gg-ancestor, but lost before the ancestor of the second group of MSS. was transcribed. — That the *Legend* was never revised as a whole is proved by such slips as the unintentional Alexandrine in 1126 (see Koch in *Anglia* 43. 235 f):

Thus can this honurable quene hire gestis calle;

cf. also the mistake of *Athenes* in 1966 (see *Globe Ch.* p. 617; Skeat accepts *In mochel mirthe,* offered by two (bad) MSS. only, cf. III. 335), and note 2099 f. (cf. Skeat III. 338).

5) From ab. 1500, cf. Hammond p. 341 ff.

exist.[1]) Now this statement corresponds remarkably closely with the passage in the first version of the Prologue (554*—57*), where the poet is commanded by the God of Love to write the lives of the ladies accompanying Queen Alceste and numbering nineteen in all (186 & 283*).[2]) Accordingly there can hardly be any doubt that Lydgate is speaking of the present poem, and his testimony may be said to give irrefutable proof that the *Legend* is Chaucer's.[3])

In the *Canterbury Tales* Chaucer himself has an allusion to a poem like the present one, when he makes his lawyer discourse upon literature and recognize his, Chaucer's, merits as a purveyor of light literature (B 57—76):

> In youthe he made of Ceys and Alcione,
> And sitthe hath he spoken of euerichone,
> Thise noble wyues and thise loueris eke.
> Who so that wole his large volume seke,
> Cleped the *seintes legende of Cupide,*
> Ther may he seen the large woundes wyde

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1) In his list of Chaucer's works in the Prologue to the *Fall of Princes,* quoted ch. I. 2 above; cf. the passage from Harl. 1776, f. 26, quoted Spurgeon I. 40:

> Off gode women / a book he did wryte
> The noumbre vncomplet / fully of nynetene.

2) See Bech in *Anglia* 5. 371 ff. When Skeat tries to determine the names of the 19 ladies plus Alceste (III. xxv ff., cf. *Athen.* 1874 I. 494), this is rather doubtful work (cf. Lowes in *Publ.* 20. 817 [1]).

3) As the passage 554* ff. is found in the first form of the Prologue only, this shows, in connection with Lydgate's failure to mention the translation from Pope Innocent referred to in the final version (414 f.), that he knew the *versio vulgata* of the Prologue, but not the revision. Prof. Carleton Brown draws the opposite conclusion *(Engl. Stud.* 47. 59 ff.) from the similarity between 277 (not in the first version) and Lydgate's *Troy Book* 4362 *Ageyn oon badde ben an hundrid gode.* However, this parallel is not decisive, since what is practically the same line occurs in *C. T.* A 3153 (cf. *Troy Book* 4393 ff.). Nor does Brown's parallel between 454 f. & *Troy Book* 4389 f) show anything, as this passage occurs also in the first version (464* f.); cf. Langhans *Untersuchungen zu Ch.* p. 159 f.

Of Lucresse and of Babilan Tesbee,
The swerd of Dido for the false Enee,
The tree of Phillis for hir Demophon,
The pleynte of Diane and of Hermyon,
Of Adriane and of Isiphilee
— The bareyne yle stondynge in the see —,
The dreynte Leandre for his Erro,
The teeris of Eleyne, and the wo
Of Brixseyde and the[e], Ladomya;
The crueltee of the[e], queen Medea,
Thy litel children, hangynge by the hals
For thy Iason, that was in loue so fals!
O Ypermystra, Penelopee, Alceste,
Youre wifhede he comendeth with the beste.

This is evidently a reference to the extant *Legend,* though the contents do not agree; Chaucer mentions fifteen ladies here besides Alceste, though two are wanting of the ten whose fate he actually deals with in the *Legend,* Cleopatra and Philomela.[1]) Nothing can, however, be concluded from such discrepancies in a jocular allusion.[2]) Seeing that Chaucer expressly says his volume was

Cleped the Seintes legende of Cupide

while both Hoccleve and Lydgate refer to the poem in similar terms,[3]) the authentic title certainly ought to be *The Legend of*

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1) See Tyrwhit's note on ver. 4481, cf. Skeat V. 137 ff.

2) Cf. Bech, *Anglia* 5. 374 f., Fansler p. 44 f., & Wells p. 667. Lounsbury was inclined to conclude from this passage that some of the extant Legends were still unwritten at the time when the Man of Law's Prologue was composed (I. 417 f.); the suggestion was further developed by Root *(Publ.* 24. 124 ff.), but rejected by Kittredge *(ib.* p. 343 ff.) The whole problem is a pretty one, involving the general relations between Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and the *Cant. Tales.*

3) See Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid* 316, where the God of Love quotes *my legende of Martres* (see Skeat VII. xl & 501, cf. *Acad.* 1887. II. 253), and Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (Harl. 1776, f. 26, quoted by Spurgeon I. 40):

Cupid's Saints [1]) rather than the *Legend of Good Women,* used since Thynne. [2]) The quaintness of such a title would be quite in keeping with the poem's character of an erotic pastiche, modelled on the lines of a medieval legendary. [3]) The Latin titles of the single legends are very characteristic in this respect; [4]) they seem to have been developed by Chaucer from Boccaccio's chapter-headings in *De Claris Mulieribus:* [5])

Redith *the legend of martyrs of Cupyde*
Which that *Chauncer* in Ordre as they stood
Compyled of women that wer callyd good.

In another passage of the same work (Harl. 4203, f. 140, quoted by Spurgeon I. 41 f.) Lydgate refers to Chaucer's *legende of Cupyde.*

1) Cf. Kittredge p. 150 (& p. 16).

2) Only two MS. copies (Fairf 16, f. 83, & Bodl. 638, f. 48) are headed *The prologe of. IX. goode women.* Both Hammond (p. 378 f.) and Wells (p. 665) say that this title is indicated by 473 f. (485 * f.), where Chaucer is commanded to spend his time.

In makynge of *a gloryous legende*
Of *goode wemen maydenys & wyues.*

But this is clearly an allusion to the *contents* of the volume, not to its title.

3) It is not really a parody, as contended by Garrett in *Journ.* 22. 64 ff., and by Goddard *(ib.* 7. 87 ff. & 8. 47 ff.; cf. Lowes *ib.* 8. 513 ff.; Macaulay, *Rev.* 6. 136 f.; Root, *Engl. Stud.* 41. 411 ff.). D. D. Griffith is at any rate wrong in thinking *(Manly Anniversary Studies,* 1923, p. 32 ff.) that the poet revised the Prologue to get rid of all mock-ecclesiastical phrases.

4) Found in Ad. 28617 & 12524 and in Fairf. 16, Bodl. 638, & Tanner 346; here printed from Fairfax, f. 83 ff. (Gg gives only the first heading, though space is left for them all; Pepys 2006, Trin. R. 3. 19, & Seld. B. 24 translate the titles into English, and Ad. 9832 has none at all). They are too characteristic not to be due to Chaucer himself, seeing that the MS. evidence is satisfactory; cf. Cupid's swearing by his mother *Seynt Venus* (313, cf. 338 *) and Lucretia's becoming a saint (1871, cf. Skeat III. 331 & 333).

5) Capp. LXXXVI, XII, XL, XV, XVI, XIII — from the ed. Lovanii 1487. Note the similar forms of the names.

Incipit legenda Cleopatrie Martiris Egipti Regine	De Cleopatra regina Egipciorum
Incipit legenda Tesbe Babilon martiris	De Tisbe Babilonia virgine
Incipit Legenda Didonis martiris Cartaginis Regine &c	De Dydone seu Elessa Tyria Carthaginiensium regina
Incipit Legenda ysiphile et Medee Martirum	De Ysiphile regina Leumi De Medea regina Colcorum
Incipit Legenda Lucrecie Rome Martiris	De Lucrecia Collatini conjuge
— — — — — — —	
Incipit legenda Yppermystre	De Ypermestra Argiuorum regina [1])

In the Prologue there is an especially interesting passage, giving us Chaucer's first testimony to the extent of his own authorship. Alceste defends the poet against the accusations of the God of Love:

402 But wel I wot with that he can endyte
He hath makid lewede folk to delyte
To seruyn ȝow in preysynge of ȝoure name
He made the bok that highte *the hous of fame,*
And ek *the deth of Blaunche the duchesse,*
And *the parlement of foulis* as I gesse,
And al *the loue of Palamon & Arcite*
Of thebes, thow the storye is knowe lite,

[1]) Note also the curious reference to the *Legend* in the early XV cent burlesque on the office of the Mass, addressed to *Cupide, the myghty God of Love* (Fairf. 16, f. 317 b; see *The Lay Folks Mass Book* (E. E. T. S. 1879), Brandl in *Grundriss* II. 692, & Hammond in *Journ.* 7. 95 ff.): "And ther I ha founden and seyn the grete trouthe of *Troylus* parseuerant to his lyves ende The trewe stable menying of *penalope* The clennesse of *polycene* The kyndenesse of *Dydo quen of Cartage And rad also ful often in my contemplatyf medytacouns The holy legende of Martyrs of Cupydo* The secre trouthe of *Trystram and ysoude* And the smale Gerdouns of woful *Palamydes.*"

And manye an ympne for [ȝ]our halydayis
That hightyn baladis, roundelys, (&) vyrelayes.
And for to speke of othyr besynesse
He hath in prose translatid *Boece,*
And of *the wrechede engendrynge of mankynde*
As man may in pope innocent I-fynde,
And made *the lyf also of seynt Cecile;*
He made also, gon is a gret[e] while,
Orygenes vp-on the maudeleyne
Hym ouuȝte now to haue the lesse peyne
He hath mad manye a lay & manye a thyng. [1])

Then Alceste concludes by stating her conviction that the poet will be loyal to Love in future:

And fortheryn ȝow as meche as he mysseyde
Or in *the rose* or ellis in *crisseyde.* [2])

These two works were the cause of the God of Love's angry upbraidings of Chaucer earlier in the Prologue:

ffor in pleyn tixt, it nedyth nat to glose
Thow hast translatid *the romauns of the rose,*
That is an eresye a-geyns myn lawe
And makyst wise folk fro me withdrawe
— — — — — — —
Hast thow nat mad in englys ek *the bok*

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[1]) The corresponding lines in the draft, 414*—29*, leave out 414 f. about the translation from Innocent, while they have the first couplet in a different and indeed better form (414* f.):

Al be hit that he kan nat wel endite
Yet hath he made lewde folk delyte.

The whole passage is evidently modelled on Froissart's enumeration of *his* works in *Buisson de Jonece* 443—52 (ed. Scheler II. 14); cf. ch. VI. 1.

[2]) Thus also the first version (440* f).

How that Crisseyde Troylis forsok,
In schewynge how that wemen han don mis? [1])

Alceste excuses the foolish poet:

340 Or ellis, sere, for that this man is nyce
He may translate a thyng in no malyce,
But for he vsyth bokis for to make
And takyth non hed of what matere he take.
344 Therefore he wrot *the rose* & ek *Crisseyde*
Of innocence & nyste what he seyde;
Or hym was bodyn make thilke tweye
Of sum persone & durste it not with seye,
ffor he hath wrete manye a bok er this. [2])

At last the author defends himself. Lovers ought not to blame him:

458 They aughte rathere with me for to holde
ffor that I of *Criseyde* wrot or tolde
Or of *the rose!* [3])

Of the ten works mentioned here five re-appear in Chaucer's last list of his writings, in the *Retraccioun*s, [4]) where the translations from Innocent and Origenes are omitted, while *Palamon & Arcite* and *Seynt Cecile* were probably included in *The tales of Caunterbury*. The two last titles of the eight given in the *Retrac-*

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1) Somewhat changed from the first draft, 328*—31* & 332* f.
2) Altered from the first draft, 362*—8*, where there is nothing corresponding to 344 f.
3) Found in a closely corresponding form in the first draft (468* ff).
4) *The book of Troilus, The book of ffame, The book of the Duchesse, The book of seint Valentynes day of the parlement of briddes, The translacion of Boece de consolacione. — The Romance of the Rose* is not mentioned, which is strange enough, though it certainly does not prove the list to be spurious (as Tyrwhitt thought (III. 314), cf. Hertzberg p. 671 and Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 37. 227 ff.; but see Nicolas p. 85 f.); on the contrary an interpolator would have slavishly copied the items in the Prol. of the *Legend* — as Lydgate did.

ciouns are *The book of the Leon* and *The book of the .XXV. Ladies*;[1]) of these the latter almost certainly indicates the present poem, which occurs under a similar title, *The Legend of Ladyes*, in two (late) MSS.[2])

2. *The House of Fame.*

Both the above-mentioned lists by Chaucer were copied by Lydgate in his long catalogue of the Master's works in the Prologue of the *Fall of Princes*. Here he omits one of the items mentioned by Chaucer, *the bok that highte the hous of fame*, but he adds several titles, e. g. some separate Canterbury tales, *Mellebe, Grisilde*, the Monk's *Pitous Tragedies*, and he further remarks about the poet:

> He wrot also / ful many a day agone
> *Dante in ynglyssh / hym-sylff so doth expresse*

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[1]) Thus Ellesmere and almost all complete MSS. (Ad. 5140, Seld. B 14, Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 15, & Fitzw. MacLean 181; Bodl. 414 & Harl. 1758 have *25*, Hatton & Rawl. Poet. 149 *fyve and twenty)*; only Cambr. Mm. 2. 5. & Lansd. read *XV*, Harl. 7334 has *29*, and Roy. 18. C. II (f. 271) actually reads *XIX*, anticipating Skeat's emendation *nynetene*. All other editors read *five and twenty* (or *XXV*) following Tyrwhitt, and this is probably what Chaucer wrote, though the number looks rather odd.

[2]) Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 19, f. 114; Seld. B 24, f. 152, cf. f. 161: *Here endis the prolog of the legendis of good wommen.* Ab. 1480 John Paston possessed "a blak Boke with the *Legende off Lad[ies*, la Belle Dame] saunce Mercye, the Parlement off Byrd[es, the Temple of] Glasse, Palatyn and Scitacus, the Me[ditations of — — —] the Green Knyht" (see *The Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner (1904) VI. 65 f.). Note also that in the Prologue to his hunting treatise *Mayster of the Game* (temp. Henry IV) Edward, Duke of York, quotes the poem: "*ffor as Chaucer saiþ in his Prologe of the XXV good wymmen* Be wryteng haue men of ymages passed for writyng is þe keye of all good remembraunces" (see Spurgeon I. 18, cf. Liddell, *Acad.* 1896. II. 116).

The piteous story / of Ceix and Alcyone
and the Deth also of blaunche the Duchesse. [1])

The second line, which is admittedly difficult, [2]) has been interpreted as a parenthetical statement, meaning either that Chaucer's English style was equal to that of Dante in Italian, [3]) or more simply that the English Dante, Chaucer, himself tells us what follows. [4]) However, the construction of Lydgate's stanza would appear to demand that *Dante in Ynglyssh* be taken not as the subject of *expresse*, but as the object of *wrot* in the first line, like *Ceix & Alcyone* and *The Deth of Blaunche*. By Skeat the phrase is regarded as a synonym for the one work in Chaucer's lists not mentioned by Lydgate, *The House of Fame*. [5]) A poem has been handed down to us under this title in a few MSS., but it is not ascribed to Chaucer in any of them; it has been maintained that it is a sort of humorous English counterpart to Dante's *Commedia*, and this theory formed the basis of Skeat's identification. [6]) However, the connection between the *House of Fame* and Dante's great poem, though undoubted in many details, is not nearly so close as to justify such a remarkable title as Lydgate's would be on this assumption. [7])

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1) From Harl. 1776, f. 8, quoted by Spurgeon I. 38.
2) Kittredge thinks it "maddening" (*Nation* N. Y. 1894. II. 309).
3) See Koeppel's diss. on the *Fall of Princes* (München 1885) p. 82, cf. *Anglia* 13. 186 & 163 f.; but note that the reflexive use of *expresse* seems late (cf. *Dict.*). Nevertheless Kittredge has practically the same explanation (p. 7).
4) Thus Kaluza in *Engl. Stud.* 22. 277 f.; cf. Langhans in *Anglia* 44. 234[1].
5) I. 24 & III. ix; cf. the ed. by C. M. Drennan p. 15 ff., and Wells pp. 621 & 653.
6) Dantes influence on the poem was first traced by Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer* (1859) p. 117 ff., later by Kissner, *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur italienischen Litteratur* (diss. Marburg 1867) p. 68 ff., and by ten Brink p. 88 ff. It was greatly exaggerated by Rambeau in *Engl. Stud.* 3. 209 ff.
7) See Wells p. 655 and cf. *Acad.* 1889. I. 249, 305, 342, 379, 413; also

Besides, the natural sense of *He wrot — Dante in ynglyssh* surely is that Chaucer translated Dante, and thus the passage was understood already by Bale. [1]) *If* such a translation were left us we might indeed hail its author as

Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier

— but there is *no* trace of it, and though it is barely possible that it has been lost since Lydgate's time this is not very likely, since he evidently only knew the lost works of Chaucer from the poet's own remarks in his lists. [2]) If Lydgate, then, knew no other Chaucer texts than those now left us, we ought to be able in these to discover the allusion which he misunderstood as pointing to a Dante translation. [3])

Miss Hammond considered it possible that Lydgate was thinking of the tragedy of Ugolino which ends (B 3648 ff.):

Of this Tragedie it oghte ynough suffise
Who so wol here it in a lenger wise

Lounsbury II. 242 ff., Tatlock p. 35, Kittredge *The Date of Troilus* p. 53 f., but especially W. O. Sypherd *Studies in Chaucer's Hous of Fame* (Ch. Soc. 1907) p. 44 ff. Nor did Lydgate know enough about Dante to recognize Chaucer's actual borrowings from him in *Fame,* cf. Paget Toynbee *Dante in English Literature* I. 18 ff.

1) *Dantem Italum transtulit,* see Hammond pp. 62 & 375; cf. Spurgeon I. 38, 122, & 233 about later statements to this effect. See also Lounsbury I. 425 f., cf. II. 236. That Chaucer mentions Dante in *Fame* 450 can scarcely have misled Lydgate; it is very doubful indeed whether he had read Chaucer's poem at all (the passages about the "house of Fame" collected by Skeat I. 24 do not prove. anything, cf. Hammond p. 374).

2) See Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 227 f., cf. ch. VI. 1.

3) Note the parenthesis *hym-sylff so doth expresse,* where *hym-sylff* is the subject (cf. Hammond in *Anglia* 36. 376, and see Hupe about the importance of the cesura in *Anglia* 13. 363). Skeat first understood the phrase like this (cf. his ed. of the *Minor Poems* (1888) p. xii), but he has a much more elaborate explanation of it I. 24, taking it to qualify the verb *wrote* and to mean: "in his writing he expresses himself like Dante did" (see his separate ed. of the poem (Clarendon Press 1887) p. 78).

Redeth the grete Poete of ytaille
That highte Dant. for he kan al deuyse
ffro point to point. nat a word wol he faille. [1])

This is, however, only a reference to Dante's treatment of the story, not a statement that Chaucer had translated it from him, and besides Lydgate expressly alludes to the Master's *Tragedies* later in his list, as we have seen. But there is another passage in the *Canterbury Tales,* which suits our purpose better. The Wife of Bath declares (D 1125 f.):

Wel kan the wise Poete of fflorence
That highte Dant speken in this sentence
Lo in swich maner rym is Dantes tale
D 1128 fful selde vp riseth by his branches smale
Prowesse of man for god of his goodnesse
Wole that of hym we clayme oure gentilesse
ffor of oure eldres may we no thyng clayme
But temporel thyng þat man may hurte & mayme.

The quotation — from Purgatorio VII. 121—3 — comprises only D 1128—30, but it will be seen that this is not indicated in the text, so that Lydgate might easily believe all of the ensuing sermon on Gentilnesse (D 1131—76) to have been translated from Dante [2]) — if indeed he did not identify the whole *tale of the Wyf of Bathe* with *Dantes tale.* Probably he did so, and *Dante in ynglyssh* is then simply to be taken as another allusion to the *Canterbury Tales.* [3])

The preserved poem of *The House of Fame* was first attributed to Chaucer by Caxton, who printed it separately ab. 1483 with the

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1) See Hammond p. 374 f., cf. E. E. Kellett in *The London Mercury* 1921, 4. 283 *(The House of Fame* is certainly not a parody on Dante, as maintained in this paper p. 286 ff. (cf. Legouis, *Chaucer,* Engl. transl. p. 92); see Wells p. 655).

2) As in a way it was — cf. Lowes in *Phil.* 13. 25[5].

3) The other places where Chaucer mentions Dante, D 1520 and *Legend* 336 (360*), are without significance in this connection.

title *The book of Fame made by Gefferey Chaucer.*[1]) This may imply that Caxton's MS. ascribed the poem to Chaucer, but more probably the printer merely identified it with *the bok of fame,* mentioned in the *Retraccioums.*[2]) As a matter of fact this title, and still more that from the *Legend, The House of Fame,* fits the poem excellently, and no doubt this is the strongest piece of evidence in favour of Chaucer's authorship. As it is supported by the internal evidence of 729, which gives the author's Christian name as *Geffrey,* and of 625 f., speaking of his office work, the identification may be considered complete.

The poem has been handed down to us in three MSS. only, the sister volumes Fairf. 16 & Bodl. 638, whose copies number 2158 lines, but are evidently incomplete, and Cambr. Magd. Coll. Pepys 2006 (pp. 91—114), breaking off with l. 1843. The *editio princeps* really ends with l. 2094, after which Caxton adds 12 lines, carefully pointing out that they are not Chaucer's by adding his own name in the margin:

They were a chekkede bothe two
2094 And neyther of hym myght out go
And wyth the noyse of them [t]wo *Caxton*
I sodeynly awoke anon tho
And remembryd what I had seen
And how hye and ferre I had been
I my ghoost / and had grete wonder
Of that the god of thonder
Had let me knowen / and began to wryte
Lyke as ye haue herd me endyte
Wherfor to studye and rede alway
I purpose to doo day by day
Thus in dremyng and in game
Endith thys lytyl book of Fame[3])
Explicit

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[1]) See Blades *The Biography and Typography of Will. Caxton* (1877) p. 291 ff.

[2]) About this time Caxton was printing his second ed. of the *Cant. Tales;* cf. Blades l. c. p. 288 ff.

[3]) Skeat notes III. 287 that the passage is imitated from the conclu-

I fynde nomore of this werke tofore sayd / For as fer as I can vnderstonde / This noble man Gefferey Chaucer fynysshyd at the sayd conclusion of the metyng of lesyng and sothsawe / where as yet they ben chekked and maye not departe / whyche werke as me semeth is craftyly made / and dygne to be wreton ⁊ knowen / For he towchyth in it ryght grete wysedom ⁊ subtyll vnderstondyng / —.[1])

Thynne printed the poem from a more complete MS., adding the 64 lines also in the Fairf. and Bodl. MSS., but nevertheless he kept Caxton's conclusion, changing the first couplet to suit the new conditions:

> And therwithal I obrayde
> Out of my slepe halfe a frayde.

He also omitted Caxton's marginal note and prose remarks, and in this way the twelve additional lines were reprinted in all editions till Furnivall proved them spurious in the Chaucer Society's *Parallel Text Ed. of the Minor Poems* [2]) Caxton must have had a MS. like Pepys, for these two authorities both omit 793—96 and especially the 38 lines 827—64.[3]) Thynne seems to

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sions of Chaucer's *Parlement* and *Blanche,* cp. lines 2 & 9 above with *Parl.* 693 & 696, and line 7 with *Bl.* 1332.

[1]) This conclusion is repr. in Pynson's ed. of Ch. 1526 pt. II.

[2]) Pp. 179 & 240, cf. *Acad.* 1878 I. 52. Bradshaw thought that Thynne's first couplet was genuine and Caxton's spurious, see Blades *The Biography and Typography of Will. Caxton* (1877) p. 293. Similarly Koch first preferred Thynne's conclusion to Caxton's *(Anglia* 3, *Anzeiger* p. 187); later he considered Caxton's lines genuine *(ib.* 4. 103), till Willert in his diss. on *The Hous of Fame* (Berlin 1883, p. 34) demonstrated their lack of authenticity (cf. Koch in *Anglia* 7, *Anzeiger* p. 30)

[3]) Nevertheless this group is the best authority for the text (cf. *Globe Ch.* p. xliv). Note that the Pepys MS. alone has the correct reading in 1124, where it is said of the rock of ice, on which the palace of Fame is built, that *hit was lyk alym de glas,* which as Bradley has pointed out *(Athen.* 1902. I. 564, cf. Drennan's ed. p. 93) is the French *alun de glace,* crystallised alum (cf. *C. T.* G 813: *alum-glas).* The comparison is of course very apt, but was misunderstood by Caxton and Thynne, who have *a lymed glas* (Heath

have used Caxton's print, supplemented by a MS. like Fairf. & Bodl., but better than those; [1]) it contained the four lines 280—3, missing in all other authorities. [2])

A natural consequence of these unsatisfactory MS. conditions is the comparatively great corruption of the text, which makes conjectures and emendations necessary in several places. [3]) In the Introduction, for instance, Chaucer discusses the nature of dreams and says (52—4):

> But whi the cause ys nought wote I
> Well worth of this thinge grete clerkys
> That trete of this and othir werkys.

This is the reading of the MSS., [4]) accepted by all editors and explained by Skeat: "As respects this matter, may good befall the great clerks that treat of it." But this hardly makes sense of the passage, where *worth* in the second line probably ought to be *woote*. In these circumstances it becomes doubtful, whether

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amends *alyned* = aligned), while Fairf. & Bodl. write *For hit was like a thing of glas*. The latter reading was accepted by Skeat and has been used to start the theory that Chaucer had here borrowed the well-known glass mountain of the folk tales, see Garrett in *Studies* 5. 157 ff. and Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's Hous of Fame* (Ch. Soc. 1907) p. 114 ff.; cf. H. R. Patch in *Notes* 33. 178 ff. & Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 50. 381[2]).

[1]) See Koch in *Anglia* 3, *Anzeiger* p. 186, and Heath in *Globe Ch.* p. xliii; cf. Willert's diss. and Koch's review in *Anglia* 7, *Anzeiger* p. 24 ff. (cp. Willert *ib.* p. 203 ff and see about his ed. of the poem Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 15. 409 ff.).

[2]) Of course they are *not* spurious, as Willert thinks (diss. p. 32 f). Lines missing in Fairf. & Bodl. only are: 504—7, 780, 1572, 2028, 2036.

[3]) Cf. Skeat III. xiii ff.; the text of his separate ed. (Clarendon Press 1897) is better than that of his great ed. (though this is an improvement on the text in his ed. of the *Minor Poems* (1888)). See further Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 53 ff., & *Anglia, Beiblatt* 27. 139 ff. (cf. Holthausen *ib.* 31. 137).

[4]) Bodl. (quoted) & Fairf.; Pepys, Caxton, Thynne omit *grete* in 53.

the incomplete state of the text is really due to Chaucer himself, as is generally supposed.[1]) The last 64 lines are found only in one branch of the textual tradition, represented by Fairfax & Bodley (and by Thynne);[2]) they do not, however, bring the poem to a close. It is extremely possible, then, that the ancestor of this group had lost a leaf with the last fifty or sixty lines, while one leaf more was lost in the ancestor of the other branch, which lacks also 2095—2158. The conclusion may even have been wanting in the common source, which was evidently not the poet's autograph, but a transcription of it,[3]) as shown by such a clear case of corruption as the following: In the palace of Fame Chaucer meets a man to whom he complains of the lack of suitable *new tydynges;* the reply reads in all authorities (Caxton, Fairf. Bodl. Thynne):

"Why! than be, loo, these tydynges
that thou now hether brynges
That thou hast herd," quod he to me.[4])

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1) See Wells p. 653, cf. Hammond p. 372.

2) In other respects these MSS. are not good; the ancestor of this branch seems to have been a very faulty copy, as seen in the omission of 504—7, 780, 1572, 2028, 2036, and in the corruption of 2015, 2044, 2048 &c. This makes it very doubtful whether the majority of the marginal notes (which occur only in these two MSS.) are really Chaucer's. Only the two quotations from Ovid's Metamorphoses at 71 ff. look like his; the others are taken from easily accessible sources (like Virgil's *Aeneis,* at 143 ff., 160 f., 191 f., 225 ff., 349 ff., 367 f.; but note especially the quotations of the *first* lines of some of Ovid's *Heroides* (II, III, XII, IX, X) at 388 ff., 397 f. 401, 402 ff., 405 ff. (see Skeat's notes III. 251 f.), and of Matth. X. 26 at 351 f.). The note *cras poterunt turpia fieri sicut heri* is surely rather a commentator's parallel than the poet's source of 358 f.: *Lo ryght as she hath* [done] *now she Wol doo eftesones hardely* (though Hamilton thinks otherwise, *Notes* 23. 63).

3) This makes it of course quite impossible to conclude anything about the date and composition of the poem from the conditions under which it occurs in the MSS. (as Heath does in the *Globe Ch.* p. xliv[1], but cf. Lowes *Publ.* 20. 860[1]).

4) 1907—9, from Caxton. Note one of the rhymewords ending in *-es* in 2. sing. pres., where Chaucer always has *-est* (cf. Skeat III. 283).

Here the second line does not make sense at all and was evidently inserted in the common ancestor of the two branches instead of a line dropped by the transcriber of Chaucer's MS.; the original must have been something like this:

Nought but fables and lesynges. [1])

Again line 1944 has been dropped by the common ancestor and is left blank in Bodl. 638, while Fairf. 16 merely writes *As ful this lo.* But Caxton — or his MS. — has made up a spurious line, accepted by Thynne, Skeat, and Heath: [2])

And of many other werkynges. [3])

As our MSS. are accordingly very far from representing Chaucer's text faithfully, we cannot on their evidence charge the poet with having left his task unfinished; on the contrary there is a strong probability that only mutilated copies of the poem have been handed down to us. [4]) This is the more likely as Chaucer appears to be near the end of his labours when the text breaks off; a few lines more would suffice to round off the poem, as a brief abstract of the contents will show. [5]) The poet walks in a dream through the Temple of Love; from the desert beyond it he is carried away by an eagle which tells him that Jupiter has taken pity on

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1) Cf. *The Romance of the Rose* 2. To correct *Why* in 1907 into *Which* makes nonsense of the whole passage (thus Heath in the *Globe Ch.* p. 581 and Skeat III. 56 (but not in his sep. ed. p. 70); Koch first proposed to do this and to read in 1908: *That bringe thee hider, and thise thinges (Engl. Stud.* 15. 414), but his latest suggestion is to keep *Why* and to emend the next line into *Noght here swiche newe thynges (Anglia, Beiblatt* 27. 148), which is better, though awkward. Drennan reads *thee* for *thou* and adds *than* after *his* in 1907; see his ed. p. 104.

2) Though Heath deprecates the reading in his note on the passage (*Globe Ch.* p. 581).

3) Any emendation here would be mere guess-work.

4) See Manly in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (1913) p. 79. But his argument (cf. Lounsbury III. 437 f.) that Chaucer would not have mentioned the poem in his lists, if it had not been finished, does not hold good, for the poet certainly mentioned the unfinished *Legend* in the Man of Law's Prologue and in his *Retraccioun*s.

5) Cf. Sypherd in *Notes* 30. 65 ff.

him, because he has *no tydynges of Loves folke* (644 f.), so now he is to be carried to the House of Fame to hear *of loves folk mo tydynges* (675). On his arrival here the eagle leaves him, and he gets quite confused with noise and din of the crowds of people crying upon the goddess to grant them fame, which they get, either good or bad, through Æolus' blowing the trumpet of honour or of slander, on Fame's command. Chaucer falls in with a friendly stranger and tells him he does not want any fame for himself, but he is disappointed having come here

> Some new tydynges forto lere
> Some newe thyng I nat what
> Tydynges eyther thys or that
> Of love or suche thynges glade (1886—9).

The man shows him the House of Rumour, where he hears many new things. There is an especial commotion

> In a corner of the halle
> Ther men of loue tydynges tolde (2142 f.).
> — — — — — — —
> Atte last Y saugh a man
> Whiche that y nat ne kan
> But he semed for to be
> A man of grete auctorite (2155 ff.).

We expect that the poet is now to hear what is the matter, but here our text breaks off. It will be seen that all through the poem Chaucer alludes to important new tidings of love, the significance of which we should no doubt have learnt in the lost conclusion. Perhaps, though, the hints given us are sufficiently numerous and suggestive to indicate the lines on which this mysterious message ran. [1])

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1) Evidently Chaucer meant something more by these very frequent and definite allusions to love news (cf. Wells p. 658) than merely to designate the poem as a love vision (Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's Hous of Fame,* p. 156 ff., cf. *Notes* 30. 65 ff.) or to make it an introduction to a collection of love stories (Manly in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (1913) p. 73 ff.).

Now Froissart has written a poem which he called *Le Temple D'Onnour,* in 1076 rhymed four-beat lines (the metre of *The House of Fame),* beginning with a passage insisting on the importance of *newe tydynges* (1—10): [1])

Je cuide et croi, et s'est mes dis,
Ensi l'ai je veü toutdis,
Qu'il n'est onques jours qui ajourne,
Soit qu'on traveille ou qu'on sejourne,
Qu'on s'esbanoie ou qu'on revelle,
Qu'on n'ot dire aucune nouvelle
Qui est avenue ou que soit;
Ou presentement on le voit,
Si en est de tant plus creable
Mieuls sentie et plus agreable.

Then the poet narrates, how in a dream he found himself in the middle of a wood; a horseman shows him the way to the Temple of *Honneur,* whose son *Desir* is to wed *Plaisance,* the daughter of *Courtoisie* (63 ff.). Together they arrive at the magnificent Temple, where *Honneur* is sitting on a throne with seven steps, before which the young couple stands; on the steps are 14 representatives of the seven male and seven female virtues (152 ff.). *Honneur* makes a long moral speech on the fourteen virtues (311 ff.), and then the poet concludes (1047—76):

Il fina atant sa parolle,
Et je, qui liement parolle
A mon compagnon dalés moi,
Li dis: "Biaus compains, par me foi,
A bonne heure hui main vous trouvoi,
Car droitement chi oï ai
Parolles, à moult peu de coust,
Qui me viennent moult bien à goust;
Pour che fet bon les bons hanter.
Je ne m'oseroie vanter

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[1]) *Oeuvres,* ed. Scheler (1871) II. 162—93.

Pour che mari et congneuisse
Et qu'ailleurs veü je l'eüisse,
Si me semble il, foi que doi m'ame,
Que li et Plaisance la dame
Ai je veü ailleurs que chi,
Et toutes fois, s'il est ensi
Que je le die, et vous voyés
Que che soit voir, si l'afroyés."
Et il me respondi en l'eure:
"Ossi ferai." Et g'i labeure:
Tant tourrai avant et arrier,
En pensant à mon temps derrier,
En le fin que je le nommai,
Ne onques ne le sournommai.
En lors que je li euch nommés
Leurs noms ne noient sournommés,
Il le m' acorda de mon droit,
Et puis se me dist qu'il vodroit
Estre toutdis en tel sejour;
Lors m' esvillai, car il fu jour.

There are hardly any verbal parallels between the two poems; nevertheless their similarity in plan and construction is so great as practically to prove interdependence. Both poems insist on the importance of communicating *newe thynges (aucune nouvelle)*, but the reason for this is only given in the complete French poem, which concludes with a pretty plain hint about the marriage of two prominent personages whose names the poet declines to divulge. That Froissart composed the poem to celebrate an actual marriage cannot, then, be doubted, though nobody has succeeded as yet in identifying the persons involved.[1]) The date is uncer-

1) P. Chabaille's proposal (cf. Scheler's ed. II. 444) that the marriage was that between the only son of Froissart's patron Gui de Blois and the daughter of the Duke of Berry, held on March 29, 1386, was accepted by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove in his ed. of Froissart's *Chroniques* (I. 299 f.), but disproved by Scheler in his ed. of the poems (III. xlvi ff.).

tain; the title is not given in Froissart's own list of his early works in *Le Buisson de Jonèce* (1373), but this does not prove that the poem was written later than that time, since it is so slight that it might very well have been counted among the *dis,* only mentioned generally.[1]) Nor has the date of the *House of Fame* been fixed, though it was most likely written between 1374 and 1386, on account of the poet's allusion to his office work.[2]) However, the two poems are undoubtedly connected, and this connection can only have come about in one way: by Chaucer borrowing from Froissart and not *vice versa.*

The Temple D'Onnour is the descendant of a long line of poetical dream visions, the chief machinery of which — the poet's transference in a dream to a wilderness, his being guided to a magnificent palace, belonging to Love, Fortune or a similar personification, and his description of his stay here, interspersed with lyric complaints and moral discussions — Froissart has adapted for his own special ends. Such a poem could never have been derived from the strange medley, curiously modern on some points, frankly oldfashioned on others, which Chaucer wrote under the name of *The House of Fame.*[3]) But while the medieval

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[1]) Cf. Scheler II. xlviii. The fact that it stands second in both the contemporary and authoritative MS. collections of Froissart's poetry somewhat favours an early date.

[2]) Cf. Tyrwhitt I. xxviii & III. 312. Ten Brink dated the poem in 1383 (p. 150 f., cf. p. 114 ff.), arguing that the tenth of December, referred to in 63 & 111, must have been a *Thursday* on account of the important part Jupiter plays in the poem (cf. Skeat III. xi; Koch *Chronology* p. 43; Brandl, *Grundriss* II. 677). Such a "proof" is of course quite inconclusive, and seems to have been given up by ten Brink himself (II. 112 he dates the poem in 1384; cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 41. 119 & 50. 366).

[3]) No doubt it is the most personal of all Chaucer's poems, but it is a complete mistake to make it into a sort of autobiographical allegory (cf. Brandl. in *Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. Preussichen Akad.* 35. 723 ff.), variously interpreted by ten Brink (p. 106 ff. & II. 107 ff.) Willert (diss. p. 5 ff., cf. Koch, *Anglia* 7, *Anzeiger* p. 24 ff., but see *Engl. Stud.* 50. 379 ff), and Garrett (*Studies* 5. 151 ff.); cf. Kittredge p. 73 ff. and Sypherd *Studies in Chaucer's Hous of Fame* (Ch. Soc. 1907) p. 156 ff. (cp. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 41. 113 ff. & *Monatsschrift*

conventions are strongly coloured here by the new humanistic ideas, it is also easy to see how, while copying many of his details from various French poems, and filling in the rest from classical sources and contemporary Italian poetry, Chaucer on the whole followed a plan similar to that of Froissart. [1])

Very likely Chaucer knew *Le Temple D'Onnour* almost as soon as it was written; probably he was personally acquainted with Froissart, [2]) and he certainly borrowed a good many passages from his other poems. [3]) When he appears to have drawn upon his

1. 501). See about the medieval aspect of the poem Neilson *The Origin of the Court of Love* pp. 31 ff. & 135 ff., Dodd *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower* p. 118 ff., and Sypherd *op. cit.* pts. I & III.

1) His knowledge of Petrarca's *Trionfo della Fama* is usually doubted (see Hammond p. 375, cf. Kissner *op. cit.* p. 68), though this attitude can hardly be justified in view of the general similarity of the two works and of the special testimony of such a passage as *Trionfo del Tempo* 127—35, the first part of which evidently gave Chaucer the hint for the roll of famous names on the rock of ice (1136 ff.), while the last half is translated in a stanza of the *Clerk's Tale,* E 995 ff.:

> Udite questo (perchè al ver si deve
> Non contrastar, ma dar perfetta fede),
> Vidi ogni nostra gloria al Sol di neve.
> E vidi 'l Tempo rimenar tal prede
> De nostri nomi ch'i'gli ebbi per nulla,
> *Benchè la gente ciò non sa, nè crede.*
> *Cieca, che sempre al vento si trastulla,*
> *E par di false opinion si pasce,*
> Lodando più 'l morir vecchio che'n culla
>
> *O stormy peple! unsad, and ever untrewe!*
> *Ay undiscreet, and chaungynge as a vane,*
> — — — — — — — —
> *Your doom is fals.*

That Chaucer knew Petrarca's *Canzoniere* is certain since he translates the 88th sonnet in *Troilus* I. 400—20 (cf. Skeat II. 464).

2) See Kittredge, *The Date of Chaucer's Troilus* p. 10. Froissart has a well-known reference to Chaucer as ambassador in France in 1377 (I § 774 (ed. Luce, VIII. 225 f., cf. Spurgeon p. 303; Nicolas is clearly right as to Froissart's mixing up two negotiations here (p. 33 f.), though Skeat denies this, I. xxviii ff.).

3) *Le Dittié de la flour de Margherite* is extensively used in the *Legena* (see espec. Lowes in *Publ.* 19. 593 ff., cf. *Notes* 33. 121 f. & 503 f.),

French colleague for the main lines of the plot of *The House of Fame*, this was no doubt due to his composing the poem for a similar occasion. The many hints of surprising love tidings in the preserved part of the poem could hardly lead up to anything more fitting than a conclusion like that in Froissart: the more or less guarded communication of some important matrimonial news. [1])

Exactly what this was Chaucer does not want to tell us any more than Froissart; he says (2133—40) that he went about the House of Rumour

> Me for to pleyen and for to lere,
> And eke a tydynge for to here
> That I had herd of somme contre,
> That shal not now be tolde for me
> For hit no nede is, redely;
> Folke kan synge hit bet than I,
> For alle mote oute, other late or rathe
> Alle the sheves in the lathe.

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while the first seven lines of *Blanche* are virtually translated from *Le Paradys d'Amour* (see Bradley in *Acad.* 1895 I. 125 f. and espec. Kittredge in *Engl. Stud.* 20. 321 ff.; cf. Longnon's ed. of *Meliador* (1895 ff.) I. 61 f. & III. 363 ff.). A passage from *Le Buisson de Jonèce* (780—92) may have given Chaucer a hint for the opening of the Prologue of the *Legend* (cf. Kittredge, *Engl. Stud.* 20. 330[1]), and he certainly used another passage (838 ff.) in *The House of Fame* (43—48):

On dit en plusiours nations	Or if the soule, of propre kynde,
Que les imaginations	Be so parfit, as men fynde,
Qu'on a aux choses sourvenans,	That hit forwot that is to come,
Dont on est plenté souvenans,	And that hit warneth alle and somme
Tant sus terre com en abysmes,	Of everiche of her aventures
Sont si propre d'elles meïsmes,	By avisiouns, or by figures.
Et si vertueuses aussi,	
Que souvent apperent ensi	
Qu'on les imagine et devise	

1) Though this would of course have been made not by the poet himself (as in Froissart), but by his companion *the man of grete auctorite* (Kittredge p. 103; as to his identity it is idle to guess (cf. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 30. 381), but he is certainly neither Richard II (as Snell thinks, *The Age of Chaucer* p. 185), nor Thomas of Gloucester (Westenholz in *Anglia, Beiblatt* 12. 170 ff.)).

This evidently points to some love affair out of England, but of interest to Englishmen, and the most important event of this kind certainly was Richard II's wooing of Anne of Bohemia.[1]) That Chaucer is really hinting at *tydynges* of this event in the poem is also indicated by his repeated statement of the date on which he had his dream, *the tenthe day of Decembre* (63 & 111),[2]) for the month of December played an important part in the marriage negotiations.[3]) These were begun in 1380, and in this year the Duke of Teschen and other Bohemian ambassadors visited England, but did not go through with the affair.[4]) Then on the twelfth of December 1380 an English embassy was appointed to treat with the Bohemians;[5]) according to a later document of Dec. 26 the negotiations were to take place in Flanders,[6]) but the upshot was

[1]) This is also the main thesis of Rob. Imelmann in *Engl. Stud.* 45. 397, but certain of his details are rather extravagant, e. g. the identification of Richard II with the eagle! (on account of the allegory in the *Parlement* — see Koch in *Anglia, Beiblatt* 25. 82 ff., cf. *ib.* 253 ff.). Miss Lilian Winstanley's theory (see her ed. of *The Prioress's Tale* &c, 1922, p. xlii ff.) is hardly more correct.

[2]) Compare with this Froissart's way of dating his poems (*Prison Amoureuse* 2252 f. & *Buisson de Jonèce* 860 f.). Note also the beginning of Jean de Condé's *Dis D'Entendement* (ed. Scheler III. 49 ff.).

[3]) See about these C. Höfler in *Denkschriften der kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften,* Wien 1871, *Phil.-Hist. Classe* vol. 20. 89—240, and C. G. Chamberlayne's diss. *Die Heirat Richards II von England* (Halle 1906).

[4]) See the document of Dec. 12, 1380, quoted below, and O. F. Emerson in *Hart Studies in Language & Literature* (1910) p. 203 ff.

[5]) Rymer, *Foedera* (1709) VII. 305 f., where the document is dated 1381, but as it occurs among the rolls of *4 R. 2,* and is dated *duodecimo die Decembris,* it must belong to 1380. This is also clear from the contents, since the final marriage contract was ratified by Wenceslas on *Sept. 1,* 1381 (cf. Höfler 1. c. p. 133[1], who nevertheless *ib.* dates the document as Rymer).

[6]) The two documents, of which the later is that generally quoted, are practically identical in most respects. Both state the King's intention to marry and go on: *Et, dum ad Serenissimam Dominam Annam, Natam quondam celebris memoriæ Karoli, nuper Romanorum Imperatoris & Regis Bohemiæ, oculos nostræ considerationis direximus, placuit Nobis, nedum propter ipsius nobilitatem set propter Famam*

that the Bohemian ambassadors once more went to London and that the contract was signed here on May 2, 1381,[1]) though Anne did not land at Dover till Dec. 18, 1381.

Prof. Imelmann connects *The House of Fame* with the latter event, thinking that the poem was begun on Dec. 10, 1381, when news came of Anne's approaching arrival, and that it was abandoned on the report of her landing on Dec. 18 — too early to give Chaucer time to finish his work.[2]) Such an explanation is, however, hardly satisfactory, especially as there is not the slightest indication that the news of Anne's arrival really reached London on Dec. 10, 1381;[3]) in fact, a commission had already been appointed to receive her on Dec. 1.[4]) On the other hand, when

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celebrem bonitatis ipsius nostris Auribus instillatam, cum ipse præ cæteris Foedus inire Conjugii Conjugalis — but then the document of Dec. 12 continues: *Unde, cum post aliquos Tractatus, super hoc habitos, Nobilis & Illustris Viri Domini, Przimislaus Dux Teschinensis, Conradus Creyer Magister Curiæ, & Petrus de Wurtemberg Magister Cameræ, ipsius Serenissimi Fratris nostri, ad nostram Presentiam Londoniæ declinarent, de dicta Parentela contrahenda, ac de certis aliis Ligarum, Amicitiarum, seu Confoederationum extitit ibidem mutuo Concordatum* — while that of December 26 (Rymer, VII. 280) goes on: *Unde, cum post aliquos Tractatus, super hoc habitos, pro Negotii hujusmodi Conclusione quædam Diceta in Flandria fuerit assignata, pro cujus observatione Ambassatores solempne, tam pro parte ipsius Dominæ Annæ & Amicorum suorum quam Nostra, debebant juxta Condicta ibidem in Festo Epiphaniæ Domini proximo convenire* — &c. The ambassadors are different, only Sir Simon Burley is appointed on both occasions (Chamberlayne *op. cit.* p. 36 ff., Tatlock p. 42, and Emerson *(Phil.* 8. 45[3]) all mention the last appointment only).

1) Rymer VII. 290 ff. (cf. Höfler l. c. p. 129 ff.). The Bohemian ambassadors arrived in England in January 1381 (cf Chamberlayne, *op. cit.* p. 38 ff.) and did rather well for themselves and their king (see Emerson in *Phil.* 8. 56 f.); note Malvern's ponderous joke (IX. 12): *Nam non modica pecunia refundebat Rex Angliæ pro tantilla carnis portione!*

2) Cf. *Engl. Stud.* 45. 412 ff.

3) See Manly in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (1913) p. 78 f., cf. Wells p. 660; nevertheless Sypherd seems disposed to accept the theory (*Notes* 30. 67[4]).

4) Rymer *Foedera* VII. 336 f.; cf. *Biogr.* 1. 420 f.

it is remembered that the decision of the King and Council to arrange the marriage with Anne must necessarily have been taken at least a day or two before the appointment of the ambassadors could be drawn up, engrossed, and signed (on Dec. 12, 1380), we shall actually reach the very day, the tenth of December, which Chaucer tells us was the date of his strange dream. This surely clinches the argument, and *The House of Fame* may now with a fair degree of certainty be regarded as an occasional poem, composed with Froissart's *Temple D'Onnour* as a model, and suggested by the young king's final decision to marry. It must, then, have been begun in Dec. 1380, and was probably finished early in 1381;[1]) when the marriage had been celebrated in January 1382 Chaucer wrote another poem by way of congratulating the royal couple, *The Parlement of Foules.*[2])

The remarkable utterance of Chaucer's at the end of Troilus (V. 1786—8):

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1) This suits the chronological position before *Troilus,* which the best critics agree in giving to the poem (see Kittredge, *Date of Troilus,* p. 55; Lowes in *Publ.* 20. 854 ff.; Wells 659 f.; Imelmann in *Engl. Stud.* 48. 410 ff.); Tatlock (p. 39 f.) and Sypherd *(op. cit.* p. 168) date it ab. 1379; Koch's connecting it with John of Gaunt's marriage plans for his daughter Philippa in 1384 *(Engl. Stud.* 50. 369 ff.) is as arbitrary as Miss Rickert's similar theory about the *Parlement (Phil.* 18. 1 ff.), while Kittredge (p. 107) is as enigmatic about the real purport of the poem as Chaucer himself.

2) That *Fame* preceded the *Parlement* is also suggested by Miss Shackford for other reasons (*Notes* 31. 507 f.). The latter poem must have been composed in the spring of 1382, as appears from the astronomical allusion in 117 f. (see ch. IV. 3); it could not have been written in 1381, as most scholars seem to think (cf. Wells p. 645). Koch's interpretation of the allegory of the *Parlement (Engl. Stud.* I. 278 ff., cf. *Essays on Chaucer* p. 400 ff.) is all but certain, especially as modified by O. F. Emerson (*Phil.* 8. 45 ff. & *Notes* 26. 109 ff.; Moore, *ib.* 8 ff.). Manly's objections in *Festchrift für Morsbach* (1913, p. 278 ff.) have been met by Emerson in *Journ.* 13. 566 ff., cf. Koch *Engl. Stud.* 55. 161 ff., H. Lange in *Anglia* 40. 394 ff., R. Jordan in *Archiv* 132. 429 ff., Wells p. 644 f.). W. E. Farnham's investigations of the sources *(Publ.* 32. 492 ff. & 35. 247, cf. *Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Lang. & Lit.* no. 2 (1918) p. 340 ff.) appear to me mostly irrelevant.

Go, litel book! Go, litel myn tragedie!
Ther God thy maker yit, or-that he dye,
So sende might to make in som comedie!

is certainly not a reference to *The House of Fame,* nor to the *Legend,* but is rather evidence about some half-formed plan of such a work as the *Canterbury Tales.* [1])

3. *Troilus and the Prose Works.*

In both Chaucer's own lists a work called respectively *Criseyde* and *Troilus* occurs, which is also mentioned by Lydgate in the Prologue of his *Fall of Princes* and in his *Troy Book,* where he says he will not write about Troilus

Sith my maister Chauncer here afore
In this mateer hath so wel hym born
In his book of Troylus and Cryseyde
Which he made longe or he deyde. [2])

Then he sketches the contents of this work in sufficient detail to ensure its identification with an extant poem in five books, which tells *how Criseyde Troilus forsook* (bk. IV. 15). It is found in 16 XV cent. MSS., 5 of which entitle it *Troilus,* [3]) while 6 give it the

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[1]) See Tatlock p. 35 & espec. *Publ.* 39. 63; cf., however, Lowes *ib.* 20. 854 ff. (cp. also *Parl.* 697-9 — in spite of Moore, *Notes* 26. 11 & 110).

[2]) B. M. MS. Arundel 99, f. 96, cf. Rossetti's ed. of Chaucer's *Troylus and Cryseyde* (Ch. Soc. 1875 ff.) p. x f. — The poem is also alluded to, without any mention of the author, in Usk's *Testament of Love* (ab. 1387); see Skeat VII. 123, cf. *ib.* p. xxvii), and in the early XV cent. *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy* (E. E. T. S. 1869 ff., line 8094; see Skeat II. lxvi, cf. Kölbing in *Engl. Stud.* 11 285).

[3]) Colophon in MSS. Harl. 2392 & 3943, Cambr. Corp. Chr. 61, Bodl. Seld. B. 24, Phill. 8250.

name of *Troilus & Criseide*,[1]) though only two MSS., and these not of the best, ascribe it to Chaucer.[2])

The text is in a very peculiar state. The late Sir William Mc Cormick discovered that the readings of many lines differed in the MSS., and that in most instances one version was especially close to the Italian original. This is clearly shown by his collection of variants,[3]) e. g. by the paraphrase of Boccaccio's *Filostrato* II. 70 in *Troilus* II. 733—5:[4])

> Io non conosco in questa terra ancora
> Veruna sensa amante...
> E come gli altri far non è peccato.

> I knowe also , and alday here and see,
> Men lovyn women *al this toun aboute;*
> *Be they the wers? Why nay, withouten doute!*

Thus MSS. Cambr. Gg, Harl. 3943 & 4912, Phillips,[5]) and a later addition on erasure in Ad. 12044; also Thynne's ed. But Cambr. St. John, Bodl. Rawl. Poet. 165, Harl. 1239 & 2392, and Caxton's ed. (ab. 1483) differ:

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1) Colophon in MSS. Harl. 2280, Cambr. St. John's Coll. LI, Bodl. Rawl. Poet. 163 & Seld. Supra 56, Durham, and Campsall.

2) Seld. Supra 56 (dated 1441), f. 106 b: *Explicit Liber Troyly et Criseid quod Chaucer.* Harl. 1239 heads the three last stanzas (f. 62 b): *Lenuoye du Chaucer.* — Seven MSS. have been printed in full by the Ch. Soc. 1875 ff. (Harl. 3943), 1881 f. (Campsall, Harl. 2280, Cambr. Gg.), & 1894 f. (Cambr. St. John & Corp. Chr., Harl. 1239), besides *Specimen Extracts* (1914) from the rest, ed. MacCormick & Root; also plates and descriptions of all MSS., ed. Root (1914). Two fragments of a MS., found in a bookbinding at Copenhagen, are described by Skeat, *Cambr. Antiq. Comm.* VI. 331 ff., cf. *Acad.* 1890 I. 82 f.

3) Ed. by Prof. Root, *Specimen Extracts* (Ch. Soc. 1914) pp. 61—72, cf. Koch, *Engl. Stud.* 48. 251 ff., and Lowes *Publ.* 19. 661[2]. See also the critical apparatus to McCormick's ed. of the poem in the *Globe Ch.* pp. 438—558 (cf. *Athen.* 1899. I. 268, 339, 372).

4) No. 29 of the Appendix of *Various Readings* in the *Specimen Extracts.*

5) This MS. and Harl. 3943 omit *why.*

Men loven wommen *al bysyde hire leve;*
And whan hem list no more, lat hem leve.

And Cambr. Corpus Chr., Bodl. Seld. B. 24 & Seld. Supra 56, Digby 181, Durham, and Campsall have another rhyme-word in both lines: *bilive.* This variant is evidently a mere scribal corruption, but the preceding change of the two last lines seems authentic, and from such instances[1]) McCormick deduced that at least two versions of the poem were extant, α, which exhibits an early stage of the text, and β, showing the results of a revision by the poet; he also recognized a third version, γ, but was not sure whether the further changes here were due to Chaucer himself or to a later corrector.[2]) Since then Root has maintained that we actually have Chaucer's text in a series of versions, corresponding to different steps in its growth, but centring round the two main stages, α and β, though each of these might be further divided, α being split into three groups, and γ becoming an earlier stage of β.[3])

This theory, however, takes certain things for granted, which are not easily to be conceded. Root has continued to use Mc Cormick's peculiar method of first deciding by means of the Italian text which readings were altered and then dividing the MSS. accordingly; this leads to rather strange results, as when two MSS., Phillips 8250 & Harl. 3943, which we are assured form the best representation for the early version, show the supposed revised reading in III. 1779: *Out of Troy*[4]) — which is probably a mere scribal corruption — while the rest of the MSS. have the correct reading *In time of trewe* (from *Filostrato* III. 91: *Ne*

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[1]) Similarly Troilus I. 111, where Filostrato I. 12 *(E con voce e con vista assai pietosa)* is rendered *with chier & voys ful pitous and wepyng* in Harl. 3943 & 2392 and in Phill., but *with pitous vois and tendrely wepinge* in all the other MSS.

[2]) Globe Ch. p. xli.

[3]) *The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's Troilus* (Ch. Soc. 1916) pp. 248 & 272; cf. J. D. Bruce in *Notes* 34. 37 ff. — Tatlock's attempt to show (pp. 1—14; cf. Root in *Engl. Stud.* 41. 405) that the revision is limited to the γ MSS., is unsuccessful, though accepted by Wells p. 661.

[4]) *Various Readings* no. 45.

tempi delle triegue). A still more instructive case is that of I. 85 f., where Phillips and Harl. 3943 & 2392 actually have the first version of *Filostrato* I. 10:

> Fu romor grande quande fu sentito
> Per tutta la città generalmente

> *Gret rumour was* whan hit was ferst aspyed
> Thurgh al the toun and generally was spoken [1])

while nearly all other MSS. show a revised form of the first line:

> *The noise upros* when it was first aspyed. [2])

But three MSS. also change *generally* in the second line into *openly,* [3]) and this McCormick and Root think another trace of revision, [4]) though it is almost certainly a scribal variant only. It is possible that the MS. relations are so confused that it is not practicable to follow the usual method of comparing the authorities and settling the doubtful readings in that way, but anyhow all such cases, which may be mere instances of scribal corruption, ought not to be used as evidence — and contradictory evidence at that — for the theory of two separate versions of the text. [5])

Nor is there any proof of Prof. Root's contention that the poem

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1) Harl. 3943 & 2392 have *gan* instead of the first *was.*

2) Thus Cambr. Corp. Chr. & St. John, Bodl. Seld. B. 24 & Supra 56 & Digby 181, B. M. Ad. 12044 & Harl. 2280 & 4912, Durham, Campsall.

3) Harl. 1239, Rawl. Poet. 163, Cambr. Gg (& Caxton).

4) *Various Readings* no. 6 (cf. no. 5).

5) Note especially I. 272, where the only correct reading is evidently *perced* (from *Fil.* I. 26: *penetrando;* thus Cambr. St. John, Seld. B. 24, Harl. 1239, 2280, 4912, Caxton, and Thynne), while the variants *perceyvid* (Phillipps, Harl. 2392 & 3943, Ad. 12044), *procede*(d) (Cambr. Corp. Chr., Campsall; Seld. Supra 56, Digby 181), even *departed* (Rawl. Poet. 163) are clearly nothing but scribal corruptions. — Cf. also IV. 127, where all MSS. read *his,* except Harl. 1239 which alone has *this,* and still this is taken to be an authentic early reading *(Var. Read.* no. 55).

was published *before* Chaucer had finished his work on it. On the contrary several circumstances are against it. First three passages are lacking in the most characteristic α MS., Phillips 8250,[1] (and in several others): Troilus' song of Love (III. 1744—71),[2] his soliloquy on Free Will (IV. 953—1085),[3] and the account of his death (V. 1807—27).[4] Now it is quite possible that these passages were composed a little later than their surroundings, for it is noteworthy that none of them paraphrase stanzas of the *Filostrato;* they are all inserted from other sources, the two first from Boethius, and the third from the *Teseide.*[5] But the poem could never have been published without at any rate the two first passages, which are absolutely necessary to the sense, and are alluded to both in the preceding and in the following stanzas, as a glance at the text will show.[6] The only satisfactory explanation is that the

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1) Though they have been inserted here later.

2) Not in Phill. nor in Harl. 3943, cf. *Globe Ch.* p. 507.

3) Not in Phill. nor in Harl. 1239 & 2392; IV. 953—1078 lacking in Cambr. Gg *(Gl. Ch.* p. 522, cf. the three first *Parallel Texts* (1881) p. 203).

4) Not in Phill. nor in Harl. 3943 & 2392.

5) See Skeat II. 483, 490 f., 504; cf. Furnivall, *Athen.* 1868. II. 211 In the first place Boccaccio *has* a song *(Fil.* st. 74—9), but Chaucer used this as proem to book III. 1—49, cf. Skeat II. 474 f. & *Gl. Ch.* p. 482.

6) Tatlock's remarks p. 7 ff & *Phil.* 18. 626^{2} are inconclusive. — Root's very intricate explanation *(Text. Trad.* p. 217 ff.) as to the insertion of the second passage (IV. 953—1085) is rightly rejected by H. R. Patch in *Journ.* 17. 400^{7}. Cambr. St. John has these 19 stanzas but shows a blank space for 6 stanzas (or perhaps for 16, a leaf being out) in front of the last stanza, between 1078 and 1079; at 1078 there is a note, which may be in the scribe's hand, but the ink and style are certainly different: *her faileth thing* y^{t} *is nat* y^{t} *made.* The obvious explanation is that the scribe followed two MSS. (his text is a composite version), one of which had the whole passage, while the other omitted 953—1078 (like Cambr. Gg) and had a blank in front of the last stanza. The St. John scribe slavishly copied the circumstances in *both* MSS., adding the note as above; to conclude from the enigmatic form of the note that it goes back to Chaucer's own MS., as Root does p. 217 ff., is scarcely permissible (cf. H. R. Patch in *Journ.* 17. 418^{53}).

text goes back to Chaucer's own draft, where the passages were added in the margin or on loose slips. This also explains how Chaucer's original and revised versions came to be mixed in the extant MSS.; they were all present in the draft — where the rejected readings had merely been pricked out — and the MS. ancestors now chose sometimes the right and sometimes the wrong variants. [1]) In this way the β MSS. which Root considers copies of Chaucer's fully corrected text in contrast to the early α version, really become due to careful copyists, who generally picked out correct readings, while the α MSS. were written by careless scribes who often chose the rejected readings, also overlooking the additions. [2])

Accordingly there do not really exist two versions of *Troilus*, but only traces of the many corrections which Chaucer naturally made in the course of composition. [3]) Having finished his work he sent his draft to a copying firm which transcribed his presenta-

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[1]) Chaucer's draft, in loose paper quires, must of course have looked much more untidy than Dan Michael's autograph of the *Ayenbite of Inwyt* in B. M. MS. Arundel 57. Nevertheless it is well worth noting the many corrections here, partly written on erasures (f. 1 a), partly added above the line *without the original reading being struck out* (f. 1 b); sometimes there are longer marginal additions as on ff. 54 b & 55 b.

[2]) Note that these are found in some α MSS. (the first occurs e. g. in Cambr. Gg & Harl. 4912, which from III. 400 offer an α text, see Root, *Text. Trad.* p. 156), while they are omitted in certain β MSS. (the second is left out of Harl. 2392 (Root p. 216 ff.) and the third is wanting in Harl. 2392 & 3943, cf. Root p. 245). — The view stated above is also confirmed by the admitted fact that the α MSS. are very poor textual authorities (see about Phillipps Root 1. c. p. 22 f. (cf. Tatlock p. 13) and ab. Harl. 3943 Kittredge in *Phil.* 7. 479); one stanza (I. 890—6), only preserved in α MSS. (Phill. Harl. 2392 & 3943), was probably rejected by Chaucer (Root 1. c. p. 34, but cf. Tatlock p. 11) and wrongly included in the text by the careless scribes, who ignored his cancelling marks.

[3]) Note that the variants are chiefly found in books III & IV, which contain the most important scenes and would demand the most intense work of the poet. — Of course no real revision took place, as already Kittredge seems to have suspected *(The Date of Chaucer's Troilus* (Ch. Soc. 1909) p. 30).

tion copies for him and — probably in return for this service — kept the draft for business purposes. [1]) The presentation MSS. were corrected by Chaucer, as his stanza to Adam testifies, and then sent out to his patrons and friends; two of the most respectable of the latter are mentioned in the last stanza but one, probably to disarm any criticism of the light subject of the work (V. 1856—9): [2])

> O *moral Gower,* this book I directe
> To thee, and to thee, *philosophical Strode,*
> To vouchen-sauf, ther nede is, to correcte,
> Of your benignetes and zeles gode.

But quite possibly the hint in the *Legend,* that a powerful nobleman at court had commanded Chaucer to write this poem as well as the translation of *Le Roman de la Rose* is really nearer the truth. [3]) Anyhow, all corrected copies have disappeared, and our present texts are descended from publishers' copies, which were not revised and which consequently mix up rejected and corrected readings. [4])

Prof. Root's explanation of the textual conditions is on the contrary based on his belief in the MSS. as representing a progressive series of authoritative revisions; he does not accept the evidence of the MSS. as to separate ancestors for each of the

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1) As was the custom among the printers of the XV & XVI cent., cf. O. Hase *Die Koberger* (1885) p. 171 ff.

2) Tatlock in *Phil.* 18. 656[2], cf. *ib.* p. 631 ff.; see about Strode *Publ.* 29. 272 ff.

3) *Prol.* 346 f., cf. 366* f.; see Tatlock p. 112[1].

4) The poem ought to be edited from a β — or γ — MS., quite possibly from Cambr. Corp. Chr. 61, as proposed by Root (1. c. pp. 5 f. & 271 f. — though it contains a γ text which he does not consider final; cf. *Notes* 34. 40), the rejected α readings being given in the notes; accordingly the arrangement of IV. 729—56 ought to be as in Skeat and not as in *Gl. Ch.* (one stanza shifted, cf. Root 1. c. 221 f & Furnivall in the first three *Parallel Texts* (1881) p. 195). On the other hand there is hardly sufficient reason to move III. 1324—37 down behind III. 1414 on the authority of a few β MSS. (as Root wants to do p. 157).

two chief groups, α and β,[1]) but thinks that they took their common scribal mistakes from one source, Chaucer's draft having been copied out by a scribe who introduced a good many clerical errors, later gradually corrected by the poet, who used this copy as the basis for his successive revisions, of which at least five may be traced, several showing very slight additions and corrections only.[2])

That this view is mistaken is finally proved by one strange fact about the text: practically all the MSS.[3]) have a Latin Argument of Statius' Thebais most awkwardly inserted between V. 1485—98 & 1499—1512.[4]) These four stanzas are closely connected, as they paraphrase the twelve Latin hexameters,[5]) and while these no doubt belong here in some way, they could never have been placed in their present position by Chaucer himself. Evidently he jotted them down in the margin of his draft,[6]) and

1) Except in bk. I, cf. his *Text Trad.* pp. 53 f. & 80 f.; but see his general results as to the generalogical relations p. 253 ff.

2) Note that this view involves the transcription and publication of at least two copies of the work between Chaucer's planning and execution of an additional passage on Free Will (cf. pp. 219 & 230).

3) The only exceptions are the two late and faulty MSS. (β text), Harl. 2392 & Rawl. Poet. 163 (written by 4 scribes). It is true that the latter offers a unique and probably genuine stanza (after II. 1750), but this was clearly because it had access to more than one MS. (its text is hopelessly contaminated, cf. McCormick in *An English Miscellany* (1901) p. 296 ff., & Tatlock p. 13), and not as Root thinks (p. 23 ff.) because it represents Chaucer's latest revision! Evidently it cut out the Argument just as it omitted the proems of books II, III, & IV (cf. Tatlock p. 8[1]).

4) Cf. *Gl. Ch.* p. 552. — See about the Latin hexameters Opitz in *Leipziger Studien zur klassischen Philologie* VI. 306 ff. and Manitius in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie,* 1902, p. 377 f.; cf. Hamilton in *Notes* 23. 127. — They are also found in one of Boccaccio's scrapbooks, *Lo Zibaldone Boccacesco Mediceo Laurenziano Plut.* XXIX. 8 (f. 59^{v}; issued in facs. by Biagi, Firenze 1915).

5) Cf. Skeat II. 501; he prints them after V. 1484, but they ought not to be accepted into the text at all.

6) Similar marginal notes, indicating the source (Joseph of Exeter's poem *De Bello Troiano* lib. IV) and probably due to Chaucer, are found at the passage V. 799—840 in Cambr. Gg & St. John; cf. Root in *Phil.* 15. 1 ff. — The glosses in Harl. 2392 are certainly

when this was prepared for transcription at the publishers' office, the lines were mistakenly directed to be inserted in the text here. It is of course impossible that Chaucer should have corrected his MS. four or five times while copies were constantly being made — as Root thinks — and never have troubled to set this glaring error right, and it may thus be considered perfectly certain that not one of the extant MSS. of *Troilus* has preserved a really authentic text, though no doubt several have handed it down to us in a condition pretty close to that in which it left Chaucer's hand.

The second work Chaucer alludes to in his stanza to Adam is *Boece,* also mentioned in the *Legend* and in the *Retraccioun*s, where it is stated to be a prose translation of *De Consolatione [Philosophiae].* [1]) Only one Middle English prose translation of this work is known, [2]) often used by Chaucer and presumably his, though most of the MSS. in which it occurs do not mention his name. [3]) In one of the best MSS., Cambr. Ii. 3. 21, two poems are inserted and ascribed to Chaucer; [4]) but the only definite attribution of the work to Chaucer is due to Shirley, in whose MS. Ad.

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due to a later commentator and not to Chaucer, in spite of Skeat's remarks II. lxxii ff., cf. *Athen.* 1893. II. 261.

1) Referred to by Lydgate as *an whole translacion Of Boecius booke the consolacion.*

2) There is a XV cent. verse translation by Walton, see Fr. Fehlauer *Die Englischen Übersetzungen von Boethius* Berlin 1909, p. 48 ff. and H. F. Stewart, *Boethius* (1891) p. 229 ff.; cf. Skeat II. xv ff. The version in MS. Bodl. Auct. I. 3. 5 is Chaucer's, slightly altered (cf. Liddell, *Acad.* 1896. I. 199).

3) To the nine copies usually listed (see Skeat II. xxxvii ff., Liddell in *Globe Ch.* p. xl (cf. *Acad.* 1896 I. 529), Hammond p. 360 f., Wells p. 650 f.) must be added a tenth in Cambr. Pembroke Coll. 215, 73 vellum leaves, written in a very good early XV cent. hand (or perhaps late XIV cent., cf. M. R. James' Cat. p. 195 f.). At top of f. 1 a there is a late note (ab. 1500, of no authority): *Istud opus est translatum per Chawcers armigerum Ricardi Regis 2di.*

4) This MS. is, however, not the author's own copy, as Skeat seems to think (cf. II. xxxvii ff. and espec. *Athen.* 1891. II. 549; Liddell bases his text in the *Globe Ch.* on Cambr. Ii. 1. 38); it was printed for the Ch. Soc. in 1886 (Ad. 10340 was ed. for the E. E. T. S. in 1868; cf. Kellner in *Engl. Stud.* 14. 1 ff.).

16165, it is headed (f. 4 a, top): *Boicius de consolacione prosed in Englisshe by Chaucier.*[1]) The work was certainly published in Chaucer's own lifetime, as is proved by the liberal use made of it about 1387 by Thomas Usk in his *Testament of Love.*[2])

Besides copying Chaucer's lists Lydgate also added a few items from his own knowledge to the catalogue in *The Fall of Princes* such as *Anelida* and *Mars,* and especially an astronomical treatise, which he describes in detail:

> And to his sonne that called was Lowis
> he made a treatise, ful noble & of great price.
>
> Upon that labour in full noble forme
> Set them in order with their diuisions
> Mennes wittes tapplien and conforme
> To vnderstand by full expert reasons
> by domifieng of sondry mansions
> the roote out sought at the ascendent
> To forne or he gaue any iudgement.

Perhaps it would be rather difficult to identify the treatise from the astronomical particulars given above; Lydgate's remark that Chaucer did the work for his son Lowis is much more helpful, as there exists a Middle English treatise on the proper use of the Astrolabe, with a preface addressed to *Lyte Lowys my sone.* Lydgate must have seen a copy of it, ascribed to Chaucer, and this proves a welcome reinforcement of the one extant attribution of it to the poet, in the colophon of MS. Cambr. Univ. Libr. Dd. 3. 53, f. 27: *Explicit tractatus de conclusionibus Astrolabij compilatus per Galfridum Chauciers ad ffilium suum Lodewicum scolarem tunc temporis Oxonie ac sub tutela illius nobilissimi philosophi magni*

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1) Note also the running titles, e. g. *Boicius in prose By Geffray Chaucier* (f. 5—6 &c.).

2) Cf. Skeat VII. xxv f.

. *N. Strode &c.* The MS. is a good one, of the first half of the fifteenth century or so, but the colophon is added later, in the second half of the century.[1]) Of course this makes Lydgate's testimony all the more valuable, and it is really on his authority that the treatise may be attributed to Chaucer.[2])

It is very characteristic that this utilitarian piece of work should have been preserved in the largest number of MSS. next to the *Canterbury Tales;* more than twenty are now extant.[3]) They seem to derive from three independent copies of the original MS., one represented by Bodl. 619, another by Bodl. E Museo 54 & Cambr. Dd. 3. 53, and a third partly Bodl. Rawl. D. 913 & Cambr. Dd. 12. 51, partly by a group comprising all the rest of the MSS. This subgroup shows a disarranged text with some additions, which are certainly spurious, though accepted by Skeat.[4]) As two of these supplementary §§, 44 & 45, mention the years 1397 & 1400 they were probably added to Chaucer's draft of the unfinished treatise, either immediately after his death, when his papers fell into other hands, or later;[5]) anyhow they

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1) So that Skeat is on very dubious ground when saying (p. 61) that we have MS. authority for assigning the treatise to Chaucer.

2) The information in the colophon about Lowis and "N." Strode must accordingly be treated with very great reservation (as does Sir Israel Gollancz in *Biogr.* 55. 57 ff., (art. *Ralph* Strode); but see H. S. V. Jones in *Publ.* 27. 106 ff.). Kittredge assumes the identity of this Lowys and the Lowys Clifford who was dead by Oct. 22. 1391 *(Phil.* 14. 129 ff.), but the identification appears very unlikely indeed.

3) See Skeat III. lvii ff.; his ed. is a mere reprint of that in 1872 for the E. E. T. S. (cf. Hammond p. 359).

4) III. lxiii ff., cf. 424 ff. I accept Liddell's results in *Globe Ch.* p. liv.

5) Pt. II § 1 mentions the dates of March 12 & *Dec. 13,* 1391, so that the treatise was no doubt written in 1391—2 (Kittredge says 1391 *(Phil.* 14. 129 f.), Moore 1392 *(ib.* 10. 203 ff.). From this Skeat conjectures (III. 352, cf. I. xxxiii) that little Lewis, who in the preface is stated to be 10 years old, might have been the son of Cecilia Chaumpaigne (se about her *raptus* Furnivall, *Trial-Forewords* p. 136 ff., cf. *Athen.* 1873. II. 698 & 816; 1897. II. 226; also *Publ.* 29. 270 ff.). This is of course only a guess and does not strictly preclude the view that the affairs was "an act of

were omitted by the ancestors of the two first and best text-groups. The work is termed *Tractatus Astrolabii* in some copies,[1]) but three of the best MSS., one of each text-group,[2]) have at the head of the text the attractive title *Bred and mylk for childeren,* for which there is accordingly good authority. This attractive title also strikes the note of the preface in a very happy way; it is a heading one would like to fancy Chaucer penning for his *lytil Lowys.*

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the purest humanity" on Chaucer's part (W. H. Browne in *Notes* 6. 135; cf. Tatlock p. 14 f), but note that the lady was at least 22 years old in 1380 (see Moore in *Anglia* 37. 13 f). and compare the cases of ravishment in 1375, 1377, & 1384 *(Cal. Pat. Rolls Ric. II* ii. 122, 216, 453); Koeppel thought *(Anglia* 14. 233) that Chaucer did penance for his sin by writting *The Lyf of S. Cecile.*

[1]) Cambr. Corp. Chr. 424 (see Skeat III. 233); cf. the colophon quoted from Cambr. Dd. 3. 53, and note Cambr. St. John E. 2, f. 2: *De astrolabio.*

[2]) Bodl. E Mus. 54, Bodl. 619 & 68, all ab. 1450 or so (cf. *Globe Ch.* p. 638).

CHAPTER IV.

THE MINOR POEMS.

1. *The MS. Collections.*

IN purely textual criticism the question of the age of the different authorities is rarely one of primary importance, though of course as a general rule early MSS. are to be preferred to late ones; still it is quite conceivable that a late MS. may have preserved a better text than most early ones. It is otherwise in questions of attribution where late authorities are almost valueless; ascriptions in MSS. written by scribes who cannot have known the author or at any rate his personal acquaintances — in other words MSS. later than the second generation after the author's death — must be ignored, except when they may be proved to continue a good textual tradition, so that there is a possibility that the scribes copied older information. However, such ascriptions would seem mostly to be of a late character, especially in the case of MS. collections of short poems and prose pieces where the individualities of the scribes get a much wider range, both in the choice of contents and in the arrangement of the volumes.[1]) Also, while it sometimes happened that several scribes were at work copying one long work,[2]) this was much more frequently done when making collections of such brief items, since it was naturally

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[1]) See Konrad Burdach in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 21. 186: "gerade die Sammelhandschriften sind höchst charakteristische literarische Persönlichkeiten"; compare Hammond's remarks p. 113.

[2]) Note especially such *Troilus* MSS. as Harl. 3943 & 1239 and Rawl. Poet. 163, cf. Root *The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's Troilus,* pp. 14 ff. & 23 ff.

much easier in this case to get several copies for transcription. [1]) As a matter of fact it appears to have been a common publishers' custom during the latter half of the fifteenth century to make one or more scribes copy a number of short poems in separate quires and to unite these very much at random, merely with a view to get up such collections as would command a good price and a quick sale. [2])

A notable instance of this custom is the MS. at Cambr. Univ. Libr. Hh. 4. 12, all written in the same small, clear hand of the third quarter or so of the XV century; [3]) the scribe signs his name Stockton, at the end of a poem on f. 44: *ffinit. Stok. t.* There are 9 quires of six double leaves (four double paper leaves between two vellum ones), arranged in 6 self-contained sections, as proved by the presence of blank leaves at the end of most of the sections. Section 1 contains Burgh's Cato translation and Lydgate's *Stans puer ad mensam* on ff. 1—33; f. 34 is filled with later scribbles, and three leaves have been cut out here, presumably because they were blank. [4]) Sect. 2 contains Lydgate's Legend of St. Austin, the *etas prima* (marked *Chaucers*), and a complaint of the virgin

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1) In this respect both the *Legend* and the *House of Fame* must be counted as minor poems.

2) Note the repetition of several items in the various sections of MS. Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 21 (cf. James' Cat. II. 89 f). — This is the kind of MS. which Miss Hammond describes on p. 52 f. as "written by some firm of copyists — — to be sold over their counter". The other four classes of MSS. listed by her *ib.,* such as collectors' commonplace books &c, appear really to have been of very little importance. Practically all late ME. MSS. are publishers' copies, plainly done on speculation; a few magnificent specimens were specially intended for noble and wealthy customers, e. g. the Campsall MS., executed before 1413 for the Prince of Wales, the later King Henry V (see R. K. Root *The MSS. of Chaucer's Troilus* pl. III, cf. p. 5 ff.) The text of such MSS. is, however, no better than that of the ordinary sale copies.

3) Hammond notes three hands in the volume (p. 346 f.), but I do not find any evidence of this.

4) There were originally 36 leaves in this section; the modern foliator skips f. 14, though no leaf is wanting here.

with the refrain *Quia amore langueo,*[1]) on ff. 35—44 a (one leaf is missing between ff. 35 & 36); ff. 45 b & 46 are filled with XVI cent. scribbles. Sect. 3 brings Lydgate's Horse, Goose, and Sheep on ff. 46—57, and sect. 4 contains his Fabula Duorum Mercatorum and his Churle and Bird on ff. 58—81 a; f. 81 b is blank. Sect. 5 brings various poems by Lydgate and others, on ff. 82—93, while sect. 6 has the first 53 stanzas of The Parlement of Foules (no title or author's name) on ff. 94—99; the last 6 leaves of this quire are lost, but no doubt contained the rest of the poem. A suggestive characteristic of this codex is the contemporaray numbering of certain quires. The six double leaves in sect. 3 are marked d I—VI, and the two quires in the fourth section a I—VI & b I—VI; in sect. 1 the first and third quires are not numbered, but the second is marked b I—VI.[2]) Such conditions prove that while the quires of sect. 1 & 3 are in the right order, the sections themselves were originally independent and not intended to be arranged as here, and this result is of importance, because it clearly makes it possible and even probable that the origins of the two Chaucerian poems here were widely different.[3])

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[1]) This is the poem printed in *Pol. Rel. & Love Poems* (E. E. T. S. 1903) p. 181 ff.; another poem with the same refrain (cf. *ib.* p. 177 ff.) is ascribed to Lydgate by Shirley in Ashm. 59, f. 66 (see Hammond in *Anglia* 30. 330; nevertheless his authorship is doubted by MacCracken p. xxxi f).

[2]) The single quires of sect. 2, 5, & 6 show no old marks.

[3]) Practically all MS. copies of the Chaucerian Minor Poems (including the *Legend* and *Fame)* have been printed in four Ch. Soc. Publications: *Parallel Texts Ed., Supplementary Par. Texts, Odd Texts* (1871—80; see the reviews by Koch in *Anglia* 3 & 4, *Anzeiger* p. 181 ff. & 93 ff.), and *More Odd Texts* (1886—91). — Koch published in 1883 *A crit. ed. of some of Chaucer's Minor Poems,* severely criticized by ten Brink in *Literaturblatt* 1883, col. 420 ff. (cf. *ib.* 1884 col. 42 f). Heath's ed. of the Minor Poems in the *Globe Ch.* (cf. *Athen.* 1896 I. 418) is not satisfactory either, chiefly on account of his insufficient knowledge of the MSS. (see Zupitza in *Archiv* 102. 414 f, Flügel in *Anglia* 21. 255 f., and Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 32 ff.).

A good deal of the work done by one fifteenth century copyist is still preserved and may easily be identified through his very characteristic hand, best studied perhaps in Harl. 2251 and Ad. 34360, both containing a mass of late Middle English poetry.[1]) The most peculiar features of the writing are the long, sloping ſ's and the p's, whose downstrokes show a sharp break backwards, while the v's begin with a characteristic loop. Orthographically the scribe often writes *ie* for *e,* as in *bien, cliere, chiere, daungiere* (also in *diewly* & *triewly,* which may be phonetic spellings);[2]) probably he signs his name on f. 59 in Ad. 34360 after the heading of a poem: Columbina apparuisti Eleyson *Verba Auctoris quod Richardown.*[3]) This hand is also found in two other British Museum MSS.; it wrote all of Arundel 59, containing Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum* and Lydgate's translation of *Secretum Secretorum* (continued by another), as well as the latter part of the copy of the *Canterbury Tales* in Roy. 17 D. XV, ff. 167—301.[4]) Finally the same scribe also wrote one quire,

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[1]) Cf. Hammond in *Anglia* 28. 1. ff.

[2]) These palæographic and orthographical peculiarities may be traced throughout both volumes (see e. g. Harl. 2251, ff. 49, 158 &c.). Miss Hammond maintains *l. c.* that Harl. 2251, ff. 143—293, & Ad. 34360, ff. 58—77 are written by other scribes, but the slight differences in the writing here would appear to be due merely to changes of pen and ink; note that ff. 58—77 in the Ad. vol. evidently form an originally independent quire, since it is foliated separately by the scribe and the last leaf of the preceding quire (f. 57) is blank, while five (blank) leaves are cut out here. Harl. 2251 is foliated all through in the scribe's hand (the two first quires are also numbered separately).

[3]) No doubt originally a term of endearment, like *Huchown.* — The same poem (cf. MacCracken p. xlv [10]) is copied in Harl. 2251 f. 1, but without any note; in this MS. there is in the lower margin of f. 175 a tracing of a big Q with what looks like an I and J attached and an interwoven V, A, L in the middle (probably an owner's monogram; another curious tracing is found in Ad. 34360 at the end of Pity on f. 53).

[4]) Cf. Hammond in *Anglia* 28. 2. The first item in the Arundel MS. (ff. 1—89) is made up of four quires of 20 leaves (1 (blank) leaf

ff. 33—50, in a MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3. 21, the rest of which is copied in the somewhat crabbed hand of another MS. *ib.* R. 3. 19.[1]) All these MSS. are late fifteenth century paper copies, and their Chaucer items have no significance, textually or otherwise, except in so far as they are descended from a lost Shirley codex, partially preserved in Harl. 2251 & 34360.[2])

Another and earlier group of texts is formed by four Bodleian MSS: Fairfax 16, Bodl. 638, Tanner 346, Digby 181.[3]) Of these

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cut out in quire 3) and a fifth of 12 leaves (the two last blank and not counted), while the second piece consists of 2 quires af 20 and one additional leaf, so that the two parts were originally independent of each other.

1) Except ff. 218—255, apparently written in a XVI cent. hand (in spite of W. W. Greg in *Rev.* 8. 539 f.). Both the Trin. volumes contain 13 separate sections, numbering from 8 to 40 leaves and foliated independently of each other (cf. Hammond in *Anglia* 28. 10); they were once owned by John Stowe (as well as Harl. 2251 & Ad. 34360), who has written on the last page of R. 3. 21, f. 321 b: *John Stowes boke — John stow honar of this boke and of many mo — benedicamus domino.* An earlier owner of this MS. was Roger Thorney (cf. his signature on f. 245 b), who has also written his name in Bodl. Laud. 557 (transcribed in a hand somewhat similar to that of R. 3. 19 & 21) f. 66: *Constat Rogero Thorny mercer* (at his request Wynkyn de Worde reprinted Caxton's ed. of the Polycronicon in 1495, see Ames *Typographical Antiquities* (1785) I. 121 f., cf. Hammond in *Anglia* 30. 347).

2) Both these MSS. as well as Trin. R. 3. 21 have some stanzas on Edward IV (ff. 244—5), which prove that they were written not earlier than his reign (cf. Hammond in *Anglia* 28. 27). Trin. R. 3. 21 has no Chaucerian items, while R. 3. 19 contains *the parlement of Byrdes reducyd to love* (ff. 17—25, with a spurious concluding stanza, cf. Skeat VII. lxxxii), *the legend of ladyes* (ff. 114—50), *Pity* (ff. 151—2).

3) See Hammond p. 333 ff., and espec. *Notes* 23. 20 f. (cf. Carleton Brown in *Publ.* 26. 18); *ib.* 20. 77 ff. she shows that the privately owned MS. Longleat 258, written ab. 1500, is related to the group (cf. *Anglia* 34. 235 ff.; I have not seen this MS.). — Digby really comprises two MSS. in different hands: 1. Ff. 1—53 (for the contents see Hammond p. 339 f.) — 2. An unfinished copy of Chaucer's *Troilus* (I. i—iii. 532, a γ text; cf. Root *Textual Trad. of Chaucer's Troilus,* p. 8 f.).

Bodley and Digby are paper copies, from ab. 1475, while Fairfax and Tanner are vellum MSS., about a quarter of a century earlier, and both originally written in independent sections. Tanner consists of four parts:[1]) [1]The Legend of Cupid's Saints*, *Littera Cupidinis dei amoris directa Subditis suis Amatoribus* (Hoccleve's), Lydgate's Complaint of a Lover's Life, Anelida*, Mars*, Venus*, Pity*, and two complaints (ff. 1—75, closing with a single sheet, ff. 74—5; in two hands, I & II);[2]) [2]*The Tempil of Glas,* (Lydgate's), Clanvowe's Book of Cupid[3]) (ff. 76—101, three quires and a single sheet; in hand I); [3]Blanche* (ff. 102—19, two quires and a single sheet; in hands I (ff. 102—9) & II (ff. 110—19)); [4]*The Parlement of Briddis** (ff. 120—31 (two quires, f. 132 blank and the rest of the last quire cut away) in hand I). Evidently the four sections were worked on by the two scribes at the same time, but the care taken to make the various parts self-contained through adding single sheets shows that they were kept separate and probably sold separately, the buyer making his own selection.

By far the most characteristic representative of this group is, however, the Fairfax volume, well written in the clear and firm hand of a professional scribe and carefully rubricated throughout; on f. 1 the date *Anno 1450* is written in a contemporary hand, so that the MS. is probably some years older. The leaves of the first two quires (one flyleaf & ff. 1—13) are blank except for a list of contents on f. 2, in a hand not that of the scribe but contemporary with it, and a magnificent miniature on f. 14 b, showing the chief persons of Chaucer's *Mars,* the first poem in the collection; in the lower border there is a coat of arms, which appears to be that of

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1) Titles and authors' names are only found in the MS. when italicized; poems treated as Chaucer's by Wells are marked with an asterisk.

2) Hand II wrote ff. 34—75 (& 110—19), Hand I wrote the rest of the MS. Both are clear and firm hands, but the first is rather more square than the second, which is somewhat pointed and sloping; they are easily distinguished through the peculiar shapes of their letters, especially of their A's & B's.

3) This is followed by a separate poem without a heading on f. 101, now called *Alison* (cf. Hammond p. 406).

Lord Stanley.[1]) The next 172 leaves (ff. 15—186) apparently form a separate MS., closing with six pages (ff. 184—6), originally blank, but later used for a XVII cent. copy of a poem on *The X Commaundements of Loue.* The next section begins with f. 187, the first leaf of a quire, and goes as far as f. 201, the back of which is blank. The third section begins a fresh quire with f. 202 and ends on f. 305 (ff. 301—5 (the last five leaves of a quire) being blank), followed by the fourth, ff. 306—13, a single quire the last leaf of which is blank, and the fifth, ff. 314—29. The volume closes with two quires, ff. 230—40, originally blank, but now partly filled by some pieces in a later XV cent. hand (ff. 329 b-336). The contents of the various parts, I—V, are best given by printing and numbering the old index on f. 2; the items usually attributed to Chaucer are marked by an asterisk (with a double asterisk attached to the pieces marked as Chaucer's in the MS.), while the numerals added in brackets indicate the places of the poems in the related MSS. B[odley], T[anner], D[igby], & L[ongleat]:[2])

I 1. [*T*]*he complaynt of Mars and Venus**
*he complaynt of Mars by him self**
he complaynt of Venus by hir self } (T 5, L 5)

2. *The complaynt of a lovers lyve* (B 1, T 3, D 5)
(Stowe adds: the blacke knight).

3. *The complaynt of Analida þe qwene of Ermony**
*The complaynt of fayre Analida and fals Arcytt** } (B 2, T 4, D 6, L 8)

4. *The boke off Cupyde gode of Love* (B 3, T 10)

5. *The goode councell of Chawcer***

6. *The letter of Cupyde gode of love* (B 5, T 2, D 1, L 1)
(Stowe adds: per T. hoccleve).

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1) See Hammond p. 334; reprod. here on pl. III. — The binding is modern (XIX cent.).

2) The *original* contents of the latter are taken from the old Latin list, printed *Odd Texts* p. 251.

7. *The Rolles of kyng Ragman* (B 16)
8. *La bele dame sanz mercy* (L 11)
9. *The Temple of Glasse*[1]) (B 4, T 9, L 3)
   (Stowe adds: lidgate).
10. *The boke of the IX gode women** (B 7, T 1)
11. *The parliament of Bryddes** (B 8, T 12, D 7, L 9)
12. *The Boke of the Duches** (B 9, T 11)
13. *The chaunces of the dyce* (B 11)
14. *The house of ffame** (B 10)

II. 1. *The Compleynt of the dethe of pety** (B 6, T 6, L 6)
2. *A devoute balette to oure lady** (B 12)
   (Stowe adds: A. b. c. per Chaucer).
3. *The Arguyng be tween a man and the qween of ffortune*** (B 13)
4. *The sendyng of Chawcer to Scogan***
5. *The Complaynt of Chawcer to his purse***
6. *The sendyng of Chawcer to Bukton***
7. *The complaynt of the vnstedfastnes of þe worlde**
8. *The Newfangelnes of a lady**
9. *The IIII thinge that make men to fonde*
10. *The proverbe of Chawcer***
11. *The complaynt ageyne hope* (B 14)
12. *The complaynt of a lover** [2]) (B 15)
13. *The supplicacion to þe kyng in balayd*
14. *Off þe variaunce of þis world saving in women*
15. *The prayoure to god to kepe the kyng þe qwene þe peopull and his lande.*[3])

III. *The booke of þe Autoure how he plaid at þe chesse and was mated of a fferse*[4])

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1) This is written on an erasure; the title on f. 63 and in Bodl. f. 16 b is *The temple of Bras* (but T & L have the usual title). Note that this is Caxton's title for *The Parlement of Foules* (cf. below).

2) Title in text f. 197 (cf. Bodl. f. 212): *Complaynt Damours.*

3) This is followed in the text by a copy of Chaucer's *Truth* headed *Balade* (f. 201), the second copy in the MS. (cf. I. 5).

4) Ed. by Sieper as *Reson and Sensuallyte,* (E. E. T. S. 1901—3) and ascribed to Lydgate on no better evidence than that of Stowe and some indifferent literary parallels.

IV. *How þat a lover presythe his lady*[1])

V. 1. *The observaunce of Venus goddes of love*[2])
2. *The IIII balettes þat þe lover made to his lady*
3. *The II complayntez þat þe louere made to his lady*
4. *The supplicacion that the lover made to his lady*
5. *The letter þat the louere made to his lady*
6. *II Complayntez þat þe louere made to his lady*
7. *A letter and a complaynt that þe louere made to his lady*
8. *How þe louere is sett to serve ye floure*
9. *The Parliament off Cupyde gode of Love.*[3])

Miss Hammond concluded that the Fairfax scribe must have used at least three different sources in making up his collection: one for that part of the contents, which is found in both Bodley and Tanner, another for the part found in Bodley only, and a third for the rest. The correctness of this theory is emphasized by the view adopted here, that all the five parts of the MS. were originally separate booklets, offered for sale among many others by a copying and publishing firm, and together with some blank quires at beginning and end made up into the present volume for a noble customer, who had the frontispiece executed for him, with his coat of arms inserted.[4]) Nearly all the items of the first part are paralleled by both Bodley and Tanner, as pointed out by Miss Hammond; when, however, she assumes their presence in a common "Oxford" ancestor, from ab. 1415, it may be objected that MS. conditions are clearly not in favour of the existence of such a collection. It is true that Bodley may be traced back to a codex similar to Fairfax I, and it is quite probable that these two volumes had a common ancestor, resembling both,[5]) but though

1) Printed by Hammond in *Phil.* 21. 379 ff.

2) Printed by Hammond in *Journ.* 7. 95 ff.

3) These nine items comprise 20 balades & complaints &c; they are printed by MacCracken in *Publ.* 26. 155 ff. and by him ascribed to William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, the husband of Chaucer's granddaughter Alice.

4) There is no evidence at all for Miss Hammond's view of the MS. as written for the original owner by his private scribe (p. 53).

5) Bodley was not copied from Fairf., cf. Furnivall in *Odd Texts* pp. 67 & 213.

the contents of Tanner are pretty much the same, the order is quite different.[1]) From this circumstance in connection with the fact that Tanner is divided into four separate sections, it may be argued that the original sources of this MS. and the ancestor of Bodley-Fairfax I were a number of independent booklets, each containing one longish poem, like the *Legend,* or several shortish ones, like *Pity* &c, and copied in different order by different scribes.

The same inference is suggested by the textual similarity of some texts in Tanner and in a characteristic Cambridge volume, Univ. Libr. Ff. 1. 6, a paper MS., in eight original sections, comprising 15 quires and written in about the same number of hands, mostly loose and slovenly ones of the late XV cent. In sect. I (3 quires) three original hands, A, B, C, may be distinguished, the first copying two fragments of Gower's Confessio Amantis (ff. 3—7), the second Pity* (headed *Abc*) and two other love laments (ff. 15—19,[2]) the third The Parlement of Foules* (ff. 29—42), writing at the end (f. 42 b):[3])

Si mea poema valet melior mea litera fiet
Explicit parliamentum Auium
Quod. W. Caluerley.

Section II (1 quire, ff. 45—60) is written by a fourth scribe D, signing himself *Leweston* on f. 58 and again after the Chaucerian Complaint to the Empty Purse* on f. 59: *Explicit Quod Leweston.* In sect. III (1 quire, ff. 61—80) the hands of the first and third scribes, A & C (Calverley), may again be traced, writing re-

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1) There are also other differences between Fairfax and Tanner, of which the latter e. g. employs the symbol *þ,* while the Fairfax scribe writes *th* &c.

2) Fol. 20 was probably originally blank; a late hand has written a love poem on the two pages. — Ff. 22—28 form a special inset, with a copy of The Book of Cupid, ending with the note *Explicit Clanvowe,* and written in a hand which looks considerably older than those of the other scribes, ab. 1450 or so; it was probably originally an independent copy.

3) I do not find any palæographical or textual evidence that two hands were at work here, as Bradshaw and Furnivall thought *(Trial-Forewords* p. 54).

spectively Anelida* (ff. 61—3) and Venus* (ff. 68—9); in between them a fifth hand, E, wrote the legend of Thisbe* (ff. 64—7),[1]) while a sixth scribe, F, is responsible for Hoccleve's Letter of Cupid on ff. 71—6. In sect. IV (3 quires, ff. 81—115) four hands may be distinguished, G, H, I, K, while section V (4 quires, ff. 116—42) is written mainly by one scribe, L, who copies i. a. La Belle Dame Sans Mercy on ff. 117—34.[2]) The next section, VI, evidently had a comparatively long independent existence; it consists of one quire of 10 leaves (with two original insets of respectively 8 & 4 leaves, 22 in all, ff. 143—64), of which the first and last one are very dirty from their having formed the cover of this once separate booklet. The section is written in two chief hands, M & N, which copy various poems by Lydgate and others.[3]) Sections VII & VIII (ff. 165—80 & 181—5) are written by two separate scribes, O & P; the last contains a fragment of Burgh's Cato.

Now these eight sections probably indicate at least as many

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1) He signs his name on f. 67 b:

Explicit pyramus & tesbe
Nomen scriptoris nicholaus plenus amoris

Plenus amoris was probably used simply as a rhyming tag, though it *may* indicate that the scribe was called Nicholas Fullalove (see *Athen.* 1909. I. 556, and cf. Chaucer's *Pleyndamour, C. T.* B 2090).

2) Ff. 135—9 are filled with brief love poems in various late hands, among which is one beginning (f. 137 b) *Now wold I fayne sum myrthis make,* followed by a scroll with the exclamation *A God When,* also found in front of another poem on p. 139, beg. *Myself walkyng all allone;* in the margin besides this is drawn a tun with two fishes below and the same inscription (this cannot possibly be a rebus for the name Leweston (luce-tun) as Hammond thinks p. 343 f., since there is no trace here of the hand of this scribe). The poems are printed *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* I. 25 ff. as by A. Godwhen (cf. Chambers & Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics* 1907, pp. 33 & 333, but see MacCracken in *Athen.* 1908. I. 258; still it is possible that the motto might indicate some such name as Godwin).

3) Ff. 143—5 & 162—4 contain scraps of poems, written in various late hands. For the contents see Hammond p. 345 f; on ff. 150—1 *Troilus* III. 302—22 occur as st. 4—6 of a short poem, cf. *Odd Texts* p. xii, and see Root *The MSS. of Chaucer's Troilus* p. 47.

different sources,[1]) and one of these, containing *Pity* and the two love laments, copied by hand B on ff. 15—19, must also have been used in making up the Tanner MS., for they occur here in the same order (ff. 71—5), while the texts of *Pity* agree both mutually[2]) and with the copies in Longleat & Trin. R. 3. 19;[3]) the texts in Fairfax and Bodley, though evidently related to the preceding texts,[4]) stand a little apart.[5]) On the other hand the copies of *Anelida* in these two MSS. are closely connected with that in Harl. 372, ff. 57—60,[6]) marked *Chaucer* at the end, and followed by *La belle dame sanz mercy translated out of ffrenche by Sir Richard Ros* (ff. 61—9),[7]) the text of which is also similar to that in Fairfax I (ff. 50—62).[8]) It is accordingly pretty

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[1]) These date probably from the middle of the XV cent.; the piece copied on ff. 110—13 is dated by Bradshaw 1441—2 (*Trial Forewords* p. 53[1]).

[2]) Note e. g. the common omission of *there* in l. 36, and especially l. 33, where both MSS. read: *fful I haue soghte her ful bisily*. Ten Brink's genealogical scheme in *Essays on Chaucer* p. 169 (cf. p. 167) shows Tanner as Ff's ancestor (cf. *Globe Ch.* p. xxxv & Wild. p. 36), but there is not sufficient evidence for this.

[3]) These four MSS. show i. a. the following variants: *whan* om. in l. 8, *I* om. in l. 10, *her* for *any* in l. 13.

[4]) See l. 34, where these six MSS. read: *Sith I had first wit or mynde* (Trin. *and*).

[5]) E. g. in the omission of both *she* and *so* in l. 32.

[6]) Many important variants are found only in these three MSS.: *into a* (l. 214), *C. M.* (l. 222), *clepid* (l. 223), *Alas now hath he left me causeles* (l. 229), *that I ne love hym* (l. 236), *full* omitted (l. 243), *causer* for *cause* (l. 257), *And of me rekke not* (l. 269), *be al pleyn* (l. 278), *And turne al this. that hath be mys. to game* (l. 279), *be stidfast* (l. 310), *eke* inserted (l. 313), *haue I seyde oght amys I prey* (l. 318), *to suere yet efte a new asure* (l. 331), *this* for *thilke* (l. 334).

[7]) This note of the authorship is found only in the present MS., where it was noticed already by Tyrwhitt (see his *Account*). Sir Richard Ros seems to have been born ab. 1429, cf. H. Gröhler in *Engl. Stud.* 10. 206; see about the poem his diss. (Breslau 1886) and cf. Hammond p. 432 f.

[8]) Several stanzas are transposed in both MSS. owing to a displacement of the leaves in their common ancestor (explained by Skeat VII. liv); Cambr. Ff. 1. 6 & Trin R. 3. 19 form another group, joined by

evident that there once existed small separate copies of this poem and of the two Chaucerian texts. That of *Anelida* must have been copied twice, and one of these copies was later transcribed first by the Fairfax I—Bodley ancestor [1]) and then by Harl. 372, [2]) while the other was copied independently by Tanner, by Digby, by Longleat, and by Cambr. Ff. 1. 6. [3]) Of The *Pity* text there were originally two transcriptions, one copied into Fairfax and Bodley and another, which was re-copied twice, and then transcribed first by the Tanner & Ff scribes, next by the Longleat & Trinity scribes.

There cannot be much doubt, then, that the other contents of Tanner and of the ancestor of Fairfax I — Bodley (and partly of Digby & Longleat) were derived from similar small, separate

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Thynne's ed. 1532, and offer a better text (the Longleat copy I do not know, cf. Hammond in *Notes* 20. 77 ff.).

1) In both these MSS. the complaint proper is copied *before* the introductory narrative.

2) This paper MS. consists of two originally independent volumes: [1]Ff. 1—70, in a clear and firm writing of ab. 1450; [2]Ff. 71—112, in a hand of the latter part of the XV cent, (the soiled condition of ff. 70 b & 71 a shows that the two MSS. were kept separate for some time). The first part contains: Lydgate's St. Edmund (ff. 1—44), *The prohemy of mariage betwix an olde man and a yong wif* (ff. 45—51; Hoccleve's (?), cf. MacCracken p. xlviii), a paraphrase of Lydgate's *Verses on the Kings of England* (ff. 51—3, cf. Mac Cracken no. 62), three short religious poems (ff. 54—6, ending with a page originally blank, which may indicate that the next items were taken from a different source), *The compleynt of faire Anelida & fals Arcite* (marked *Chaucer*) and *La belle dame sanz mercy* (cf. above), followed by a religious poem on f. 70. Besides the resemblance to the Fairfax MS. Hammond notes "the agreements in contents with Harl. 7333" (p. 329), but these are hardly conclusive as they are limited to *Anelida* & Lydgate's St. Edmund (his verses on the Kings of England are in Harl. 7333, but in a different version).

3) Note their common readings in 217 *(trewe)*, 236 *(yit* inserted), 238 *(shulde* for *shal)*, 241 *(Now* for *Nay)*, 251 *(On* for *Up on)*, 259 *(it* omitted), 274 *(ay* for *nay)*, 294 & 299 *(voyde* for *weyve)*, 304 *(vnto* for *to)*, 307 *(myght* for *ought)*, 331 *(Efte to profur anew asure)*, 334 *(such* for *thilke)*, 347 *(will synge in)*; while the last stanza, 351—7, is found only in these four MSS. (see the foll. sect). But observe that Ff stands alone in omitting the introductory story.

MSS., of one or more quires each, so that originally there would seem to have been about ten of these booklets, containing: [1]*The Legend* — [2]Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid* — [3]Lydgate's *Black Knight* — [4]*Anelida* — [5]*Mars* & *Venus* — [6]*Pity* & two Love Laments — [7]Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* — [8]Clanvowe's *Book of Cupid* — [9]*The Book of the Duchess [Blanche]* — [10]*The Parlement of Foules.* About the middle of the XV century this collection was in the possession of the scriptorium, from which the MSS. dealt with above were issued, and here they were copied and re-copied several times, the texts dividing in the main into a Fairfax I—Bodley and a Tanner-Digby-Longleat subgroup.[1]) Several new MSS. of the same description also seem to have been added here, containing i. a. *The House of Fame* and *La Belle Dame Sans Merci.* The latter poem can hardly be much earlier than 1450, but the original collection of booklets was no doubt several decades earlier than the preserved MSS., dating from the first quarter of the fifteenth century or so and copied out by a scribe who altered the text on a good many points, a tendency unfortunately continued by later transcribers. Since the name of the original scribe has not been preserved I venture to christen this circle of texts the *Hammond Group* after Miss Eleanor Prescott Hammond, who was the first to study the relations between its extant representatives. There may of course have been intermediary steps between Chaucer's originals and this group, but they have at any rate not been preserved; the Hammond group takes up an independent position in the case of all the texts included, representing a well-defined and easily recognized, though not very reliable body of textual authorities.[2])

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1) Note for instance the agreements between Tanner and Longleat in *Mars* 51, 69, 76, 84 (against Fairfax I, which they join in 54 & 68) and cp. Miss Hammond's remarks on the text of the *Parlement* in *Decennial Publ. of Univ. of Chicago* VII. 1. ff.

2) See the prec. & foll. sections about the *Legend, Fame, Anelida, Pity, Parlement, Blanche;* cf. the genealogical schemes by Koch (see esp. *Archiv* 112. 63) and Heath *(Globe Ch.)* as corrected by Wild p. 28 ff. — As to the non-Chaucerian items the Hammond group stands clearly apart in the case of Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid,* where the original booklet must have had some leaves misplaced as seen by the

Part II of the Fairfax volume forms an interesting little MS. (ff. 187—201). Of its 16 items nine have been attributed to Chaucer, while three are by Lydgate (nos. 9, 14, 15; Mac Cracken nos. 45, 32, 97) and one by Hoccleve (no. 13).[1]) Among the textual sources one must have been the *Pity* booklet mentioned above, for *Pity* is the first Chaucerian item in this section and is also found in Bodley, Tanner, and Longleat. The rest of the contents were probably due to a separate booklet, which was also used occasionally in compiling the Fairfax I—Bodley ancestor, since the Chaucerian *A devoute balette to oure lady* [ABC] & *Visage sans Peinture* [Fortune] (nos. 2 & 3) and the two *Complaints* (nos. 11 & 12) occur in Bodley too.[2])

Now it will be noticed that there are French headings to three of the Chaucerian items from this source: *Balade de vilage saunz peynture. par. Chaucer* (also with French subheadings), *Lenvoy de Chaucer a Scogan,* & *Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton* (Fairfax II, nos. 3, 4, 6), while the first copy of *Truth* on f. 40 (Fairfax I, no. 5) has a similar French *Explicit: Le bon counseill' De. G. Chaucer.*[3]) These four French titles are the more interesting,

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disarrangement of the stanzas in Fa. Bo. Ta. Di. Ff. (but not in Shirley's Trin. R. 3. 20 and the other MSS., cf. Hammond p. 34 f.). The booklet of Clanvowe's *Book of Cupid* has preserved our only text of this poem, since it is found only in Fa. Bo. Ta. Ff. and a closely agreeing copy in Seld. B. 24 (cf. Vollmer's ed. 1898, p. 8 ff.). But the booklets of Lydgate's *Black Knight* and *Temple of Glass* would seem to have been allied to the Pepys-Caxton texts (cf. below).

1) Furnivall's ed. I. 62. Of the remaining three pieces two (nos. 8 & 12) have been printed by Skeat in his Appendix to Chaucer's *Minor Poems* (nos. XXI—XXII)

2) Perhaps the same source also influenced Harl. 7578, ff. 2—20 (originally a separate MS.), since here we find the Chaucerian Envoy to King Richard [Stedfastnesse] and the so-called Newfanglenesse, Lydgate's Doublenesse & Prayer, two miscellaneous stanzas, and *Prouerb of Chaucers,* all in approximately the same order as in Fairfax II (nos. 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 10); cf. Hammond p. 330 f. The connection is, however, doubtful, as the textual agreements are not striking, at any rate not in the case of the Chaucerian items.

3) This was evidently copied in Fairfax I from the source of Fairfax II, since it does not occur in either Bodley or Tanner. When it

since similar cases occur in other MSS., especially in the paper fragments now united into one volume in MS. Pepys 2006, at Magdalen College, Cambridge. They seem originally to have been written in sections similar to those of the MSS. just noticed, and apparently they fall into two main parts. [1]) The first part (p. 1—224) is written in three rather cramped hands (XV cent., 2. half), two of which worked on the volume at the same time, for while the first stops at the bottom of p. 44, the second (Furnivall's hand B) writes the catchword here and then transcribes the rest of the fragment except p. 71 f., a supplementary leaf written in a third and later hand. [2]) The contents are Lydgate's Complaynt of y^e^ Black knyght & Temple of Glass (pp. 1—52, titles added by Pepys), and the Leginde of Good Women* (pp. 53—88; title by Pepys) which stops abruptly on p. 88 after the first ten lines of *the legendes of Isephele and medea* and is followed without a

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was re-copied in Fairfax II (f. 201) the title was omitted and there are a few textual differences, like *withfastnesse* for *sothfastnesse* in 1. 1, *vn to* for *the* in 1. 2, & *blynd* for *blent* in 1. 4. — At the end the scribe added (f. 201): *Qui legit emendat scriptorem non reprehendat* — a note also found after *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* in Harl. 372, f. 69 b, and in a somewhat different form at the end of Stowe-Speght's Chaucer ed. 1598: *qui legis, emendas autorem, non reprehendas.*

[1]) The binding dates from Pepys' time, with his name on the cover and his arms on the back. On the second flyleaf in front a XVII cent. hand, apparently that of Pepys himself, has written *MSS. Fragments of Chaucer Some whereof never printed,* and on a flyleaf at the end he has made *A Collation of these MSS. fragments of Chaucer No. 1074 B. with his Printed Works No. 1281* [a copy of Speght's ed. 1602]. The contents were partly copied by Thomas Ainsworth for Urry's Chaucer (see B. M. Ad. 38179). The MS. was first described by Todd, *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer* (1810) p. 116 f.; the list of its Chaucerian contents, given from the Ch. Soc. Publ. by Flügel in *Anglia* 22. 510 & 521, is wrong, but see Hammond's careful notice in *Notes* 19. 196 ff.

[2]) Schick notes (p. xx f.) that scribe A, who wrote the greater part of the *Temple of Glass* (1—1098, pp. 17—44), must have been a very careless, northern copyist, while scribe B is much more careful.

break by *Pryer a nostre Dame — par Chaucer.* This poem, popularly known as the ABC, stops with l. 60 on top of p. 90, the rest of which is blank; then follows on p. 91 The booke of fame* (title by Pepys), stopping abruptly with l. 1843 at the bottom of p. 114. On pp. 115—24 Mars* and Venus* are copied, headed by a title, almost entirely destroyed by the abhorred shears, but apparently reading *The broche of Thebes.*[1]) These poems are followed by Fortune* (pp. 124—6), without a title but with subheadings, first French: *Pleyntyf encountre fortune* (at l. 1), *ffortune al pleyntyf* (at l. 25), *Pleyntyf als Fortune* (at l. 49); then English: *ffortune ayenst the pleyntyf* (at l. 57), *The pleyntif to fortune* (at l. 65) — and at last French again: *lenvoye de ffortune* (at l. 73). Then comes *The parlament of fowles** (p. 127), breaking off abruptly with l. 667 at the bottom of p. 142; a leaf is evidently lost here. On the top of the next page begins the prose Legend of y^e^ 3 Kings of Coleyn, as Pepys notes, ending complete on p. 189, while p. 190, covered with XV cent. scribbles, has been pasted over by the binder, as well as p. 210; probably two of the original sections closed here. Pp. 191—209 contain Lydgate's Serpent of Division (no heading); on p. 211 Burgh's Cato begins (headed later: *Incipit cato*), breaking off at the bottom of p. 224.

Here the second chief part of the MS. begins, the writing changing into a rather large, upright hand of the late XV cent. P. 225 is headed by the rubric: *Here begynneth Chaucers tale of Melibe;* the text is evidently taken from a complete copy of the Canterbury Tales, as proved by the colophon on p. 275: *Here endith Chauceres owne tale of Thopas and of Melibee and Prudence his wyfe.* On p. 276 the Parson's Prologue begins and on p. 346 a new, current hand makes its appearance (Furnivall's hand E) and continues the text, concluding with the Retraccioun and a final *Deo Gracias* on p. 377. The verso of this leaf is pasted on to the recto of p. 378; a new section evidently begins

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[1]) At l. 155 is added in the margin *The compleynt of Mars,* and *Venus* seems to have been marked off by a similar note, almost completely shorn away, but restored by Pepys.

here, but the writing is the same.[1]) It starts with Mars* at the top of p. 378 (without a title), continuing with Venus* (but a leaf is lost between pp. 380 & 381 with the end of Mars and the beginning of Venus) which ends on p. 382. Then follows Anelida's Complaint (l. 211 ff.), headed by a big rubric: *The compleint of Anelida quene of Hermenye vpon false Arcite of Thebes* — and with the marginal note *[Ch]aucir.* This breaks off with l. 311 at the bottom of p. 384, after which at least one leaf is lost, p. 385 beginning with the two last lines of the Envoy to *Visage sans Peinture**. Follows a poem with the rubric *Lenuoie de Chaucer — A Scogan,* and then the same fragment of the so-called ABC as on pp. 88—90, again headed *Prier a nostre dame — par Chaucer* (p. 386). This is followed by two new poems, both with large rubrics: *La compleint de Chaucer a sa Bourse Voide* (p. 388) & *Le bon counsell — de Chaucer* (p. 389)[2]); pp. 390—1 bring the last items in the volume, three roundels without headings, but called Mercilesse Beauty* in Pepys' final Table of Contents.

Most of the Chaucerian contents of the second half of the MS. were evidently copied from the same sources as the first half, as proved by the textual agreements, not only between the two *ABC*-fragments, but also between the copies of *Mars* and *Venus.* That the sources were a number of independent booklets, is indicated by their textual connection with a set of small printed booklets, issued by Caxton and containing works by Chaucer, Lydgate, and others.[3]) The Chaucerian publications of this kind are:

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1) Clearly these last 8 leaves did not once form a separate MS., as Hammond seems to believe *(Notes* 19. 197); the writing and rubricating are exactly the same as on pp. 346—77.

2) This is one of the few MS. copies of *Truth,* not printed by the Ch. Soc.

3) Copies of most of these prints were collected in one volume, left to the Cambr. Univ. Libr. by Bishop Moore of Ely (see Ames,*Typographical Antiquities,* ed. Dibdin (1810) I. 306 ff., cf. Blades, *The Biography and Typography of Caxton* (1877) p. 199 f., & J. Morley, *English Writers* VI. 310). The eight items were separated by

I. *The book of Fame made by Gefferey Chaucer*
II. 1. *The compleint of Anelida quene of hermenye vpon false arcyte of Thebes*
2. *The compleint of chaucer vnto his empty purse.*
III. 1. *The temple of bras [The Parlement of Foules]*
2. *The traytye wiche Iohn Skogan sent to the lordes and estates of the kynges hous* [including the *Moral Balade on Nobility]*
3. *The good counceyl of chawcer*
4. *Balade of the vilage without peynting*
5. *Thenuoye of chaucer to Skogan* [incomplete] [1])

All these items (except Scogan's *tretyse,* III. 2) are paralleled in Pepys I—II in closely agreeing texts,[2]) and accordingly we may safely assume the existence of a set of MS. booklets as the sources of Pepys-Caxton, similar to that used in the case of the Hammond group, but not identical with it since the texts are

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Bradshaw and the unique specimens have been published in facsimile by the Cambr. Univ. Press, such as Chaucer's *Anelida* and Lydgate's *Churl and Bird* & *Temple of Glass* (cf. Schick p. xxvi). They were probably all issued earlier than Caxton's first dated book *The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophres* (1477; see E. Gordon Duff *Westminster and London Printers* (1906) p. 7 ff.).

1) Cf. Bradshaw in Furnivall's *Trial Forewords* p. 116 ff. (after II. 2 and between III. 2 & 3 are found stanzas, not by Chaucer; the first, *Chaucer's Prophecy,* is parodied in *King Lear* III. 2. 83 ff., cf. Hammond p. 447 & cp. *Notes* 29. 195 f.). Could Julian Notary's print (ab. 1502) of *The Loue And Complayntes Bytwene Mars & Venus* and *The councell of Chaucer, touchyng Maryag &c whiche was sente to Bucketon &c* (see Ames *Typographical Antiquities,* ed. Dibdin (1810) II. 585 f., cf. E. G. Duff *Early English Printing* (1896) p. 11) be a reprint of a lost Caxton, seeing that it contains two cuts used by this printer? (cf. E. G. Duff *Westminster and London Printers* p. 39 f.).

2) See Anelida 241, 243, 252, 253, 299, and especially 307, where both Pepys II & Caxton II have *ofte* = *ought;* Purse 24 (both these authorities omit *songe)* & 25 (both read *harmes);* Scogan 10 (both omit *a drope*). Cf. Koch in *Archiv* 112. 64; he maintains *(Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 107) that Caxton derived the last text from Pepys. This is however impossible; note 1. 2 where Caxton has *tendure,* Pepys (and the other authorities) *to dure.*

clearly different.[1]) This set must have comprised the following Chaucerian MSS.:

1. *The Legend of Cupid's Saints* (Pepys I).
2. *The House of Fame* (Pepys I, Caxton I).
3. *The Broche of Thebes (Mars & Venus)* (Pepys I & II, Notary).
4. *The Parlement of Foules* (Pepys I, Caxton III).
5. *The Complaint of Anelida* (Pepys II, Caxton II).
6. A final booklet, containing half a dozen short poems by Chaucer with French titles, found chiefly in Pepys (II), but also partly in Caxton (II—III, with the titles translated into English) and in Fairfax (pt. II, cf. above): [2])

a. *Lenuoie de Chaucer — A Scogan* (P II, C III, F II).
b. *Prier a nostre Dame — par Chaucer* (P I—II, F II).
c. *La compleint de Chaucer a sa Bourse Voide* (P II, C II, F II).
d. *Le bon counsell — de Chaucer* (P II, C III, F I—II).
e. *Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton* (F II) [3]).

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[1]) On a good many important points in the complaint of *Anelida* Pepys-Caxton agree with most other authorities (Shirley's Trin. R. 3. 20, Ad. 16165, Harl. 7333, and generally Phill. 8299 as well) against the Hammond group: *thirlith* (211), *in* for *to* (214), *hir* (217; Trin has *hem,* the other MSS. *him), obseruaunce(s) and* (249), *But for I was so playn arcyte — In al my werkis moche and lite* (264 f.), *was* om. (266), *lye* for *be* (286), *cruell* for *foule* (300), *causeles* (301), *Than woll ye laugh I knowit* (303), *þat* ins. (304), *half* for *al* (319), *nys* for *ther is no* (325), *To profren eft and new assure* (331). — Since all these readings are evidently correct, the agreements between Pepys-Caxton and the Shirley group do not prove that they are related, as Miss Hammond thinks *(Notes* 19. 35 & 197); the textual resemblances between single authorities of the two groups elsewhere (e. g. in *Mars* 11, 35, 39, 40, 42) are too slight and casual to be of any importance. But the non-Chaucerian texts in Pepys I seem to be allied to the Hammond Group; see about Lydgate's *Complaint of a Lover's Life* Krausser in *Anglia* 19. 216—22, and about the *Temple of Glass* Schick p. xxxv ff.

[2]) Nos. b—c below occur here with English titles, respectively *A devoute balette to oure lady* (f. 188 b) and *The complaynt of Chaucer to his Purse* (f. 193; but note the heading of the final stanza: *Lenvoy de Chaucer).*

[3]) Also in Jul. Notary's ed. of *Mars* & *Venus* (cf. above).

f. *Balade de vilage saunz peynture . par. Chaucer* (F II, P I—II, C III).[1])

The whole set of six forms a textual unit, as definite as the Hammond group, but of much higher textual value. Since Fairfax II is an important member of the group, though only as far as the final booklet is concerned, and since Tyrwhitt relied to a great extent on this MSS. in drawing up his Canon of Chaucer's Minor Poems, this set of authorities might not unfittingly be known as the *Tyrwhitt Group.*

The French titles of the sixth booklet of this group occur, however, also in other MSS. The best text of the poem listed as no. 6 f above (usually known as *Fortune)* is found in MS. Cambr. Univ. Libr. Ii. 3. 21. This is a folio volume in two parts, of which the first (ff. 1—180), written in an early hand of ab. 1400, contains the Latin text of Boethius, followed section for section by Chaucer's translation, while the second, written in a different but contemporary hand and foliated separately (ff. 2—119), contains the commentary to the *Consolacio Philosophiae* by *Johannes Theutonicus* (A. D. 1306).[2]) Now on f. 53 of the first part Chaucer's metrical paraphrase of lib. II metr. V (generally known as *The Former Age)* is followed by this poem on Fortune, headed *Causer | Balades de vilage sanz peinture* and with the following subheadings:

Le respounce de fortune a pleintif (before st. 4—6),
Le respounce du pleintif countre fortune (before st. 7),
Le respounce de fortune countre le pleintif (before st. 8),
Lenuoy de fortune (before st. 10).

These subdivisions appear quite correct and even authoritative, but there is one more, which is clearly erroneous: st. 9 is headed *Le pleintif,* though there can be no doubt that Fortune speaks

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1) No title in Pepys I; only the two last lines are left of the copy in Pepys II, p. 385. Title in Bodley f. 208 as in Fairfax (though without author's name).

2) Bradshaw says *(Coll. Papers* p. 17) that the volume has been in the library since 1424, but I do not quite see his evidence for this statement.

all the three last stanzas (8—10).[1]) The error is also found in the other ten authorities for the poem,[2]) though textually these form a different group, characterized by certain scribal mistakes.[3]) The Ii MS. has a few of these,[4]) but is otherwise chiefly distinguished by a set of variants obviously superior to the corresponding readings in the rest of the MSS. This is clearly seen in line 11, where it has *whirling* instead of *tourning*, and in 30, where it reads *Why wolt thou stryve* instead of *Thou shalt not stryve*, but especially in the *Envoy* (73—9), which it has in the following form:

Prynces, I prey yow of yowre gentilesse(s),
Lat nat this man on me thus crye and pleyne;
And I shal quyte yow yowre bysynesse
At my requeste: as thre of yow or tweyne —
þat but yow lest! — releue hym of hys peyne.
Preyeth hys best frend of his noblesse
That to som betere estat he may attayne!

The other ten authorities omit 76, reading *And* for *þat* in 77 (only Shirley's MS. Trin. R. 3. 20 has *þat*), and while modern editors insert the line from Ii, they retain the *And*, making one sentence out of line 77, though the sense of this is very doubtful.[5]) Evidently the common ancestor of this group found 76

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1) See the decisive reasons given by Skeat I. 546 f. (but Koch did not correct this error in his ed. of the *Minor Poems* (1863) p. 15).

2) French subheadings in Pepys, Fairf. Bodl. Harl. 2251, Lansd. 699, Leyden Voss. Q. 9; Latin in Seld. B. 10, English in Caxton and Shirley's Trin. R. 3. 20 & Ashm. 59.

3) They all want *thee* in 8, 16, 24, & *for* in 12, while they wrongly read *nigardes* instead of *nigardye* in 53 (note *is* in 54).

4) It omits *to* in 27 and reads *excussyon* for *thexecucion* in 65.

5) Skeat's explanation of *but* as "except" (I. 547) gives no satisfactory sense and makes the construction of 76 a very loose one, while ten Brink's proposal to transpose 76 & 77 is impossible already because *thre of yow or tweyne* could hardly be the subject of *Preyeth*. Now Bilderbeck has drawn attention to an Ordinance of the Privy Council of Richard II, made on March 8, 1390 (see Nicolas *Acts of P. C.* I. xvi & 18): "Item que nul doun ou graunt que pourra tournier a disencrees du profit du Roi passe saunz avys

missing in its original, and changed the next line accordingly. Since the French headings are also found in MS. Ii, they must have been present in the ultimate original of both groups; this was probably Chaucer's own draft of the poem, with some notes of his as to the title and subdivisions, used by the scribe who rubricated the draft for the benefit of the copyists in the scriptorium which got hold of the poet's papers after his death. In this way the erroneous subheading to st. 9 and the stupid mistake of *vilage* for *visage* in the title got into the MS., and perhaps the omission of 76 is to be explained in the same way. [1])

The French titles of the other five poems are no doubt also ultimately due to the poet, though his name was of course introduced later in all cases. Copies of three of them are found in the great Chaucerian volume at the Cambridge University Library, Gg. 4. 27. [2]) This MS. contains the so-called *A B C** (f. 5—7,

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de consail et lassent *des Ducs de Gyene* [John of Gaunt] *et Deverwyk* [Edmund of Langley] *de Gloucestre* [Thomas of Woodstock] et du chanceller *ou deux de eux*". This perfectly explains the allusions to *thre of yow or tweyne* (in 76), which I take to be further qualified by the insertion of *þat but yow lest* (in 77), meaning "that is for you alone to decide" (cf. about the me. use of *but* in this sense *Dict.* s. v. 6); the construction of *as thre... releue* is parallel to that of *C. T.* C 165 f.: *Lord, if þat it be youre wille, As dooth me right* (see further instances in Skeat VI. 15). The *best frend* is not the later Henry IV, as Furnivall thought (*Par. T.* p. 439), nor John of Gaunt (Koch's crit. ed. of the *Minor Poems* p. 22—3), but evidently Richard II (cf. Skeat I. 547).

1) Fairf. & Bodl. have the same French title as Ii; Caxton III has an English version *Balade of the village without peynting,* used by the editors till R. Bell in 1856 restored the French title without understanding it (see his ed. VIII. 126). The necessary correction was first made by Bradshaw (see *Trial-Forewords* p. 8[1]; cf. Skeat I. 542 f.). — In 11 & 30 not only the variants of Cambr. Ii, but also those of the other MSS. *may* have been in Chaucer's draft, the Ii readings being the revised ones.

2) It consisted originally of 517 vellum leaves, many of which have been cut out for the sake of their illustrations; the loss is older than the XVII cent., since the gaps were formerly supplied by 35 vellum leaves, written in a hand of that period, but now collected at the end of the volume. The foliation includes the missing leaves (ff. 1—4, 12—13, 28—9, 54, 80—1, 102, 127—31 &c).

without title or author's name), *Litera directa de* [!] *Scogan per G. C.** (f. 7—8), *Balade de bone conseyl** (f. 8), three love-lyrics (ff. 9—11),[1]) Troilus* (ff. 13—126), the Canterbury Tales* (ff. 131—443), The Legend of Cupid's Saints* (ff. 445—80), and *The parlement of ffoulys** (f. 480 b—90 b). The last line on f. 490 b reads: *Here begynyth the temple of Glas;* Lydgate's poem follows with an apparently spurious conclusion on ff. 509—16, headed *La compleyn[t].*[2]) The MS. is written throughout in the same firm and square professional scribe's hand of the early XV cent., with numerous sumptuous initials and borders in blue, red, and gold, beautifully executed in a fine and bold style. It is interesting as the earliest conscious attempt at a collection of Chaucer's work, but since on one hand it is evidently incomplete, and on the other it unfortunately includes several pieces by other authors it cannot be allowed any decisive importance in settling the Canon.

The MS. offers a unique text of Chaucer's *Legend,* while containing on the whole very good copies of his *Canterbury Tales* and *Troilus;* as to its texts of minor Chaucerian poems that of the *Parlement of Foules* is probably the best in existence.[3]) But in the present connection it is especially noteworthy that the Latin title of *Scogan* is evidently translated from the French, as is proved by the presence of French marginal notes to 43 & 46: .i. *[a] wyndisore* & *.i. a Grenewych* — indicating the respective dwelling-places of Scogan and the poet. These are also found in the two other MSS. of the poem, Fairfax II (f. 193) and Pepys II (p. 386);[4]) but textually the Gg copy stands apart, while Fairfax, Pepys, and Caxton form one group.[5]) Accordingly, there is also

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1) Cf. Wells ch. XIII, no. 26. The first piece is a Parliament of Birds, printed by Hammond in *Journ.* 7. 105 ff.; the two last are printed by Chambers & Sidgwick *Early English Lyrics,* pp. 15—19.

2) There are also several changes in the text, paralleled (like the conclusion) in Shirley's Ad. 16165; they are considered interpolations by Schick p. xxx ff.

3) Cf. Koch in *Archiv* 112. 64.

4) The Caxton text is incomplete, containing lines 1—21 only.

5) Gg omits *hye* in 1 and has such clear mistakes as *no pong* for *ne yonge* in 20 and *pyng* for *thenke* in 47; accordingly the (pos-

here some evidence as to the existence of independent copies of Chaucer's own draft, supplied with a title and some comments in French by the same commentator as in the case of *Visage sans Peinture.*

The transcript of the *Balade de bone conseyl* is, however, still more interesting, since together with a few other copies it offers a text distinctly different from that of the bulk of the MSS. The related copies occur, oddly enough, on the old flyleaves of some volumes of the third decade or so of the fifteenth century. The first of these MSS. is a big folio at the British Museum, Ad. 22139, of 138 vellum leaves, many of which are mutilated or missing. It contains Gower's *Confessio Amantis,* written throughout in the firm, clear hand of a professional scribe, the text closing with the author's Latin account of his works on f. 137 b. [1]) After this the scribe goes on to copy the Complaint to the Empty Purse* (without the Envoy), the Moral Balade* (on Nobility), the Envoy to King Richard [Stedfastnesse]*, Balade de Bon Conseil*, all on f. 138, written in two columns, without any titles or notes about the authorship. Three of these poems are also copied at the end of another contemporary volume at the British Museum, Cotton Cleopatra D. VII (192 vellum leaves). The contents of this MS. are written in a hand of the early fifteenth century, [2]) which on f. 189 copies the Moral Balade*, the Envoy to King Richard*, Balade de Bon Conseil*, and the poem on the Newfangleness of a Lady*; there are no titles or indications of authorship. The Moral Balade and The Envoy to the King occur also in Harl. 7578 (f.

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sible) readings *And þow his bowe Scogan* in 25 and *wellis* for *stremes* in 43 become somewhat suspicious (cf. Koch, *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 107; but see Furnivall in *Par. T.* p. 419).

1) Macaulay classifies the text as belonging to the first ed. of the work (II. cxlvi). A coat of arms on f. 1 shows the date 1422 (not 1432 as stated by Macaulay l. c. and Hammond p. 327).

2) The writing on ff. 80—139 looks slightly different, but this is probably due to the inferior quality of the vellum here. Ff. 2—5 & 190—2 contain later additions in a distinctly different hand. For the contents see Hammond p. 327.

17), while the latter is found in Fairfax II (f. 194); and all these texts agree mutually on a good many points. [1])

Both the copies of *Bon Conseil* are, as mentioned above, clearly related to that in the Gg volume, and also to that on the flyleaf of the Ellesmere MS. of the *Canterbury Tales*. This is proved by some interesting variants, found only in these four authorities, such as the omission of *thee* in the refrain (found in all other MSS.); the reading *Werke wel* in l. 6, where the rest of the MSS. have *Do wel,* except Ad. 10340 & Phill. 8299: *Reule wel; And ek bewar* in l. 11 (where Ad. inserts a spurious line: *Clymbe not to hye for ferd thou fall),* while the other MSS. read *Beware also* (Ad. 10340 & Phill.: *Beware perfore); for this world* in l. 16 (Ad. 10340: *for þe world),* where Ad. joins the other MSS. in reading *of* (a few MSS.: *with*). [2]) In a still more remarkable set of variants the four texts are joined by two other copies, one on the flyleaf of the Brit. Mus. MS. of Chaucer's *Boece,* Ad. 10340, [3]) and another following his tale of *Grissilde* in Phill. 8299. [4]) The six MSS. read in l. 8 *Tempest* instead of *Peyne* (Ad. 22139 has *Restreyne*) [5]) and in l. 19 f. (Cotton quoted):

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[1]) In the Envoy Ad. Cott. Harl. & Fairf. are united by the error *conclusion* for *collucione* in l. 11; in the Moral Balade the first three MSS. have the superior readings *love* in l. 4 (also in Harl. 2251) and *as men may well se* in l. 16. These readings are moreover found in the first separate print of the balade in Stowe's issue of Thynne's ed. in 1561 (f. cccxl), which also has the pseudo-Chaucerian poem on Newfangleness in a form like that in Cott. (& Harl. f. 18), while the copy in Fairf. (f. 195) is quite different; note the variants in 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14. Stowe seems accordingly to have had access to copies of both poems, similar to those in the Cotton MS.

[2]) Note also *nis — nis* in l. 17, where however both Ad. & Cott. join the other MSS. in reading *is — is* (Ad. 10340, Phill. 8299, & Cambr. Kk. 1. 5: *is — nis).*

[3]) The only MS. with the Envoy; cf. Furnivall in *Athen.* 1867. II. 333, and see the foll. section.

[4]) Cf. *More Odd Texts* p. 27; I have not seen this MS.

[5]) The insertion in most MSS. (except these six plus the first copy in Shirley's Trin. R. 3. 20) of *is* before *blent* in l. 4 is probably a mere scribal error.

Knowe þi Countree loke vp . þank god of al
Holde the high way and lete thi goost the lede.

The other MSS. have (Fairfax II quoted):

Looke vp on high / and thanke god of alle
Weyve thy best / and let thy gooste the lede.

Such variants can hardly be understood except on the supposition that both sets are ultimately due to Chaucer himself, and this is practically proved by the readings in 1. 2, where Gg and Cotton have *Suffice vnto thi thing,* but Ellesmere and the majority of the MSS. *Suffice vnto thi good.*[1]) Now the source for this is the Latin adage *Si res tue tibi non sufficiant, fac vt rebus tuis sufficias,* quoted under the name of Seneca[2]) as a marginal note in the authoritative MSS. of Gower's *Confessio Amantis,* at the passage V. 7735—42:

Senec conseileth in this wise,
And seith, "*Bot if thi good suffise*
Unto the liking of thi wille,
Withdraw thi lust and hold the stille,
And be to thi good sufficant."
For that thing is appourtenant
To trouthe and causeth to be fre.

The striking similarity between the expressions italicized above and those occurring in the majority of the MSS. of *La Balade de Bon Conseil* (lines 2 & 20 and the refrain) clearly shows that one poet knew the other's treatment of this theme.[3]) The fact that Gower expressly quotes "Seneca" rather favours the priority of his version; also, Chaucer's poem must be later than the passage

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1) Ad. 22139: *Suffice vnto thi liuynge.*
Ad. 10340: *Suffise þin owen þing.*
Phill. 8299: *Suffise the thyne owne.*

2) It is really found in the so-called Caecilius Balbus *De Nugis Philosophorum* XI (cf. Macaulay III. 511).

3) Already pointed out by Flügel in *Anglia* 23. 214.

in Gower, if we accept — as I think we ought to do — Shirley's statement that Chaucer wrote the *Balade* on his death-bed.[1]) It appears, then, that Chaucer got the suggestion for his *Bon Conseil* from the passage cited from the *Confessio Amantis,* that he changed some expressions which were too reminiscent of Gower's text, and that it is this final version which has been preserved by the six authorities dealt with here, while the majority of the MSS. transcribed the original readings.[2]) Probably both texts were derived from a holograph draft of Chaucer's, the corrections of which were noticed by the first copyists and later neglected on account of their being less carefully written. They may even have been erroneously struck out by the scribe who prepared the poet's MSS. for publication, since the curious fact that most of the extant representatives of the early text occur on flyleaves, suggests that they are descended from stray copies, made before the drafts went through the process of being formally edited.[3])

The other texts in this group probably had a similar origin so that certain fugitive copies of Chaucerian pieces would seem to have been circulating in the early years of the fifteenth century, now represented by the copies of Balade de Bon Conseil*, the Moral Balade*, the Envoy to the King*,[4]) and La Complainte

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1) Cf. the last sect. of this ch. *Confessio Amantis* was at any rate written several years before 1400, though I do not feel convinced by Macaulay's dates (II. xxi ff.).

2) The set of readings representing the poet's final intentions have generally also been preferred by modern editors; cf. Furnivall in *Par. T.* p. 407 & *More Odd. T.* p. 27, and see Flügel in *Anglia* 23. 214 & 219. Koch selects his readings from both sets *(Engl. Stud.* 27. 13 ff.), ascribing the variants to the erring memory of the scribe, but while this explanation may hold good in some cases (such as the peculiar readings of Ad. 22139 in 2, 8, 11, and in the refrain where it inserts *thee),* it is not sufficient here.

3) The fact that the copies of the early text do not agree on all points also suggests the derivation from a draft, where circumstances would favour mixed readings, rather than from a finished MS.

4) This poem and the first stanza of the preceding one are also copied on the flyleaves of MS. Cambr. Trin. Coll. R. 14. 51, but these texts are not related to the above.

à sa Bourse Voide*, on the flyleaves of the Cotton, the Ellesmere, and the two Additional MSS.[1]) Since these texts are also represented by the copy of *Bon Conseil* in Bradshaw's favourite Gg MS., I propose to comprise them under the name of *the Bradshaw Group.* [2]) The group is small, but important, since its copies are generally excellent and it offers the unique final text of *Bon Conseil.*[3])

This is, then, the earliest group of Chaucerian texts, going back to copies executed immediately after the poet's death. Unfortunately it is a negligible quantity as far as the question of authorship is concerned, since there are no headings or notes of any kind. Of more importance in this respect is the Tyrwhitt Group which besides offering good texts of the *Legend, Fame, Mars, Venus,* the *Parlement,* and *Anelida* has preserved six poems with French titles and notes about Chaucer's authorship, probably all derived from the poet's original drafts as prepared for publication by a scribe soon after 1400. It is quite possible that several other poems were edited in the same way, though there are no traces of this. *Troilus* and *Boece* appear to be the only important works of Chaucer which were published during his life time; complimentary court poems like *Blanche, Fame, Parlement, Mars, Venus,* and many others were of course sent to his patrons, but were hardly formally published. Accordingly, drafts of all his works except the two mentioned above were probably found after his death and published, though hardly through the same firm in all cases, as indicated by the difference between the editing of these Minor Poems and that of the Canterbury Tales. It seems practically certain, then, that no complete MS. edition of Chau-

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[1]) Note also the pseudo-Chaucerian poem on Newfangleness in Cotton and in Harl. 7578 (together with the Moral Balade and the Envoy to the King; cf. above).

[2]) The copies of *La Visage Sans Peinture* & *The Golden Age* in the Cambr. Ii (& Hh) MSS. probably had a similar origin, but cannot strictly be said to belong to this group.

[3]) The only important variant in the other texts is the omission of the Envoy to *Purse* in Ad. 22139.

cer's Minor Poems — not to speak of his Collected Works — ever existed. [1])

The third group of MSS., the Hammond Group, is our only authority for *Blanche,* but otherwise its textual value is very slight, while it is almost completely silent on the question of authorship. Fortunately there is still one group left, textually insignificant, except for its preservation of two or three unique pieces, but extremely important through its very full information about Chaucer and his writings. This is the *Shirley Group,* our chief authority on the authorship of the Minor Poems, to be dealt with in detail in the following section.

2. *The Shirley Group.*

Lists of Shirley's MS. collections of poetry and prose have frequently been given, though generally wrongly; the true autographs are often confused with mere copies, whose contents are only partly due to Shirley's own codices.[2]) However, this matter has at last been cleared up, [3]) and it is generally recognised that six more or less complete Shirley autographs are now extant. The two most characteristic specimens of his work are no doubt the quarto volumes Brit. Mus. Ad. 16165 and Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 20, like all his MSS. written on paper, without any rubrics or illumination, but with carefully traced, ornate initials, which sometimes are rather crudely decorated with figures like stars, crosses etc.

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1) While in the case of a poet like Deschamps, the posthumous MS. collection of his poems is still preserved, probably as arranged by one of his friends (Bibl. Nat. franç. 840, cf. Raynaud's ed. XI. 101 ff.). It is very doubtful whether Lydgate's poems were ever collected in this way, as assumed by Miss Hammond in *Anglia* 28. 24 (cf. Miss Toulmin Smith about Hoccleve's poetry *ib.* 5. 10); probably such Lydgate MSS. as Harl. 2255 were derived from groups of small booklets like those dealt with above.

2) Thus Skeat I. 25, A. F. Pollard in *Biogr.* 52. 134, Gaertner's diss. on Shirley (Halle 1904) p. 17 ff. (cf. Hammond in *Anglia* 30. 347 & *Beiblatt* 16. 360 ff.), M. R. James *Cat. of MSS. at Trinity Coll. Cambr.* II. 75, C. L. Kingsford's ed. of Stowe's *Survey of London,* II. 361.

3) Partly by Prof. Förster (*Archiv* 103. 149 ff.) and fully by Miss Hammond (p. 515 and espec. *Anglia* 30. 346 f.).

drawn in front of them. Several letters in the top line of every page are generally elongated into queer flourishes in the upper margins, and elaborate scrolls are often drawn in the lower ones. Both volumes are written throughout in the same hand, stated to be Shirley's own in the versified list of contents which opens the Ad. volume;[1]) the writing is rather sloping and not particularly pretty, though not without a certain boldness, and always careful and legible.[2])

Ad. 16165 contains besides numerous minor poems Chaucer's translations of Boethius, where the scribe has drawn attention to various passages by adding in the margin: *nota per Shirley.*[3]) The item which appears to be the latest in date of composition is that occurring on f. 245 b: *Balade made of Isabella, countesse of Warrewyk and Lady Despenser, by Richard Beauchamp, Eorlle of Warrewyk.* This Isabel Despenser was married first to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, in 1411, and when he died in 1422 she married his cousin of the same name, the famous Earl of Warwick, in the following year.[4]) The poem would then seem to have been written in 1422—23, and accordingly the collection where it occurs must have been made after that time (but it is not safe to infer from Isabel's and Richard's not being mentioned as dead — both died in 1439 — that the MS. is earlier than that year).

Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 20 contains mostly shorter pieces, the latest of which would appear to be one on p. 178, headed:

And heere begynneþe þe lyff of þe hooly virgyne seynte Margarete. translated oute of þe legent in to oure englisshe tonge by Lidegate daun Johan þe Munk of Bury at þe request of my lady of huntyngdon. some time þe Countasse of þe March. Anno 8. henr. 6.[5])

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1) Printed in App. A.

2) The reproduction on pl. IV of Ad. 16165 f. 144 b gives in spite of its small size a good idea of Shirley's hand at its best.

3) See ff. 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27 b, 29 b, 36 b, 40.

4) See F. Madden in *Queries* 1858. I. 21 f.; cf. MacCracken in *Publ.* 22. 597 ff.

5) The poem is no. 123 in MacCracken's Lydgate Canon, but he fails to mention this MS.

The date is added in a later hand, that of John Stowe, but it is confirmed by the heading in another MS. which states that the poem was *compendyously compiled in balade by Lidgate dan Johan, Monk of Bury, A° VIII° h VI^{i}*, i. e. 1429—30.[1]) Shirley's name occurs in one marginal note only, at the end of Lydgate's *Procession of Corpus Christi* (p. 356): *Shirley kouþe fynde no more of þis copye.*[2])

Third in importance among Shirley's autographs is the Bodleian MS. Ashm. 59, of which, however, really only ff. 1—134 were written by him.[3]) This part of the MS. comprises three sections, the first being a prose translation of the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *þe secrete of secretes and tresore incomperable* (ff. 1—12 — a separate quire), while the last contains *The Cronicles of the three kinges of Cologne,* besides an extract from *þe cronycle of þat mighty Patryarch cleped Prestre Johan* (ff. 100—130). The second section is headed (f. 13):

Here begynneþe boke cleped þe Abstracte Brevyayre compyled of divers balades / roundels / virilayes / tragedyes / envoyez / compleyntes / moralites / storyes / practysed and eke devysed and ymagyned / as it shewеþe here folowing.

This section goes on to f. 99 b, containing some sixty short poems, mostly by Lydgate, besides a few Chaucerian items.[4]) The piece containing the latest chronological allusion begins on f. 57:

Nowe eondeþe here þe dyte of verbum caro factum est and nexst folowеþe a pytous complaynte . of a Chapellayne of my

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1) See MacCracken p. 123 & Schick p. cvi; I have not myself seen this MS., Durham Cosin V. ii. 14.

2) Full list of contents in M. R. James' Cat. of the MSS. of the College, II. 75 ff.; a *Roundell dune belle dame* on p. 89 has not been noted by him. Hammond has printed several Lydgate poems from this MS. in *Anglia* 22. 364 ff. & 27. 381 ff. and in *Engl. Stud.* 43. 10 ff.

3) Ff. 135—43 are written in a hand from ab. 1600, supplying the beginning of Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady,* copied on ff. 144—81 in a hand from ab. 1500.

4) There is a detailed account of the volume by Hammond in *Anglia* 30. 320 ff.

lordes of Gloucestre humfrey &c whome gode assoyle þat noble Prynce.

This poem bewails the misery of Gloucester's first wife Jacqueline of Holland whom he deserted in 1428, and we learn the name of its author from a marginal note by Shirley: *Lidegate daun Johan.* Gloucester died in 1447, and Shirley would accordingly seem to have finished this collection, when he was past eighty;[1]) but though the writing is certainly somewhat cramped, the execution of the volume is on the whole not appreciably worse than that of any other Shirley MS., and in some points it is even better (e. g. the initials).

There are many marginal notes of the usual form *nota per Shirley;* most of them occur in the latter half of the volume and especially in the last section (see ff. 10, 12 b, 50 b, 73 b, 74, 103 b, 107 b, 110, 110 b, 111, 111 b, 113 b, 114 b, 121, 125, 126). The fact that the MS. was written by Shirley is definitely announced on f. 52 at the end of *an holy meditacion made by þe religious man Lidegate daun Johan þe Munk of Bury* (Mac Cracken no. 54), where we read: *fiat Amen — per Shirley.*

The two first vellum flyleaves of the Ashmole volume evidently once belonged to a different MS., as appears from the list of contents on the second of them (the numbers added refer to Prof. MacCracken's *Lydgate Canon):*

Ffirst þe content hole of þis booke called. moralisacion. first founde. by. olde philozophres and subtyle Poetes declarepe by. þe recapitilacion of þe chapitres . and þe refraydes þeire sensible doctryne.

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1) See Hammond *Anglia* 27. 398. A possible indication of a still later date is found in the extract from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes, þepistill of kynge Johas ffrome Amassyas,* the sixth stanza of which begins (f. 17):

> Bytwene þe Ceedre of trees moste royal
> And sharpe thistel is no convenyence.

Shirley adds in the margin: *Devyne yee reders his similitude in þeos dayes.* This *may* be an allusion to the state of war between England and Scotland beginning in 1455 — after a long spell of peace — in which case the volume must be dated as late as 1455—56.

Þe compilacion of gode thewis
A confessyonal devoute
A devoute Invocacion to oure ladye (6)
An Invocacion to hir . by Þabece (Chaucer's?)
A comedye of worldes variacion
A refraide as Þe crabbe goÞe (137)
A comedye of Þe fyndinge of sciences
An Invocacion . of O . Intemerata [1])
A translacion of illumina oculos meos
A . preseruacion . vnder Þy mighty hande (97)
A . doctryne of S[t]ans puer ad mensam (139)
A . howe gracious thinge beon saide of Þee (49)
A meditacion of Þe passion . loke on my woundes (23)
And of Þe kynges sith Þe conquest (62)
A . confort Þat Þe synner despeire him not
A . dyaloge . of fortune and pleintyff (Chaucer's?)
A translacion of Þe salme / levavi oculos meos
An holy meditacion . by Þe priour of Bridlington
A compleynt of nuwe sinful devises . diuers
A testament of Lidegate ful gode (146)
A . desolacion of Þe Cite of Rome
And Þanne fyve tragedyes for humfrey
Duc of Gloucestre made by lidegate } (Cf. 37)
A feyre Cronicle of thre kynges of Colen.

This list does not correspond with the contents of the Ashm. MS., where, however, at least 7 of the items appear (italicized above; see f. 39 b, 98, 76, 37, 64, 13, 99 b). [2]) The rest of the codex seems to have been lost; it must have been executed rather late,

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1) Cf. Hammond's note p. 439.

2) The *holy meditacioun by Þe priour of Bridlington* is surely the same as the *dolorous Invocacion til oure ladye. By Þe priour of Bridlington* on f. 64 f. (the author's name is mentioned in the running title only, a fact not noticed by Hammond *Anglia* 30. 330). The *compleynt of nuwe sinful devises* may be the same as the *Devoute & vertuos wordes* on f. 73.

as it included Lydgate's *Testament* which cannot have been written long before his death (ab. 1449).[1])

The Sion College MS. contains the well-known prose translation of Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pilgrymage humayne,* the beginning and ending of which are lost;[2]) as usual in this work Chaucer's so-called *ABC* is inserted on f. 79 ff. There are a good many marginal notes in the volume, often containing Shirley's name *(nota per Shirley* ff. 4, 5, 12, 25 &c., *behold[eth] per Shir[ley]* f. 1).[3])

Harl. 78 consists of a mass of MS. fragments in various XV —XVI century handwritings. Only four paper leaves, ff. 80—3, show Shirley's handwriting, rather cramped as in the Sion MS., with the usual flourishes and scrolls, but exhibiting no notes with Shirley's name. Besides a bit of English prose headed *Doctrina et consilium Galieni* the fragment contains Chaucer's *Pite,* followed by the poems Skeat called *Complaint to his Lady.*[4])

The last Shirley autograph is the Harvard MS., which I have not examined; ff. 34—57, forming a separate quire and in different writing, are said not to have belonged to this volume originally.[5]) There are no Chaucerian items; the contents are chiefly by Lydgate, comprising i. a. his poem on Guy of Warwick with the same heading as in Harl. 7333 (see below), which would make the MS. later than 1442.

It will be seen that of these seven MSS. the five which can be

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1) The leaves were possibly added to the Ashm. MS. later than 1600, as Stowe has written on the first of them *Master White,* probably to indicate the owner, of whom he had borrowed the volume (the present binding dates from the XVII cent.).

2) It is found complete in two MSS. at Cambridge, Univ. Libr. Ff. V. 30 & St. John's Coll. G. 21, one at Oxford, Bodl. Libr. Laud 740, and one at Glasgow, Univ. Libr., Hunterian Mus. U. 3. 12.

3) See about this MS. Furnivall *Odd Texts* p. 78 and Hammond p. 333; there is a reproduction of f. 79 among the Ch. Soc. *Autotypes,* dated ab. 1440.

4) Concerning the mistakes made about this MS. see Hammond p. 328.

5) See F. N. Robinson, *Studies* V. 178 ff., cf. Hammond, *Anglia* 30. 346 f.

dated appear to have been written during the second quarter of the XV century. At first sight this does not appear to suit the dates of Shirley's life very well, as he is usually identified with the John Shirley who according to his rhymed Epitaph [1]) died ninety years old on Oct. 21, 1456, so that the MSS. would have been copied out between his sixtieth and his ninetieth year. Now the execution of all the six or seven volumes mentioned above seems, if not exactly beautiful, at any rate astonishingly neat for a man of his age, though the writing of the Ashmolean volume, executed after his eightieth year, is certainly smaller and more irregular than that of the earlier codices, Ad. 16165 and Trin R. 3. 20. Further, one would naturally have expected Shirley's style of writing to be like that prevailing at the end of the XIV century; it is, however, far more like the current style which began to be commonly accepted about the middle of the XV century, the only old-fashioned feature being the frequent use of the symbol *þ* for *th*. These facts seem to suggest that Shirley did not start work as a professional scribe until rather late in life, when he taught himself the then prevailing style of writing.

Some further support of this theory may be found in Shirley's translations, copies of which have been preserved in Ad. 5467 (pp. 72—224), written all through in one hand, rather stiff and angular, and quite different from that of Shirley, though not much later.[2]) The volume contains four translations by Shirley, as shown by the familiar notes *per Shirley*. [3]) The first of them is

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1) See John Stowe's *Survey of London,* ed. Kingsford II. 23 f. The epitaph also says *His pen reporteth his liues occupation* — which certainly suits our Shirley.

2) For full contents see Gaertners diss. p. 29 ff. He thought (p. 52) that the MS. was written by Shirley himself and indulges in a great deal of speculation why Sh. stopped translating so abruptly at the bottom of a page (f. 224 b); the MS. is, however, simply incomplete.

3) Cf. ff. 102 b, 103, 142, 146. On f. 102 the scribe has written the meaningless *nota ⅂ Shirley* instead of *nota p. Shirley,* which shows that the volume was not taken down from Shirley's own dictation (as Hammond thinks, *Anglia* 30. 346), but that it is a copy of one of his autographs, at least from f. 69, where traces of his peculiar orthography *(beon* &c.) begin to occur (cf. below).

an account of the murder of King James I of Scotland, the colophon informing us (f. 72 b) that it was —

translated oute of latyne into owre moders englisshe tong | by youre symple subget John Shirley in his laste age after his symple vnderstondyng whiche he recommendethe to your supportacione and correccion as that youre gentilnese vowchethe safe for his excuse &c.

Similarly *the boke cleped les bones meures* was —

translated oute of ffrenshe into Englisshe by youre vmble seruytoure John Shirley att the full noble honorable and Renomed Cite of london so as feblesse wold suffice in his grete and last age the yere of oure lord a thousand foure hundreth ffourty the which lowly he submitteth to youre favourable supporte and correccion. [1])

Finally a version of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secrete of Secretes* is said to have been translated —

out of frensh into oure moders tonge by youre humble suget and seruyture Johan Shirley in the last dayes of his grete Age so as his ignorant feblesse wolde souffise which recommendeth and submitteth to the noblesse and the supportacion of youre excellent discression to correct adde and amounse [sic] *there as youre fauourable gentylesse best liketh —.* [2])

In an interpolated passage in this translation two verses are quoted on f. 221 as the work of *Daun John Lidegate late Monke of Bury,* which proves of course that the translation must have been made after the death of Lydgate (about 1449). [3])

Now these extracts show, not only that all Shirley's translations date from exactly the same period as his autograph volumes, the second quarter of the XV century, but also that he felt extremely old and feeble at that time; add to the above passages a

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1) F. 97. There are several ME. translations of this French work, cf. Gaertner *op. cit.* p. 45 ff. & 69 ff.

2) F. 211. Three other ME. prose versions of this work have been ed. for the E. E. T. S. by R. Steele, *The Secrees of old Philisoffres* 1898.

3) In that year he was paid his pension for the last time (cf. Steele *op. cit.* p. xxx, see also Moore in *Publ.* 27. 200[2]). The poem quoted by Shirley is the *Prayer for King, Queen, and People,* written in 1429 (cf. MacCracken pp. xxiii & 212 ff.).

further remark from his last translation, the *governance of kynges and prynces*, which he says was —
translated into oure reude volgaries moders tonge by your humble servitoure in his last yeres and febull age John Shirley ever submittyng both hym and this his symple worke to your fauourable correccion supportacion and amende where your wisdom and gentilesse cane thynke ther is nede sith that Englissh is soo boistous and harde to applie in all *after the curiosite of the faire said langage of franssh* which amonge the multitude of this worlde is moste renommed and desired. [1])

Besides strengthening the usual identification of our John Shirley with the man who lived from 1366 to 1456, all these passages certainly lend some colour to the suggestion that like Caxton Shirley entered upon his literary career at a comparatively advanced age. [2])

A few further traces of Shirley's penmanship have been preserved through his habit of elaborately decorating the vellum flyleaves of his MSS. Originally, no doubt, all his autographs were furnished with such ornate flyleaves, though they are now preserved only in Ad. 16165, where the upper half of the first vellum flyleaf shows the name and motto of the scribe and owner, with many flourishes and ornate paraphernalia:

ma ioye
a
Shirley

A similar inscription is found in the middle of the first of the two flyleaves now inserted in front of Ashm. 59, though not originally belonging here, and as a matter of fact he seems to have inscribed all the MSS. he possessed, in this way. Thus two flyleaves of a

1) F. 216. The influence of Chaucer's lines (*Venus* 81 f.) about *the curiositee — of hem that make in Fraunce* is apparent (cf. Gaertner p. 14). Note also that already in the versified list of contents in Ad. 16165 (App. A. I. 9, cf. II. 13) Shirley speaks of his *feblesse*. Miss Spurgeon dates the lines "c. 1450" (I. 49), but they are probably earlier (cf. above); her Shirley dates seem very arbitrary (cf. I. 47 f. & 53 f.).

2) Cp. the fact that William de Morgan published his first novel at seventy.

Lydgate MS. are said to exhibit a few items in Shirley's hand, while a third shows his motto and name;[1]) the same inscription is found in B. M. Roy. 20. B. XV, a XV century copy of Jean de Meun's French translation of Vegetius *De Arte Militari,* and in a MS. (about 1400) of the Chandos Herald's Life of the Black Prince.[2])

Mottoes like Shirley's *ma ioye,* proclaiming the owner's love of literature, also occur in other XV century book inscriptions. In one of the MSS. which belonged to Lydgate's patron, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, there is a similar note, now erased: *Mon bien mondain Gloucestre Au duc.*[3]) However, the especially careful way in which Shirley inserted the notice of his ownership must be compared with his gentle way of reminding his readers, in his metrical lists of contents, of returning the books when finished.[4]) He clearly possessed a sort of circulating library,

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[1]) I have not myself seen this MS., which once formed part of the Ellesmere collection, but is now in America; see, however, Mac Cracken in *Notes* 25. 126 f.

[2]) Presented to the Prince of Wales in 1921 by the University of London; cf. Sir Israel Gollancz's privately printed *Observations* on the MS. (see also *The Times* for May 2, 1921). In all the inscriptions the *a* is crowned and has a curious double form, read as *M* by Gaertner p. 22, Förster in *Archiv* 103. 151, and MacCracken in *Notes* 25. 126; Miss Hammond considers it an anagram of *Maria (Anglia* 27. 393[1]) or *Amor* (*ib.* 30. 320 f.). However, it is simply an ornate *a,* as proved by Shirley's use of it as an initial in the poem beg. on p. 363 in Trin. R. 3. 20 (cf. Ashm. 59, ff. 24 b & 39 b).

[3]) B. M. Roy. 19. A. XX, f. 2 (cf. f. 247 b). See also Roy. 5. F. II, f. 91 b & 131 b, and Roy. 2. B. I, f. 87 b, both volumes originally executed for the Duke (cf. the *Cat. of the Old Royal Collection* (1921) II. 135. 212. 334). Cp. the Bodleian MSS. Hatton 36, f. 134 b and Auct. F. 2. 23, f. 101, and see further about the remains of Gloucester's library K. H. Vickers' biography (1907) p. 426 ff., where it is also stated (p. 410[1]) that the Duker's physician, Gilbert Kymer, had the motto *Moun bien mondain* stamped on the binding of some of his MSS., one of which is Bodl. 362, written for him 1448—54.

[4]) The necessity of this — then as now — is amusingly illustrated by an extract from the inventory of John Paston's English books (ab. 1480; see the *Paston Letters,* ed. Gaertner 1904, VI. 65 f.): "Item a

which probably was to fashionable London in the days of Henry VI, what Mudie's is to the capital of George V. The same thing is suggested by notes like the following in Ad. 16165, f. 28, in the margin of the copy of Chaucer's *Boece: Nota opus per Shirley* — manifestly the equivalent of a modern library stamp — and by a good many of his headings, evidently addressed to his noble customers, as for instance those of two poems by Lydgate in MS. Trin. R. 3. 20, pp. 15 & 19:[1]) *Lo my lordes here begynneþe a balade of gode counseyle translated out of verses in latyne into englisshe by Daun Johan þe Monk of Bury cleped Lydegate — Takeþe goode heed Sirs and dames howe Lydeyate daun Johan. þe Munk of Bury moeued of deuocyoun haþe translated . þe salme . Benedic anima mea . domino .* Again on p. 49 a French balade occurs with this title: *Vcy comence vn balade ffrauncoys fait par la plus grande poetycal clerk du parys. Regardez ⁊ lysez — Je vous en pry.* Then follows Lydgate's *Stabilnesse* headed (p. 50): *Takithe heode my lordes for here folowe þe a balade of þe same sentence made in oure englisshe langage by daun John Lidegate of Bury þe Munke | nowe lugeþe yee þat beoþe kunnyng which yowe lykeþe þe beter þe ffrench or þenglissh.*

There are many similar headings, which show that while Shirley may sometimes have written for the benefit of his friends, he chiefly worked for a circle of noble clients, on strictly business-like lines.[2]) The last point is proved conclusively by a record of the property of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1456 — the year in which he died and was buried in the hospital's church — where it is stated that in the close there was "a large tenement with four shops, let to John Shirley, esquire".[3]) It thus appears that his

booke of *Troylus* whyche William Bra... hath hadde neer X. yer, and lent it to Dame... Wyngfelde, and *ibi ego vidi*" (!)

1) MacCracken nos. 159 & 10.

2) See e. g. the humble headings to his own translations in Ad. 5467, quoted above. It seems, however, somewhat rash to conclude (with Gaertner p. 7 f.) that the translations were actually ordered by his patrons; in particular, there is no real evidence for Steele's statement (ed. of *Secrees of old Philisoffres,* p. xiii) that his version of *Secreta Secretorum* was dedicated to Henry VI (cf. Gaertner pp. 8 & 51).

3) Norman Moore *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918) II. 30 & 34 f.

trade of transcribing and circulating books was a rather prosperous one; no doubt he had several scribes in his pay, and not a few MSS., written by them and having lost the note of Shirley's ownership, may still be in existence, though unidentifiable.

In some cases scribes' copies of his own collections have been preserved, entire or in part. That the originals were really written by Shirley may be recognized in various ways, e. g. by the copyists' having retained the notes which he used to add in the margins signed with his name. Another test is furnished by the traces of his peculiar orthography, which sometimes evidently aims at reproducing genuine fifteenth century pronunciation, as when he writes *u* before *w (nuwe, ruwe, truwe* &c), or puts *u* for *e* in weak syllables, as in *sikurnesse, pepul, febul* &c — probably to indicate the neutral character of the vowel and the syllabic quality of the consonant.[1]) Often, however, it is merely odd, as in his frequent doubling of consonants *(affter, richchnesse, frensshe, englisshe* &c — also *nexst* and his adding final *e*'s without any reason whatever (especially in verbal forms like *begynneþe, eondithe, sayne* — but cf. also *kane* (can), *whane, þane* (then) &c); his most striking peculiarity is perhaps his writing *eo* for *e* (*beon, heo, neode* &c).[2]) As far as it is possible to judge from his MSS. — which it must be remembered, chiefly contain transcriptions — he seems to have spoken the London dialect of the fifteenth century, the precursor of modern Standard English, as witnessed by his use of the endings *-th* in the third pers. sing. pres. ind. and *-inge* in part. pres.; like

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[1]) Cf. Jespersen's *Modern Engl. Grammar* I. 6. 2, and note such a spelling as *harome* (harm) in the well-known exordium to the *Cant. Tales* in MS. Harl. 7333, f. 37 (which seems to be a close copy of a Shirley original). Similar spellings occur in the Lansdowne MS. of the *Tales,* but are hardly Northern in character, as Furnivall supposes p. 64 (cf. Murray *ib.* 69).

[2]) But sometimes he simply writes *ee* and *e* like the other scribes — just as he has the common spelling *followyng* besides the freak form *filowyng.* Instances of his spelling are easily found in the Ch. Soc. prints of his texts; cf. also Gaertner p. 15 f., Skeat I. 76, Schick p. xxiii f., Hammond p. 517 & *Anglia* 22. 364, and Wild p. 33.

Chaucer he writes *they, their,* but *hem.*[1]) The frequent *e* for *i* as in *hees, wheche, eknytte, etrayted* is a characteristic of the whole Eastern dialect;[2]) whether such occasional spellings as *wham* (for whom), *fredam, wisdame* &c might indicate a birthplace in East-Anglia rather than in London it is not easy to decide.

A third important characteristic of Shirley's MSS. is their elaborate headings, which are chiefly distinguished by a certain pedantic literary enthusiasm, combined with a weakness for the *heighe style,* later shared by Caxton who, however, managed it much better. A characteristic specimen of Shirley's attempts at high-sounding rhetoric is offered by one of his titles for *Anelida,* which is not unlike a modern publisher's announcement of a forthcoming book (Trin. R. 3. 20, p. 106):

Takeþe heed sirs I prey yowe of þis compleynt of Anelyda Qweene of Cartage. Roote of trouthe and stedfastnesse þat pytously compleyneþe vpon þe varyance of Daun Arcyte lord borne of þe blood Royal of Thebes . englisshed by Geffrey Chaucier In þe best wyse . and moost Rettoricyous þe moost vnkoupe metre . coloures and Rymes . þat euer was sayde . tofore þis day — redeþe and preveþe þe soope.

These combined characteristics will stamp any of Shirley's autographs with a peculiar individuality of its own; but they will also mark certain MSS., which do not show any trace of his handwriting, as influenced by him. By far the most important of these are the Brit. Mus. MSS. Ad. 5467, which has been dealt with above, and Harl. 7333.

The latter is a big folio of 211 vellum leaves, written in double columns and foliated in a contemporary hand from XXV to IIᶜLV (255), so that 40 leaves are lost in all, 24 of them at the beginning. The main hand of the volume is clear and firm, though not very pretty, from ab. 1450.[3]) The writing changes a little on ff. 25—31 and 157—64, but this may simply be due to a change of pen or the like; on the other hand ff. 149—56 and 197—203 would

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1) See Morsbach *Ueber den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache* p. 161 ff.; cf. E. Borgström in *Anglia* 34. 598 ff.

2) See H. C. Wyld in *Engl. Stud.* 47. 45 ff.

3) See the reprod. of f. 37 in the Ch. Soc. *Autotypes.*

certainly seem to be in a different, rather more cursive hand. The main scribe of the volume appears to have put his name below some rhymed *Proverbes* on f. 121 b: *Quod Impingham.*[1]) The volume is strongly influenced by some Shirley codex, now lost, as is shown especially by the characteristic headings and spellings;[2]) these occur, however, only on ff. 30 b—118 b and 132—50 or so, the rest of the contents being probably copied from another volume. In the Shirleian parts of the MS. there is a copy of the *Canterbury Tales,* besides several minor Chaucerian poems;[3]) the non-Shirleian parts have one poem by Chaucer, *The Parliament of Foules* (ff. 129 b-32 b).[4]) The original Shirley codex must have been written rather late as proved by the heading on f. 31:

Here begynneth a remembraunce of a pee dengre *[pedigree]* how that the kyng of England / henry the sixt is truly borne heir

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[1]) A queer rebus occurs on f. 32 b, showing a tun with what looks like a pollard tree with three branches issuing from it (on f. 45 b it is repeated accompanied by a drawing of a fish and an R). Probably it represents some such name as Stokton, written by the scribe of MS. Cambr. Univ. Libr. Hh. 4. 12 on f. 44 (see about *Ashton* in Papworth & Morant *Alphab. Dict. of Coats of Arms,* 1874, p. 1119); the hands of the two volumes are, however, different. Another rebus showing a tun with fishes is found in the Cambr. MS. Ff. 1. 6, f. 139 (cf. Hammond p. 344).

[2]) Forms like *beo, sheo* etc. are fairly common; see e. g. f. 135. The well-known *nota per Shirle[y]* occurs on ff. 38 & 39 b.

[3]) For full list of contents see Hammond p. 176. A poem from Richard Sellyng to Shirley is copied on f. 36, concluding:

Sellyng makithe / þis in hes manere
And to John Shirley. nowe sent it is
ffor to amende where it is a misse
And / Also for plesaunce / And for desporte
And for olde acqueintance and newe Resorte
That is fallen / til vs boþe nowe bygrace
þat we may mete daylye in on place
And Assemble to speke of thynge trewe
Off fornyeeris Alsoo . oure talis renuwe.

[4]) It does not show the slightest trace of Shirley's characteristics, but agrees with the copy in the late MS. Trin. R. 3. 19 in adding a spurious final stanza, taken from Lydgate's *Commendation of Chaucer* in his *Life of Our Lady* (cf. Hammond p. 446).

vnto the corone of ffraunce by lynyall Successioun. als wele on his ffader side henry the fifth. Whom God assoill as by Kateryne quene of England his moder. Whom god assoile . made by lydygate John the monke of Bury at Parys. by þe instaunce of my lord of Warrewyk.

This heading is evidently Shirley's, whose use of the expression *whom God assoile* about the Queen Dowager, Katherine of Valois, shows that he did not write it till after 1437, when she died. [1]) Another heading, as unmistakably Shirley's, affords a still later date (f. 33):

Here nowe begynneþe an abstrack oute of þe Croniclis in latyn made by . Gyrarde . Cornubyence . þe worþy croniculer . of westsexe 7 translated in to Englisshe be lydegate daun Johan at þe requeste of margarete . Countas of Shrowesbury . Ladye Talbot fournyvale and Lysle! of the lyf of þt moste worthy knyght Guy of Warwike of whoos bloode shee is lyneally descendid.

The titles here given to Lydgate's patroness, the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, show that the heading cannot have been written till 1442, when her husband, Lord Talbot and Furnival, became Earl of Shrewsbury; [2]) this is accordingly the earliest possible date for the Shirley codex we have represented here.

Both Harl. 7333 and Ad. 5467 would then seem to represent their Shirleian ancestors in a tolerably adequate way. [3]) It is far

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1) The expression could hardly have been introduced by the Harley transcriber as Hammond thinks (*Anglia* 32. 190 ff.). The poem itself (MacCracken no. 95) was written in 1426 (cf. Wright's *Pol. Poems and Songs* II. 131 ff.).

2) See Ward's *Cat. of Romances* I. 495. The same heading occurs in Shirley's holograph copy of Lydgate's *Guy of Warwick* in the Harvard MS. (these two texts form a separate group, see F. N. Robinson, *Studies* V. 194 ff.); but note that the date of 1442 holds good for the copy only, not necessarily for the poem itself as stated by Ward and Robinson, and even by Bradshaw in a letter quoted by Robinson p. 179[1].

3) It is, of course, barely possible that each of the derivatives was based upon several Shirley MSS., but even so these must have been of similar contents and dates; if e. g. the Shirleian copies in Harl. 7333 were taken from two different codices, the latter of these (the original of ff. 132—50) must have been of very much the

otherwise in the case of the next two MSS., doubtless to some extent influenced by Shirley codices, but far from fully representing them, the Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl. 2251 and Ad. 34360 (formerly Phill. 9053). They are both written in the same hand and contain a great mass of fifteenth century poetry, chiefly by Lydgate; but note especially that the first eleven items in Harl. 2251 (ff. 1—13 b) are exactly paralleled by nos. 13—23 in the Ad. volume (ff. 59—73 b).[1]) This shows of course that the scribe used the same MS. source on both occasions — or perhaps that the copied himself — a source which has nothing to do with Shirley. Elsewhere in both MSS., however, Shirleian spellings occasionally crop up, and there are also other clear traces of a Shirley codex. Harl. 2251 brings on ff. 82—150 b a series of 59 short extracts from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes,* mostly the envoys of various chapters. They are accompanied by a running commentary of marginal notes, often extremely interesting and amusing;[2]) on f. 103 b appears the well-known *Nota per Shirley,* and in a note on f. 144 the peculiar Shirleian spelling *neode* occurs. Then on f. 254 we read at the end of Lydgate's *Procession of Corpus Christi: Shirley koude fynde no more for this copye* (same note in MS. Trin. R. 3. 20, p. 356), and on f. 265 there is a characteristic heading to Lydgate's poetical rendering of *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te* (as in the Trin. MS., p. 1).[3]) In the Ad. volume we find Shirleian headings to four French poems by the Earl of Suffolk[4]) (ff. 22 b —23, like those in Trin. pp. 32—5) and possibly to the two preceding poems on ff. 21 b—22; further to Chaucer's *Pite* (f. 49, as in Harl. 78 f.) and to Lydgate's renderings of *Benedic anima*

same date as the former, since it includes Lydgate's poem on Henry VI's Christmas visit to Edmund St. Bury in 1433—4 (see C. Horstmann *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge,* p. 376 ff., cf. F. A. Gasquet *The Old English Bible* 1908, p. 197 ff., and Moore in *Publ.* 27. 204 ff.).

[1]) See the full lists of contents given by Hammond in *Anglia* 28. 1 ff. and cp. the prec. sect.

[2]) See App. A.

[3]) The note at the end of Lydgate's Nightingale poem *Of this balade Dan John lydgate made no more* (f. 260 b) also reminds one of Shirley; it occurs in the same place in his Trin. MS., p. 348.

[4]) Not three as Hammond says l. c. p. 2.

mea and *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te* (ff. 53 b & 57, as in Trin. pp. 1 & 19; the first poem also in Harl. 2251, f. 262, but without any Shirleian heading).

It will be seen at once that the copies by Shirley preserved here are much fewer and more scattered than in the cases of Harl. 7333 and Ad. 5467, but the striking similarity to the Shirleian autograph Trin. R. 3. 20 will also be noted. Moreover, as Miss Hammond points out, 14 items in Harl. 2251 (ff. 250 b—82 b) are paralleled in Trin. R. 3. 20, and she infers from this that the scribe actually used this MS.[1]) Here, however, it must be observed that the items in question are scattered all up and down the Trinity volume, and though it may be argued from the heading of the first in Harl. 2251 (f. 250 b, cf. above) that they really are derived from a Shirley codex, this would seem not to have been Trin. R. 3. 20, but a similar MS. Shirley often copied the same poems over and over again, though constantly changing their order, probably to make his volumes look as different and tempting as possible to his customers; nor did he ever hesitate to repeat his own headings, as in the case of the two copies of *Guy of Warwick* in Harl. 7333 and the Harvard MS. Miss Hammond also maintains that the texts of several Lydgate poems in Harl. 2251 and Trin. R. 3.20 are closely connected, but so are all Shirley's copies. Sometimes there are indeed minor differences between them, as in the case of Chaucer's *Visage Sans Peinture,* copied both in the Trinity volume and in Ashm. 59, but wanting a stanza (49—56) in the former MS. and having the envoy to *Venus* tacked on to it in the latter. Now there is a copy of the same poem in Harl. 2251 (f. 46), and this has the stanza wanting in Trin. R. 3. 20, but shows the superfluous *Venus* envoy as in Ashm. 59.[2]) Finally the extracts from the *Fall of*

1) L. c. p. 11 ff., cf. *Anglia* 30. 334 ff.

2) Cf. *Par. T* p. 439 ff. — Cp. with this the fact that the texts of Lydgate's *Valentine* (MacCracken no. 155 & p. 307) in Ashm. 59, ff. 52—54, and Harl. 2251, ff. 242 b—244 b, both want the envoy, occurring in Trin. R. 3. 20, pp. 145—9, and in the other MSS.; nevertheless MacCracken maintains like Hammond that both Harl. 2251 and Ad. 34360 are (partial) copies of Trin. R. 3. 20 (*ib.* pp. 304 & xii, and cf. Hammond, *Anglia* 30. 339).

Princes in Harl. 2251, evidently from a Shirleian MS., are neither in the Trinity volume nor in Ashm. 59, so that the facts certainly point to the scribe's having had access to a lost Shirley MS., nor is there any reason why this should not have contained all the Shirleian items in Harl. 2251 and Ad. 36360, as well as the copy of *Pity* in the latter (f. 49).[1]) This lost codex was probably late, since its contents must have been similar to those of Trin. R. 3. 20, while textually it approached Ashm. 59; in other respects it would seem to have been rather like Ad. 16165, seeing that it must have contained one big work (the extracts from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*) and several minor poems, partly the same as those in Trin. R. 3. 20 (and Harl. 78). The Chaucerian texts preserved from it are but few, and neither the copy of *Purse* nor the spurious *Complaint* tacked on to it in Ad. 36360 (f. 19) show any Shirleian influence; both pieces also occur in Harl. 2251, f. 298 ff., but have probably no more to do with Shirley than the other Chaucerian items here: f. 49 b *(Gentilesse)*, ff. 50—52 b *(A B C)*, ff. 73 b—77 b *(The Prioress's Tale)*.

Yet a fourth lost Shirley codex must have been known to John Stowe, the London tailor and antiquary, a man of very much the same type as Shirley, continually studying and transcribing MSS. He states himself that he possessed several of Shirley's volumes;[2]) probably Trin. R. 3. 20 was one of them, as it contains frequent notes in Stowe's small crabbed handwriting which looks like a sort of imitation of a cursive XV century hand and is somewhat similar

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[1]) This text Miss Hammond considers taken from the Shirleian autograph Harl. 78, when complete (*Anglia* 28. 25 f.); but this is impossible since the Ad. vol. (Phill. 9053 in the Chaucer Society's *More Odd Texts*, p. 9 ff.) has the common reading of the bulk of the MSS. in 28 *(shul we compleyne)*, while Harl. 78 (and Harl. 7578) differ. The later view of Miss Hammond that the scribe used several Shirleian MSS. rather than one (*Anglia* 30. 337 f.) is of course possible, but not very likely, as evidently he was no scholar, but worked on business lines; why, then, should he when using the Trin. vol. *(ex hypothesi Hammondi)* have gone to another MS. for the *Fortune* text, already in Trin.?

[2]) *Survey of London* ed. Kingsford II. 24; see about Stowe the introd. *ib.* I. vii ff.

to Shirley's own.[1]) Besides, his hand is found in Harl. 2251 and Ad. 34360, which he may have considered Shirley's as the latter's name occurs in both.[2]) Other MSS. he copied, borrowing them from their owners, and in this way several of the volumes of collections he has left us, were got up.[3]) These, however, he did not utilize when bringing out a new edition of Thynne's Chaucer in 1561 and adding *certaine woorkes of Geffray Chaucer, whiche hath not here tofore been printed* (f. CCCXL ff.). Most of this score of poems were taken from the MS. Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 19 and had nothing at all to do with Chaucer.[4]) Of the Chaucerian items the poem on Gentilesse and the spurious *Balade whiche Chaucer made agaynst women unconstaunt* agree with the texts in MS. Cott. Cleopatra D. VII;[5]) the *Proverbs* seem to have been taken from Fairfax 16, and *Chaucers woordes vnto his owne Scriuener* from Shirley's Trin. R. 3. 20, both of which MSS. Stowe knew. The only poem left is that headed (f. CCCXXXIX): "*The complainte of pite — These verses next* following were compiled by Geffray Chaucer and in the written copies folowith at the ende of the complainte of Pitee" (i. e. the poem termed by Skeat *A Compleint to his Lady*). This was evidently taken from a Shirleian codex, as shown by several peculiarities;[6]) indeed the copy in

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1) E. g. pp. 25, 32, 33, 35, 36, 56, 149, 155, 178, 197, etc.

2) Notes by Stowe are in the Harl. vol. on ff. 255 & 286 b, in the Ad. vol. on ff. 64 b & 78. In the latter MS. he writes *Chawcer* at the top of f. 19, heading *Purs* and its spurious continuation (cf. above and see Speght's *Life of Ch.* (1598), sect. *His Freendes*). Probably Stowe also knew the lost codex, two leaves of which are now in Ashm. 59.

3) See Ad. 29729 f. 16: *Explicit the XX oes. compilid by John lydgat monke of bury and were here wryten out of mastar stantons boke by John Stowe.* Cp. *ib.* ff. 2 & 179 b.

4) See Skeat I. 33 ff. & vii—xi ff.

5) Cf. Skeat I. 409.

6) The only two existing MSS. are Shirley's Harl. 78 and Ad. 34360 (here derived from a lost Shirley); in both the poem follows Chaucer's *Pity* (cf. Stowe's remarks above), and both show the same corruptions as the printed text (the lines in *terza rima* (15—43) compressed into three stanzas of 8, 8, and 9 lines; the readings *fury* in 1. 40 and *your highnes* in 1. 79; the three times repeated *lo* in

Shirley's Harl. 78 might be considered its source, as the last stanza is lacking both here and in Stowe's edition, if it were not for certain points in which the printed text is closer to the other existing copy, in Ad. 34360. [1]) However, Stowe has a unique variant which does not look as if it was introduced by him, in l. 100, where the two MSS. read *ffor I am sette on yowe in suche manere,* while Stowe has *For I am set so hy vpon your whele.* This looks exactly like one of Shirley's arbitrary changes and would seem to compel us to assume a lost Shirleian codex as Stowe's source here; [2]) that such a volume was really known to him appears moreover quite clearly from his collection of Lydgate's work in Ad. 29729. [3]) Here the following title occurs on f. 132: *Here be ginneth serten thinges of John Lydgat copied out of y^e^ boke of John Sherley by John Stowe.* Then follow 22 items of which the last is *kalundare of John Sherley w^ch^ he sett in y^e^ beginninge of his booke* (f. 177), and the whole section closes with the colophon (f. 179): *Here endeth y^e^ workes of John lidgate w^ch^ John Stowe hath caused to be coppyed out of an owld booke somtyme wrytten by John sherleye as is aboue made mencyon | John Sherley wrat in y^e^ tyme of John Lydgate in his lyffe tyme.*

Though 21 out of the 22 pieces here are among the 86 items of Shirley's MS. Trin. R. 3. 20, which exhibits clear traces of Stowe's use, they cannot have been copied from this volume, for neither the versified list of contents nor the chief work mentioned in it, the prose translation of Deguilleville's *Humayne Pilgrymage*

54, 55, 57). There is no trace of Stowe's use of the first MS., while there is evidence that he knew the latter; however, his heading implies that he knew more than one MS. of the poem.

1) Note the reading *my* in l. 12, where Harl. 78 correctly has *me,* and especially the position of l. 94 f. as the last lines of a stanza, while Harl. 78 correctly has them as the first of the next stanza.

2) This is Skeat's opinion too, see I. 526. In the lost MS. the last stanza must have been lacking as well as in Harl. 78.

3) Cf. the colophon on the last page (f. 288 b, top): *This boke perteynythe to John stowe and was by hym wryten in y^e^ yere of our Lord M. d. lxiii.*

occur here.[1]) Further, the arrangement of the pieces is entirely different,[2]) and though the texts are certainly similar, a good many discrepancies exist, especially in Lydgate's *Seying of the Nightingale*. Prof. MacCracken's critical text of this poem proves that all three MSS., Trin. R. 3.20, Harl. 2251, and Ad. 29729, are closely connected, but the two last cannot have been copied from the first, as they often agree to differ from this, though they are not written by the same scribe; see e. g. 1. 36, where they have *tunes* (Trin. *tonys)*, 1. 128: *thrilled (throbbed)*, and especially 1. 184, where both correctly read *thy*, while Trin. has *my*.[3])

Finally, just before Stowe transcribed ff. 132—179 entire from his Shirley source, he had copied two poems with characteristically Shirleian headings in Ad. 29729, ff. 126 b and 127 b:[4])

Here begyneth verses of ye sauter whiche yt kynge henry the V. whom god assoyle. by gret devocion vsyd in his chapell at his hyȝe masses by twene ye levacion and ye concecracion of ye sacrement translatid by ye monke Lydegate dan John. — Here begyneth a balade whych John Lydgate the monke of bery wrote ⁊ made at ye commaundement of ye quene kateryn as in here sportes she walkyd by the medowes that were late mowen in the monthe of Julij.

Now these pieces occur in no existing Shirley MS., and it is of

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1) Nevertheless, Miss Hammond has tried to prove that the Trin. vol. *was* Stowe's source here (*Notes* 36. 184 f. and *Anglia* 22. 366); cf. R. Brotaneck *Die Engl. Maskenspiele* p. 305, but see C. Glauning *The Two Nightingale Poems* (E. E. T. S.), p. xvi.

2) The 21 items in Ad. 29729 occur in this order in Trin. R. 3. 21 (I use the numbers from James' Cat.): 2, 61, 62, 15, 16, 23, 25, 56, 1, 4, 7, 20, 55, 11, 59, 57, 69, 70, 75, 82, 63.

3) Cf. also 15, 27, 41, 91, 133, 166, 206, 237, 263, 280, 283, 296, 323. Still MacCracken maintains (p. 304) that both Ad. and Harl. are copied from Trin. on account of the close textual similarity, though this must always be expected where several texts may be traced back to the same scribe (cf. also Lydgate's *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te,* printed *ib.* p. 315 ff. from Trin., Ad. 29729 & 34360, Harl. 2251 (& 2255)).

4) See Mac Cracken, nos. 114 & 147; in the latter case MacCracken says (p. xxix) that the long title in Ad. 29729 is "quoted from some earlier MS."; certainly the headings do not read as if made up by Stowe himself.

course an almost inevitable conclusion that they were taken by Stowe from the same volume from which a few leaves later he made a longer selection. [1]) That he had access to at least one lost Shirley codex cannot therefore be doubted any longer. This must like several other Shirleian MSS. have comprised one long work, the prose translation of Deguilleville, and several minor poems, chiefly by Lydgate; [2]) the contents must have been similar to those of Trin. R. 3. 20, and its text must have resembled that of Ashm. 59, so that it would appear to have been rather late in date.

A few other traces of Shirley's work may be found scattered in some XV century MSS. The two Chaucerian texts in Bodl. Hatton 73 (ab. 1450), headed *Good Conseyll* (Truth, f. 118 b), and *These baladdis were send to the kyng* (Stedfastnesse, f. 119) agree with Shirley's copies in Trin. R. 3. 20 and Harl. 7333. [3]) In the miscellaneous volume Harl. 7578, ff. 2—20 form a separate section, written in a XV century hand and containing, besides the so-called Gentilesse, Stedfastnesse, Proverbs, and ABC — in none of which I find any traces of Shirleian peculiarities — copies of *Pity* on ff. 13—14, with the Shirleian spelling *sheo* in lines 28,

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[1]) He may also have used the same source when transcribing the separate paper quire (ff. 80—7) in Harl. 367, which opens with one of the items mentioned in the *kalundare* of the lost Shirley volume, Lydgate's Legend of St. Margaret with a thoroughly Shirleian heading. *The London Lickpenny* occurs in another part of this MS. (f. 126 f., cf. Hammond in *Anglia* 20. 404 ff.); E. Gattinger *(Die Lyrik Lydgates* p. 80) says without the slightest foundation that Shirley wrote the heading here and attributed the poem to Lydgate.

[2]) Miss Hammond once identified the Sion Coll. MS., which contains the Deguilleville prose translation and is incomplete at beginning and end, as a fragment of this volume *(Anglia* 28. 13 f.); this is, of course, possible, though not very likely, as the MS. does not show any of the notes which Stowe freely left in the volumes he used (cf. e. g. Fairfax 16).

[3]) Note espec. such common readings as *with* in the first poem 1. 16, *Beon noo thyng oon* and *For nowe adayes* in the second poem 11. 5 and 10 (cf. Holt in *Journ.* 6. 426 f.). Compare also the old Shirleian headings, successfully revived by Prof. MacCracken (cf. *Notes* 23. 212 ff.).

30, 32, 35; and of a *balade* on f. 15, apparently ascribed to Chaucer in Shirley's Ad. 16165, f. 244.[1]) It is even possible that the burnt Cottonian MS. Otho A. XVIII, a XIV century volume of Saints' Lives, Chronicles, etc., once belonged to Shirley and that the concluding Chaucer poems with their very Shirleian headings were added by him;[2]) however, any attempt to determine the ultimate MS. source of such scattered trifles would of course be hopeless.

The following list of Shirleian codices, with the items usually attributed to Chaucer, may now be drawn up:

I. *Ad. 16165* (after 1422). *Boece* (ff. 7—94); *Anelyda* (the lyrical *Compleint* occurs first, on ff. 241—3, followed later by the introductory *Balade of Anelyda,* ff. 256—8), *Balade* (f. 244—5); *Prouerbe* (f. 246) and *Balade of Compleynte* (f. 256; Skeat no. XXIII) are not attributed to Chaucer.

II. *Trin R. 3. 20* (after 1430). *Compleynte of Anelida* (p. 106 ff; the complete poem); *Dallyaunce betwene Mars and Venus; Dialogue bytwene þe lover and fortune, Balade Venus, Dialogue bytwene þe lover and fortune, Balade ryale* (second copy of Truth), *Balade* (Gentilesse; p. 356

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1) Cf. the foll. sect. The copy of *Pity* shows the peculiar readings of the two Shirley transcripts in Harl. 78 and Ad. 34360 (Phill. 9053), in lines 1 *(ago* om.), 2 *(and* om.), 4 *(the* ins.), 5 *(for* ins.), 9 *(a tyme sought),* 10 *(I ran),* 17 *(wel* for *ful),* 21 *(noon othre waye* for *no more to seye),* 24 *(heue* for *holde),* 31 *(a man* for *men),* 33 *(euer* om.), 35 *(that* ins.), 40 *(thought* for *youth),* 42 *(honde and assurance* for *bonde and alliaunce),* 44 *(For* ins.), 49 *(ther* om.), 50 *(Thanne leue I al thise vertues saue Pite),* 70 *(That hight; your* om.), 79 *(with youre beninge and faire creature),* 92 *(vertuous),* 93 *(treuly* for *tenderly),* 94 *(youre* ins.), 117 (l. 1 repeated with *ago* added). Some of these variants may be the correct readings, such as those of 9, 31, 50.

2) This volume is known chiefly through Th. Smith's *Cat. Libr. MSS. Bibl. Cott.* 1696, p. 69 (cp. also the note in Urry's ed. 1721), where the four last pieces but one may be identified as Chaucer's so-called Truth, Stedfastnesse, Purse and *Cantus Troili;* the last item, *Pictura Galfridi Chaucer,* was possibly a later inserted copy of the Hoccleve picture, like that in Ad. 5141.

ff.); *Adam* (p. 367; a stanza from *Troilus* (I. 91) on p. 361 is not attributed to Chaucer).

III. *Lost MS.* (probably between c. 1430 and c. 1450). Contents partially preserved in Harl. 2251 and Ad. 34360. *Visage Sans Peinture* (Fortune; Harl. f. 46), *Pity* (with its "continuation", Ad. f. 49 ff.), and a *Balade* (Womanly Noblesse; Ad. f. 21 b).

IV. *Lost MS.* (perhaps of the same date as the preceding). Contents partially preserved in Stowe's Ad. 29729, and possibly in his Harl. 367 and in the Chaucer ed. of 1561. Contained perhaps *Pity* with its "continuation".

V. *The Harvard MS.* (part only; after 1442). No Chaucerian items.

VI. *Lost MS.* (after 1442). Contents almost entirely preserved in Harl. 7333. *Canterbury Tales* (ff. 37—118); *The Broche of Thebes* (Mars; ff. 132—3); *Anelida* (ff. 134—5); *l'Envoy to Kyng Richard* (Stedfastnesse), two *Moral Balades* (Gentilesse & Truth) and *Supplicacion to Kyng Richard* (Purs) ff. 147—8; an *Amerowse' Compleynte* (Skeat no. XXII) on f. 136 is not attributed to Chaucer.

VII. *Ashm.* 59 (after 1447). *Balade* (Gentilesse, in Henry Scogan's *Moral Balade* on f. 25 ff.), *Compleynte Ageinst Fortune* (f. 37—8), *Balade* (Venus, f. 43—4).

VIII. *Lost MS.* (represented by the list of contents in the preceding volume and possibly of about the same date).[1] *A dyaloge of fortune and pleintyff* and *An Invocacion to [oure ladye] by þabece* (? — neither ascribed to Chaucer).

IX. *Lost MS.* (after 1449). Contents almost entirely preserved in Ad. 5467. No Chaucerian items.

X. *Sion MS.* (incomplete; date?). *Carmen secundum ordinem litterarum alphabeti* (in the translation of Deguilleville).

XI. Harl. 78 (fragment; date?). *Pity* with its "continuation".

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[1] These flyleaves probably represent one of Shirley's own collections, while those in the Ellesmere Lydgate MS. (and possibly those in the burnt Otho A. XVIII, cf. above) merely contain a few later additions by him.

In the above list there are two or three unique Chaucerian items, but apart from this fact the textual value of Shirley's copies is practically negligible in view of the many arbitrary changes he introduced into his text, thus entirely spoiling it from a critical point of view. A good many variants are, of course, found in all his copies of a poem; in the case of Anelida's Complaint, for instance, his transcriptions (autographs in Ad. 16165 and Trin. R. 3. 20, a copy in Harl. 7333) agree against the rest of the MSS. in reading *þat* for *the* (238), *Nay for certis þer shall I neuer be founde* (241), *so* omitted (243), *And* for *Alas* (253), *For to do me* (276), *Venyme* (299), *trustiþe* for *loueth* (313), *crye* for *gye* (340), *And* for *I* (343). Even these common readings are, however, mostly clear errors, while any possibly remaining faith in the textual tradition as represented by Shirley is completely destroyed by the great number of mutually independent variants offered by the single MSS. [1]) There are some peculiarly suggestive instances of this kind in the case of *Mars*, where the Trinity MS. shows such variants as *souffre so many a drede* (in l. 5, for *ben (lye) in any drede)*, *wroth* (in l. 12, for *worth)*, *furye* (in l. 27, for *fyry)*, *norisshepe* (in l. 41, for *brydeleth)*, *fayre* (added in l. 43), *Perpetuelly ebounde til obeyssaunce* (in l. 47, for *He bynt him to perpetual obeisaunce)*, *feyre* (in l. 57, for *hertis*), *of whome I tolde* (l. 78, for *of which I rede)*, while the Harley volume has *strenght* (in l. 42, for *scourgyng)*, *er take* (in l. 55, for *a-take)*, *for woo his witte* (in l. 68, for *her wit for sorwe)*, but especially *Tyme comith of that seson schal your sorwe* (l. 11, for *T. c. eft (aft) that cessen shal y. s.)*, while in line 1

1) Ad.: *him* for *hir* (218), *yit* ins. (235), *Ay wol I byde* (240), *Of my wo ye rechche nought a myte* (269), *that* om. (270), *and me pleyne* (278), *I am so mased þat I dey* (318), *Lyving* for *Wakyng* (326), *semeþe* for *thinkeþe* (329), *To love me best vn til þat I dye* (332); line 335 wanting. — Trin: *hem* for *hir* (217), *Soo* for *And* (224), *so* ins. 315), *telle* for *sey* (346). — Harl.: *Alday* for *Alway* (219), *and* ins. (267), *For* for *Foo* (271), *And* for *As* (282). — In 226 Ad. reads *And his disese was to me,* Trin. *His grief disayse was to my,* Harl. *For his desire was to me;* in l. 310 Ad. has *As kepe you hole and make yow truwe stedfast,* Trin. *As holden yowe to keep you hool stidfast,* Harl. *As holde yow trewe and make yowe hoole stedfaste.*

Trin. has *fooles* and Harl. *floures,* instead of *foules.* Many of these clearly erroneous readings, especially the two last, are evidently changes from a written copy, caused by careless reading and unconscious alteration rather than by conscious emendation.

In other cases the changes are still more violent, as when the first line of the *Moral Balade* on Gentilesse, which in the majority of the authorities reads *The firste Stok (and) fader of gentilesse,* is subject to the following alterations in four Shirleian MSS.: Harl. 2251 *Stok was fader* — Trin. R. 3. 20 *fader fynder* — Harl. 7333 *fadir & fynder* — Ashm. 59 *fader and foundar.* These surprising variations clearly show that Shirley had no access to a superior text with original readings, but freely introduced arbitrary changes into his copies, which were, however, due to his bad memory rather than to any distinct desire for emendation.[1]) This is also proved by a very instructive case from Ashm. 59, where he happens to copy part of a poem by Lydgate (MacCracken no. 46) twice with the following astonishing result:

F. 34 b.	F. 35 (top).
Whane Aurora *toke* of Tytan *hir* leve	*Late* whane Aurora . of Tytane toke Leve
Nought *yoore* agone / in a gladde mornyng	Nought *longe* agone in a gladde mornyng
Soole by my self / walkyng in a greve	Soole by my self walking in a greve
Goldine phebus *freshe* in *his* chare shyning	Goldyne phebus *feyre* in chare shyninge
I herde a larke in maner compleyning	I harde a Larke in maner compleyninge
Synge þis refreyde I toke þere of *goode* heede	*Seying* þis refreyde I . toke þer off heede
þe worlde diuers and fortune *ay* chaunging	þe worlde *is* divers ffortune *is* chaunging
But wele is him þat fyndeþe a freonde at neode	fful wele is him þat fyndeþe a freonde at neode

[1]) See Koch's Crit. ed. of Chaucer's *Minor Poems* (1883) p. 3 & *Engl. Stud.* 27. 16 f.; cf. Tatlock's remarks p. 3[1].

μ Gret noumbre of frendes in *hys* prosperite	μ Gret noumbre of frendes in prosperitee
Whyle fortune shewe*þ* *hem* hir lookis glade	Whylest fortune shewe*þ* hir lookes glade
Gret coustume is / a bowte *þ*e tree	Greet *prees of* coustume is abowte *þ*e tree
While *þ*at *þe* bowes beon with fruytes lade	While *þ*at boughes beon with fruytes lade

It would seem perfectly clear that such extraordinary perversions of a poem, duplicated within a few days at most, could only have happened through Shirley's writing out his texts from memory — and in this instance from a very enfeebled memory.[1])

What generally took place when Shirley was copying Chaucer's poems, which he evidently knew well, appears to have been that he relied too much on his frequently failing memory and that, when refreshing it by a much needed look in the written original, he did so in a rather too rapid and perfunctory way.[2]) One of the most signal consequences of this is his habit of eking out the lines by verbal padding; not quite remembering the text between his too infrequent glances at the original he would introduce certain additional words, thus unconsciously amending the prosody, the rules of which he did not quite understand, since Chaucer's old-fashioned pronunciation was not his. There is no question of conscious "improvement" here,[3]) as is evident from the fact that the padding often differs in Shirley's various copies of the same poem. One of the best instances of this is offered by the varying texts of the *Visage sans Peinture* in Trin. R. 3. 20 and in Ashm. 59 (the latter generally joined by the transcription in Harl. 2251), where the additions are many and various. In l. 4 Ash. inserts *fals* (Harl. *falle),* but Trin. *hye;* in l. 6 Ash. & Harl. insert *þat,* Trin. *al;* in l. 8 both Ash. and Trin add *nowe,* the former before, the latter after *fortune;* in l. 10 Ash. & Harl. insert *bo*þ*e;*

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1) See Hammond p. 333 & *Anglia* 30. 336; cf. MacCracken p. v.

2) See about similar mistakes by Elizabethan compositors *Trans. Bibliogr. Soc.* 12. 243 f.

3) Though Furnivall thinks so in *Par. T.* p. 439.

in 1. 12 they read *with-Inne* for *in,* while Trin. has *right in;* in 1. 13 Ash. inserts *fals;* in 1. 15 Harl. inserts *alwey,* Trin. *ay;* in 1. 16 all three insert *yit;* in 1. 18 Trin. reads *yit might fortune not* for *she myght neuer;* in 1. 19 Ash. & Harl. have *fortunes* for *hir* and in 1. 20 *pou fondest* for *fownde thow;* in 1. 21 all three insert *ay* and omit *the* (Trin. also reads *fauour* for *colour*); in 1. 22 they insert *for;* in 1. 24 Ash. & Harl. insert *yitte* (cf. 1. 16) but Trin. *loo.* [1]) Such frequent and arbitrary changes disfigure practically all Shirley's volumes and make his evidence as to the textual tradition of the Chaucerian Minor Poems absolutely unreliable; in most cases it is even impossible to decide from where he got his copies. [2]) Nor can the mutual relations between his own MSS. be settled except occasionally, so that on the whole his texts form an isolated body, characterized by defects due to their having been transmitted chiefly through the old scribe's failing memory; [3]) they were not consciously altered, but unconsciously corrupted.

But while the textual value of Shirley's collections is negligible they have a real importance through their notes about the authors. In striking contrast to his careless habits in transcribing texts [4]) Shirley practically never wavers in his ascriptions of certain poems to certain writers, and accordingly he becomes an exceptionally important witness in the matter of authorship. This is perhaps

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[1]) Hammond thinks (*Anglia* 30. 339) that these additions were made for the sake of emphasis, but such an explanation seems hardly adequate. — Another clear case of padding is Shirley's copy of Lydgate's *Doublenesse* in Ashm. 59, f. 47 b—49 a, where the lines are made much longer than in his other copy in Ad. 16165 (cf. MacCracken p. xv and Hammond in *Anglia* 30. 327).

[2]) In transcribing Chaucer's long works he seems to have used a good MS. of *Boece* (in Ad. 16165, cf. Liddell in the *Globe Ch.* p. xl), but a bad Oxford text of the *Cant. Tales* (in Harl. 7333, where Squire & Merchant follow Man of Law, and Nun & Yeoman come before Doctor). Among his non-Chaucerian items the copy of Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* in Ad. 16165 is interpolated like that in Cambr. Gg (cf. Schick p. xxii ff. & xxx ff.).

[3]) Accordingly Hammond's attempt to make out a genealogical tree of his MSS. is bound to fail (*Anglia* 30. 344).

[4]) For which by the way he apologizes in one of his rhymed lists of contents (App. A, II. 69 f.).

especially striking in the case of Lydgate, about whose poems Shirley seems scarcely to have made a single mistake;[1]) of course his friendship with the monk offered him exceptional opportunities here,[2]) but it must not be forgotten that though Shirley hardly knew Chaucer personally — as proved by the absence of intimate touches in his notes on the poet's work — he must have been in touch with the Chaucer family through Lydgate, a fact which gives his information about the poet a special value.[3]) Moreover, it has not proved possible to raise serious objections to Shirley's attributions of poems to Chaucer except in one case, that of the heading in Ashm. 59, f. 38 b: *Here nowe folowepe pe names of pe nyene worshipfullest Ladyes pat in alle cronycles. and storyall bokes haue beo founden of troupe of constaunce and vertuous or reproches*[4]) *womanhode . by Chaucier.* Then follow 9 stanzas on *Cleopatre, Adryane, Gode Dydo qwene of Cartage, Lucresce of Rome, Phillees, Thesbe of Babilloigne, Isiphyle, Ypermistra pe gode wyff, pe Qwene Alceste.* These are of course the same nine ladies Chaucer wrote about in his *Legend,* except that *Philomene* is left out and *Alceste* inserted — though the story told in the last stanza is really not hers, but that of Seys and

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1) Only very rarely is a poem ascribed to Lydgate in some of Shirley's MSS. and not in others, as when nos. 19 & 54 (of MacCracken's *Lydgate Canon*) are stated to be Lydgate's in Ashm. 59, but not in Trin. R. 3. 20; while nos. 45 & 116 are given to the Monk respectively in Trin. & Ad. 16165 and in Harl. 7333, but not in Ashm.

2) His ascriptions to other authors are, however, also generally correct. The attribution in Ashm. 59, f. 17 b *Balade moral. of gode counseyle. made by Gower* has been questioned (see Macaulay II. clxxiii ff.), but most of the objections disappear, when a critical text is constructed by the help of the various readings given by Prof. Förster from two other copies in *Archiv* 102. 213 f.; cf. *ib.* 101. 50 f. (note espec. 1. 24 where the impure rhyme is corrected by replacing *bere* with *brere*).

3) Ten Brink (II. 219) and Spurgeon (p. 169) are inclined to number Shirley among Chaucer's personal friends; Skeat (I. 25) and Gaertner (p. 9) take a more reasonable view.

4) Thus MS.; read *reprochles* (?) — certainly not *reproched,* as Furnivall prints *Odd T.* p. vi.

Alcyone. Chaucer would certainly never had committed such an extraordinary mistake;[1]) consequently internal evidence goes strongly against Shirley here and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that he wrongly attributed a late anonymous *rifacimento* of the *Legend* to the poet,[2]) though it has been pointed out in mitigation of his error that it occurs in the Ashm. MS., written when he was more than 80 years old.[3]) But in other respects Shirley's information is so remarkably accurate that in spite of this single, though rather serious, offence his notes about the Chaucerian authorship of certain poems form a highly important body of evidence towards the final settlement of the Chaucer Canon.[4])

3. *The Separate Poems.*

Shirley's testimony to Chaucer's authorship is supported by that of the Tyrwhitt Group in four cases — *Prière à Nôtre Dame* (ABC), *Visage Sans Peinture* (Fortune), *Bon Conseil* (Truth), *Complaint à sa Bourse Voide* (Purse) — and by Henry Scogan's testimony in the case of *Moral Balade* (Gentilesse). He never attributes poems to Chaucer, which are ascribed to other poets in early MSS.; on the other hand his testimony is practically unsupported — except by internal evidence — in nine instances:[5])

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[1]) Note especially his treatment of the story of Alcyone in the early *Blanche.* — Somewhat weaker arguments are the unusual metre (a stanza of 4 five-beat couplets) and the atrocious rhymes (9 f. *labour: Minetawre* — 11 f. *prysoun: bycome* — 29 f. *applye: pyte* — 33 f. *Philles: chas* — 39 f. *pee: dye)* — but these *might* possibly have been altered by the copyists.

[2]) See ten Brink II. 624 and Hammond p. 416. — Skeat proposes (I. 53 f.) that Shirley wrote the stanzas himself, and interprets the heading as stating them to be a sort of epitome of Chaucer's *Legend* (cf. Gaertner p. 24 f.). Unfortunately the running title on f. 39 expressly terms the poem *þe Cronycle made by Chaucier,* so that this interpretation will not do.

[3]) Hammond p. 516, cf. MacCracken in *Publ.* 22. 604.

[4]) Cf. Furnivall's *Forewords* to the Chaucer Society's *Autotypes,* Hammond in *Notes* 19. 35 ff., Wells p. 621 f.

[5]) In the case of *Anelida* there is also *some* supplementary external evidence.

Anelida, The Brooch of Thebes (Mars), *Venus, Pity* and the *Complaints* connected with it, the Envoys to *King Richard,* to *Adam,* and to a *Lady,* and a *Balade.* Only in one instance, that of the *Proverbs,* he fails to credit Chaucer with an (insignificant) piece ascribed to him elsewhere by contemporary scribes. [1]) He practically never wavers in his attribution of a definite body of work to the Master; when transcribing a Chaucerian poem more than once he nearly always attributes it to him in all the MSS. [2]) Naturally this greatly increases our belief in the accuracy of Shirley's statements, but at the same time it makes us all the more regret the absence of his testimony in the case of six Minor Poems, which he does not appear to have transcribed (at any rate none of his copies have reached us): *The Parlement of Foules, Scogan, Bukton, The First Stock* (Former Age), and *Blanche.* [3])

[1]) In Ashm. 59 he marks the last stanza of *Venus: Lenvoye by Thomas Chaucier to alle prynces and princesses of þis translacion of þis complaynte and laye* (f. 44); however, too much need not be made of this mistake (as done by Koch in *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 107, and by Hammond *ib.* 30. 326 f.), which is evidently a mere slip of the pen. In Trin. R. 3. 20 he copies a stanza from *Troilus* (I. 631 ff.), not marking it as Chaucer's, though heading it *Pandare to Troylus* (p. 361, cf. *Odd Texts,* p. x); but on a flyleaf of the Ellesmere Lydgate MS. he heads the same stanza *Gower* (see MacCracken in *Notes* 25. 126 f.).

[2]) Thus *Visage Sans Peinture, Bon Conseil, Bourse Voide, Moral Balade, Pity, Envoy to King Richard.* The only real exceptions are the Harl. 7333 copies of *The Brooch of Thebes* (f. 132 b) and of *Anelida* (f. 134), and here the omission may of course be due to the copyist of Shirley's work (in Ad. 16165 the lyrical Complaint of *Anelida* is not marked as Chaucer's (f. 241), but the later occurring narrative is (f. 256)).

[3]) Hammond thinks the copy of the *Parlement* in Harl. 7333 ultimately due to Shirley (p. 515), but it shows no trace of his influence. Among the long works he has not left us any copies of the *Legend, Troilus,* and the *Astrolabe. Fame* he certainly knew, as shown by his running title in Ad. 16165 f. 206—7: "þe dreme of a Trewe lover made by daun John *of þe tempull of glasse þat shall nexst folowe þe hous of fame*". The italicised words have been added later (cf. Schick p. xxiii), but are in Shirley's hand (though this is questioned in *Suppl. Par. T.* p. 46); if, however, he really transcribed the poem (which is not in the Ad. vol.), his copy has been lost.

Prière à Nôtre Dame (ABC). This paraphrase of a prayer to the virgin in Guillaume de Deguilleville's XIV century allegory *Pélerinage de la vie humaine* has been handed down to us in the Tyrwhitt group of authorities, Fairfax II, Bodley, Pepys I & II, and Cambr. Gg, joined by Harl. 2251 & 7578. [1]) There is also a special group of MSS. containing the poem as quoted (without any author's name) in an anonymous prose translation of Deguilleville's entire work: Shirley's MS. at Sion College (London), Glasgow Hunt. Mus. U. 3. 12, Cambr. Ff. 5. 30 & St. John's Coll. G. 21, Bodl. Laud 740.

Shirley entitles the poem (Sion Coll. f. 79): *Incipit carmen secundum ordinem literarum Alphabeticum;* [2]) he also provides it with running titles *(ib.): A Devoute Dyte Of oure Ladye Marye — A devoute prayer to oure lady.* And in the margin he adds the following note, injured by the binder's shears: *Chauc*[er] *Devotissima oracio* [ad] *Mariam . pro omni* [!] *tem* [poris?] *tabulacione | necess* [itatis?] *angustiæ.* [3]) In Pepys I & II there is a different heading: *Pryer A nostre Dame — per Chaucer.* [4]) None of the titles are due to Chaucer himself; the last cited was probably added in his draft by an editor (cf. the preceding section), and may be accepted as the best title — better, at any rate, than the hideous misnomer *Chaucer's A B C,* accepted by Skeat and in the Globe Chaucer. It appears, however, to have been of rather early origin, since it occurs in the verse translation of Deguilleville, commonly ascribed to Lydgate and pro-

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[1]) See about Deguilleville J. E. Hultman's diss. (Upsala 1902), cf. Ward's *Cat. of Romances* II. 558 ff. and Galpin in *Publ.* 25. 275 ff.; Chaucer's use of him here was first noted by Bradshaw (cf. Furnivall *Trial-Forewords* p. 101[1]).

[2]) The same title is found in Cambr. Ff. f. 112 and in Ad. 36983 f. 175 (formerly the Bedford MS., dated 1442; cf. Furnivall in *Athen.* 1876. II. 623). The latter contains the metrical Prayer only, but textually it joins the group where this is inserted in the prose paraphrase.

[3]) My reading differs from Furnivall's *(Odd T.* p. 66).

[4]) Identical on pp. 88 & 386. In both places the text is a fragment of eight stanzas — not six (as in Harl. 7578), as Hammond says p. 331.

bably his;[1]) here it seems to have been the intention to introduce the present poem with the following passage, due to the translator (19751—90):

And touchynge the translacioun
Off thys noble Orysoun,
Whylom (yiff I shal nat feyne)
The noble poete of Breteyne,
My mayster Chaucer, in hys tyme,
Affter the Frenche he dyde yt ryme,
Word by word, as in substaunce,
Ryght as yt ys ymad in Fraunce

— — — —

And ffor memoyre of that poete,
Wyth al hys rethorykes swete,
That was the ffyrste in any age
That amendede our langage
Therefore, as I am bounde off dette,
In thys book I wyl hym sette,
And ympen thys Oryson
Affter hys translacion,
My purpos to determyne,
That yt shal enlwmyne
Thys lytyl book, Rud off makyng,
Wyth som clause off hys wrytyng.
And as he made thys Orysoun
Off ful devout entencioun,
And by maner off a prayere,
Ryht so I wyl yt settyn here,
That men may knowe and pleynly se
Off Our lady the A. b. c.

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1) Cf. App. A.

The Prayer has, however, *not* been inserted in any of the preserved MSS. of the work, though space is left for it in two of them. [1]) Still, it is more than likely that the poem referred to is the present one, and seeing that the passage was probably written by Lydgate its testimony to the authorship is not without value. Moreover we have also Shirley's note, as well as the headings in Pepys I—II, [2]) as evidence for the Chaucerian authorship of the poem, so that this may be considered fully proved.

The text of the Tyrwhitt group differs from that of the *Pilgrimage* MSS. in such readings as 1. 25, where it omits *þou,* 1. 33 *(in þe be* for *been in þee),* 1. 35 *(Vn-to mercy hastow received me* for *Hast þou to misericorde resceyued me),* and 1. 45 *(wit* for *wil).* The *Pilgrimage* variants are preferred by Koch, Skeat, and Heath; [3]) but ten Brink has argued in favour of the Tyrwhitt readings — rightly, as it appears to me, especially in 1. 35 where the version is much closer to the French original: *Quant a merci m'as receu.* [4]) As to the origin of the two groups it is of course possible that their ancestors were transcribed independently from Chaucer's original; still it is perhaps more probable that both go back to a copy of this. Such a view is suggested by the form in which all MSS. have l. 161—3:

> Xristus, thy sone, that in this world alighte
> Up-on the cros to suffre his passioun
> And eek suffred that Longius his herte pighte

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1) See Furnivall *Trial Forewords* p. 13 ff., cf. his ed. of the *Pilgrimage* (E. E. T. S. 1899 ff.) p. 528[2]. It is even uncertain whether the Prayer was ever inserted in the translation; at any rate MacCracken's reasons for thinking so are rather inadequate *(Archiv* 131. 40 ff.).

2) Hammond forgets these p. 516, where she says that Shirley is our only authority for ascribing the poem to Chaucer (but on p. 354 she quotes them).

3) See Koch's Crit. ed. of *Chaucer's Minor Poems* (1883) pp. 7 ff. & 20 f., cf. *Anglia* 3 & 4, *Anzeiger* pp. 182 f. & 100 f. See also the *Globe Ch.* p. xxxiv (but in 1. 25 Heath selects the Tyrwhitt reading).

4) Cf. *Literaturblatt* 1883, col. 421.

Here the last line is too long, and it is possible Skeat is right in omitting *suffred*,[1]) though this error may possibly have been Chaucer's own. But at any rate the last word is a clear scribal error for *prighte*,[2]) and this certainly seems to indicate that all the preserved MSS. are derived from the same copy of the original.[3])

The poem was first printed by Speght in his second edition of Chaucer (1602), where he seems to have followed a MS. of the Tyrwhitt group. He (or Stowe) gave it the following heading (f. 347): *Chaucers A. B. C. called La Prière de nostre Dame; made, as some say, at the request of Blanche Duchesse of Lancaster, as a praier for her priuat vse, being a woman in her religion very deuout.* Since Stowe undoubtedly knew at least one Shirley volume, now lost, there is a theoretical possibility that the note may have been copied from such a source; it is, however, far more likely to have been composed in imitation of Shirley's headings to *Mars & Venus*, which were known to Speght and Stowe.[4]) Anyhow the note is too late to be accepted, since there exists no corroborative evidence whatever.

Balades de Visage Sans Peinture (Fortune). This poem is found not only in the Shirley and Tyrwhitt groups, but also in the MS. of Chaucer's *Boece* at the Cambridge University Library, Ii. 3. 21, which forms a group by itself and is our best authority for the text;[5]) the poem is marked as Chaucer's both here, by Shirley, and in Fairfax II, so that its genuineness is

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1) I. 270 & 456, cf. ten Brink in *Literaturblatt* 1883, col. 424 (Koch & Heath omit *And*).

2) Cf. ten Brink *ib.* 418, see Skeat VI. 192 & 199, and *Globe Ch.* p. 329.

3) See about this sect. 1, and note that two of the *Pilgrimage* copies occasionally join the Tyrwhitt group, e. g. in 2, 3, 7, 8.

4) See Hammond p. 28; cf. Furnivall in *Suppl. Par. T.* p. 28 and in *Athen.* 1871. II. 17, also Skeat I. 59.

5) In lines 11 & 30 the variants of the other groups *may*, however, represent the original readings of the poet's draft (cf. the prec. sect.).

beyond doubt. Shirley has a very interesting note on it in Ashm. 59, f. 37: "Here foloweþe nowe a compleynte of þe pleintyff against fortune *translated oute of ffrenshe in to Englisshe by þat famous Rethorissyen Geffrey Chaucier*". The italicized part of this statement is nearly always discredited, though it is difficult to understand why this should be so, considering Chaucer's heavy indebtedness to the literature of France and the undeniably French note the poem strikes.[1]) It is true that it was hardly translated word for word from the French, for besides the *Roman de la Rose* the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* is the ultimate source of a good many lines, and Chaucer evidently used his own previous versions of both works in writing the poem. Nevertheless I think these sources may be supplemented so as to prove Shirley's statement to be at least partially correct. For while Jean de Meun and Boethius undoubtedly gave Chaucer most of his details, no source has yet been pointed out for the composition of the poem as a dialogue between Man and Fate, both speaking and answering in *balades*. However, several instances of this special artifice are found among Deschamps' poems, the most striking of which are the two *balades* he wrote to illustrate the ever popular combat between Fate and Free Will.[2]) They run:

Comment Franche-Voulenté Puet Resister a Tous Cas

Encontre toy, Fortune fortunée,

As to the MSS. see Furnivall in *Par. T.* p. 439 and Koch in *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 110. The text in MS. Seld. B. 10 was copied from Wynkyn de Worde's print of *The prouerbes of Lydgate* (cf. Ames *Typographical Antiquities* ed. Dibdin II. 359 f.), which is closely related to the copies in MS. Lansd. 699 & Codex no. 9 in the Univ. Libr. of Leyden (Cat. Voss. G. g. 40, unpubl.; cf. Hammond in *Notes* 36. 250 f.).

[1]) See Skeat I. 543, Koch's ed. of the *Minor Poems* p. 23, and Langhans *Untersuchungen zu Chaucer* p. 234; cf., however, Tyrwhitt's *Account* & Lounsbury II. 208 f.

[2]) Nos. CCLXXXVI—VII (*Oeuvres* II. 140 ff.), already hinted at as a sources by Sandras *Étude sur G. Chaucer considéré comme imitateur des Trouvères* Paris 1859, p. 106.

Bonne et male, fait Franche Volunté
Sçavoir a touz qu'elle est en homme née
Pour empeschier toute ta pouesté;
Ne nulz ne puet estre par toy tempté
Qu'il ne demeure en son propre pouoir,
S'en lui ne tient, tant l'aies tempesté,
Franc Cuer ne puet de son siege mouvoir.

Car Dieux lui a ceste vertu donnée
Qui le maintient, se sage est, en planté,
Et lui oste toute autre destinée
Par Franc Vouloir, qui est en lui enté,
Et par lequel maint homme ont resisté
A toy, qui riens ne puez contre valoir,
S'il ne consent a ta chetiveté
Franc Cuer ne puez de son siege mouvoir.

C'est du hault lieu secret de sa pensée
Querans les biens de pardurableté,
Non pas du corps terriens forsenée
Ou riens certain n'a fors que vanité.
Iob monstra bien en son adversité
Que de telz biens ne doit a nul chaloir,
Des maulx soufrir, car, selon verité,
Franc Cuer ne puez de son siege mouvoir.

Response de Fortune

Lasse! je voy pluseurs a la volée.
Qui cause sont de leur grant maleurté
Eulx soubmettans, come gent aveuglée,
Aux chetis bien de temporalité;
Et la ont tant mis leur affinité
Qu'ilz n'en puelent leur penses remouvoir;
C'est ce qui fait, et par grant lascheté
Lasche et moul cuer de siege mouvoir.

Leur voulenté lasche est lors reboutée,
Qui se soubmet a mondaine vilté
Et a choze subjette et ordonnée
A homme vif, qui est ainsis venté
D'acquerir biens; puis l'infortunité
Par cas soudain lui retoult son avoir:
Ainsis fait lors, et sanz necessité
Lasche et moul cuer de son siege mouvoir.

Qui de telz biens, quant les pert, se desrée
Et fait son cuer consentant tourmenté,
Lesquelz ne puet tenir longue durée,
Car par la mort en est il debouté.
Telz biens soient de franc cuer redoubté;
Le bien parfait, souverain doit avoir,
Car souvent font vains biens, dont c'est pité,
Lasche et moul cuer de son siege mouvoir.

In these poems we meet with the same spirit of defiance against Fate, which is the key-note of Chaucer's *Visage sans Peinture* and especially of his two first *balades,* spoken as in Deschamps by Man and Fate respectively. This note is particularly clear in those portions of Chaucer's poem, which are neither due to Jean de Meun nor to Boethius, especially 5—8, 13—16, 21—24, 26—31, & 41—45;[1]) these may then be taken to have been suggested by Deschamps' two poems. Moreover it is a curious fact that the latter immediately follow his complimentary *balade* to Chaucer in the great authoritative MS. of his Collected Works at Paris (Bibl. Nat. fonds franç. no. 840), the basis of the modern edition.[2]) Accordingly there cannot be much doubt that the two

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[1]) See about the other parts of the poem the parallels in Skeat's notes (V. 543 ff.) and Fansler pp. 40, 120, 209 (cf. also Jean de Condé *Li Dis de Fortune* (ed. Scheler II. 151 ff.)). Perhaps Chaucer may have owed something to the dialogue between *Auctor* and *Fortuna* in the Prologue to the Sixth Book of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium.*

[2]) *Oeuvres* XI. 101 ff. All three *balades* (nos. CCLXXV—VII) occur on the same leaf in the MS., f. 62 (II. 138 ff.).

poems on Fortune were among *les euvres d'escolier* which Deschamps says accompanied his *balade* to Chaucer,[1]) and that in them we have the real starting-point for the composition of Chaucer's poem. A tradition to the effect that the master had used a French model here must have been preserved among his friends, and this would then have become the source of Shirley's statement in Ashm. 59, which must, I think, now be accepted as authoritative.

Balade de Bon Conseil (Truth). Among the Minor Poems this has been handed down to us in the largest number of MS. copies, 22 in all, besides at least two noteworthy old prints.[2]) The genuineness of the poem is above suspicion, being testified to by Shirley, as well as by Fairfax I and by Pepys II.[3]) These and

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1) Cf. App. C. — Deschamps has two other *balades* on Fortune, the first of which shows great similarity to Chaucer's poem (no. DCCCXXVIII, *Oeuvres* IV. 349 f.), but as it was written on the occasion of his house being burnt by the English in 1380 (cf. Raynaud in *Oeuvres* XI. 33), it is perhaps not very likely to have been singled out for transmission to Chaucer; the other *balade* (No. MCXXXIV; IV. 56 ff.) does not appear to have been written till 1404 (cf. Raynaud in *Oeuvres* XI. 93 f.).

2) Cf. Carleton Brown's *Register of ME. Religious Verse* II. no. 515. The Ch. Soc. has printed 18 texts (*Par T.* p. 408 f., *Suppl. Par. T.* p. 154 f., *Odd T.* p. 289 ff., *More Odd T.* p. 25 ff); Lambeth 344, a copy of Hatton 73, is publ. by MacCracken in *Notes* 23. 212 ff. Of the unprinted MSS. Ad. 36983 f. 262 (the old Bedford MS.) brings the usual *vulgata* text (like Fairfax &c); of the text in Pepys I have unfortunately no notes. A third unpubl. text is found in a Leyden MS. (Cat. Voss. G. g. 40), closely connected with the copy in MS. Lansd. 699; here the poem occurs together with *Balades de Visage Sans Peinture* (as in Wynkyn de Worde's *Prouerbes of Lydgate* and the copy of this collection in MS. Seld. B. 10) under the common title *Optimus Tractatus de Fortuna.* There is also an (anonymous) copy in *Tottell's Miscellany* (1557; cf. Spurgeon p. 135, *Notes* 6. 205, & *Queries* 1911 I. 82 f.).

3) Also by the late copies in Seld. B. 10 & 24; in Phill. 8299 it follows at the end of the Clerk's Tale (*More Odd T.* p. 27). Accordingly the heading in Oxf. Corp. Chr. MS. 203, f. 22 (ab. 1450 or later) *Prouerbium Scogan* is a clear error, though its testimony is accepted

various other volumes form one textual division, while six MSS. make up another, the Bradshaw group, which is our main authority for the text;[1]) there is, however, a possibility that the chief variants of the first group have preserved some original readings from Chaucer's draft.[2])

In this connection it must be noted that there is a unique *Envoy* in the copy of the poem in Ad. 10340, at the end of Chaucer's *Boece*. The *Envoy* is accepted by most scholars,[3]) though already the fact that it occurs only in a single MS. of the Bradshaw group is almost sufficient to condemn it.[4]) Moreover, though the main body of the text is transcribed in a good hand of the early XV cent., the present poem is written in a later hand; also the circumstances under which it occurs on one of the three old flyleaves at the end of the volume, are rather suspicious. These leaves are filled with later scribbles; the recto of the first, f. 41, shows the following two columns, written in a current and not very early XV cent. hand (a few contractions having been expanded):[5])

ffle fro þe pres ⁊ dwelle wiþ soþefastnesse
Suffise þin owen þing þei it be smal

þere was a pore person of a toune
And was a goode man of religioune

---

by S[idney] L[ee] in *Biogr.* 51. 2 (but see Furnivall in *Queries* 1898. II. 423 and Flügel in *Anglia* 21. 258).

1) The six representatives are Ad. 10340 & 22139, Cott. Cleop. D. VII Cambr. Gg 4. 27, Ellesmere & Phill. 8299. Koch makes a special group of the first and the last *(Engl. Stud.* 27. 13 ff.) — entirely without justification.

2) See esp. Flügel in *Anglia* 23. 209 ff., and cf. the first sect.

3) See Furnivall in *Athen.* 1867. II. 333 and in *Par. T.* p. 407; cf. Skeat I. 553 and Flügel in *Anglia* 23. 222 (who thinks it was added later).

4) Thus Koch in *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 106, and in his ed. of the *Min. P.* p. 24; cf. *Engl. Stud.* 27. 16. See also Hammond p. 403.

5) The page is reproduced among the Chaucer Society's *Autotypes* (1877). In the blank space of the left column and elsewhere there are some later scribbles.

ffor horde haþe hate 7 clymbyng tykelnesse
Prees haþe envye 7 wele blent oueral
Sauoure no more þanne þe byhoue sshal
Reule weel þi self þat oþer folk canst reede
And trouþe schal delyuere it is no drede
Tempest þe nouȝt al croked to redresse
In trust of hyr þat tourneþ as a bal
myche wele stant in litel besynesse
Bywar þerfore to spurne aȝeyns an al
Stryue not as doþe þe crokke wiþ þe wal
Daunte þi self þat dauntest oþeres dede
And trouþe shal delyuere it is no drede
þat þe is sent receyue in buxhumnesse
þe wrestlyng for þe worlde axeþ a fal
here is non home her nys but wyldernesse
fforþe pylgryme forþe forþe beste out of þi stal
Knowe þi contre loke vp þonk god of al
holde þe heye weye 7 lat þi gost þe lede
holy he was boþe in þouȝt 7 werk
þer to he was alered man a clerk
were hys perisshe housed neuer so fer a sonder
he lafte neiþer for reynes ne for þonder
þe ferrest in hys perische to visite
he couþe haue suffisaunce in þing ful lite
fful loþe was hym to cursen for his tyþes
And so he was yproued ofte syþes
þus wolde he walke 7 in hys hand a staf
þis noble ansample in to hys shepe he ȝaf
þat fyrst he wrouȝt 7 afterward he tauȝt
Out of þe gospel he þo wordes rauȝt
he lete nauȝt hys benefice to hyre
And lete hys shepe encombred in þe myre
He ran to london vnto seynt poules
To getyn hym a chauntery for soules
oþer wiþ abreþerhede to be wiþholde
But duelt at home 7 he kept hys owen folde

And trouþe shal delyuere it is no drede	So þat þe wolf ne made it nat myskary
	he was a shepherde 7 not amercenary
	And þis figure he added eke þer to
	þat if gold rust what shal yren do
	ffor ȝif a prest be foule on whom we trust
þerfore þou Vache leue þine olde wrechedenesse	No wonder is a lewed man to rust
vnto þe world leue now to be þral	for it is a foule þing who so take kepe
Crie hym mercy . þat of hys hie godnesse	A sheten shepherd 7 a clene shepe
Made þe of nouȝt 7 in especial	He wayted after no pompe ne reuerence
Drawe vnto hym 7 pray in general	Ne made hym a spiced conscience
ffor þe 7 eke for oþer heuenelyche mede	But cristes lore 7 hys apostles twelue
And trouþe schal delyuere it is no drede	he tauȝt but first he folwed it hym selue

Here it must first be noted that the righthand column contains a much altered version of Chaucer's sketch of the Parish Priest in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales;* of the original 52 lines (A 477—528) 20 are omitted, while the rest have frequently been transposed and often changed so as better to suit their new positions. The sequence is: A 478, 477, 479—80, 491—4, 486, 485, 495—8, 507—14, 499—504, 525—8; evidently the scribe wrote down the lines from memory and did not remember them very well. Of course this fact makes the presence of a unique fourth stanza in the copy of *Bon Conseil* in the left-hand column much less significant. Except for the *Envoy* the text agrees in almost every detail with the other Bradshaw authorities, which makes it

very hard to believe in an independent origin for this copy alone; the first three stanzas are written continuously and are only followed by the *Envoy* after an interval of three or four blank lines, so that even the purely external conditions under which the latter occurs seem to point to its having been added without authority, nor is there any internal evidence in its favour. On the contrary the way in which the Envoy falls off, technically and artistically, as compared with the body of the poem, is almost appalling,[1]) and while this does not decisively disprove its genuineness, it is at any rate significant when the external evidence fails as signally as shown above.

The expression *thou Vache* in the Envoy was not understood for a very long time,[2]) till it was pointed out by Miss Edith Rickert that it referred to one of Chaucer's contemporaries, a wealthy courtier and country gentleman, Sir Philip de la Vache, to whom, then, the Envoy must have been addressed.[3]) But this does not prove anything about Chaucer's authorship, since there is not the slightest scrap of evidence to show that the poet was as much as acquainted with Sir Philip; [4]) moreover the call upon Sir Philip to prepare himself in his old age to depart from the world seems to date the Envoy shortly before 1408 when he died, [5]) so

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1) Note such stop-gaps as *in especial, in general, and eke for oper;* cf. Koch *Engl. Stud.* 27. 16.

2) See Flügel in *Anglia* 23. 223, cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 16.

3) *Phil.* 11. 209 ff., cf. Kittredge p. 33 & Wells p. 647.

4) Miss Rickert first proves the acquaintanceship from the single fact that Sir Philip was the son-in-law of Sir Lewis Clifford, whom Chaucer probably knew, and then finds additional confirmation of the latter friendship in the supposed fact of the former *(Phil.* 11. 225)! — That *best* in the third stanza also refers to the name of *Vache (ib.* p. 224) is an entirely unwarranted conclusion.

5) He was born ab. 1346 *(Phil.* 11. 215), so he could hardly have been called old till the nineties or later. Miss Rickert, who dates the poem and the Envoy towards the end of the 'eighties (l. c. p. 224 f.), seems to consider *old wrecchednesse* as equivalent to *habitual wretchedness,* but it is surely a plain allusion to Sir Philip's old age (of course there ought to be a semicolon at the end of the first line of the Envoy (cf. Furnivall in *Athen.* 1867. II. 333) and none in the middle of the second line — as put by Skeat and Heath).

that the stanza was probably added by one of his friends to a fugitive copy of Chaucer's *Bon Conseil.*[1]) From this source it was copied on the flyleaf of Ad. 10340 by somebody who jotted down here what he remembered of Chaucer's poetry.[2])

The poem ought consequently to be edited from one of the Bradshaw authorities, either the Gg volume at Cambridge or the Cotton MS. Cleop. D. VII, with the revised readings of this group in lines 6, 8, 11, 16, 19, 20, and in the refrain, while the original variants from the Tyrwhitt group should be given in the notes.[3])

Our belief in a revision of the poem need of course not be overthrown by Shirley's account of its composition, given in his heading in Trin. R. 3. 20, p. 144: *Balade þat Chaucier made on his deeth bedde.*[4]) This statement is rejected by nearly all Chaucer

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[1]) This is also in better accord with the intimate address *thou Vache* (cf. Koch in *Anglia* 46. 47 f.) — though of course this is no absolute proof against Chaucer's authorship (Lydgate sometimes used *thou* to his patrons, e. g. in his *Fall of Princes,* cf. Hammond's extracts in *Anglia* 38. 121 ff.).

[2]) Koch's proposal *(Anglia* 46. 48) that the Envoy was sent by Chaucer to Vache but omitted in the ordinary copies of the poem (cf. R. Bridges in his *Index* to *The Spirit of Man),* does not solve the difficulty of its occurrence in one MS. only, since the text agrees with that of a group of five other MSS., all representing one copy, which ought to have had the Envoy if originally due to Chaucer himself.

[3]) Of course the Envoy ought to be omitted as by Jespersen p. 56 f. and Sweet *(Second Middle English Primer* p. 39); otherwise Heath's text is perfect and Skeat's almost so (except for *good* in 1. 2 — from the Ellesmere copy, which joins the Tyrwhitt group here), while Koch's eclectic procedure in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 13 ff. is not commendable (cf. 2 & 11). In his text in *The Spirit of Man* (1915, no. 379) Bridges makes the last line but one in each stanza begin with a strong syllable; this is very effective, but unfortunately there is not sufficient textual evidence for it except in the two last stanzas (in 1. 6 *wel* is omitted only in the Leyden and Lansdowne MSS. and in the de Worde print).

[4]) The similar titles in Hatton 73, f. 118 b *Chauncier balade vp on his deth bed* (erased, but revived by MacCracken, cf. *Notes* 23. 212) and the burnt Otho A. XVIII *(A Ballade made by Geffray Chaucer upon his death-bed lying in his anguish)* do not really support Shirley's testimony, since they seem to be ultimately due to himself (see the prec. sect.).

scholars,[1]) though nothing can really be urged against it; naturally it does not imply that the poem was written in the very throes of death, but simply that it was composed during the poet's last illness, which may well have been a long one, since he received the last two payments of his salary by deputy.[2]) Nor is Shirley's testimony contradicted by Gascoigne's report of Chaucer's repentance *ante mortem suam,* for any churchman would certainly have considered the poem one of *moralitee,* perhaps even of *devocioun.*[3]) In short, there is no conceivable reason why Shirley should not in this case have preserved a genuine and creditable fifteenth century tradition.

The French title I have chosen for the poem is probably not due to Chaucer himself, but is on the other hand so old and well vouched for that it must be considered the best; the present title *Truth* was first used by the Chaucer Society, and must be rejected in favour of *Balade de Bon Conseil,*[4]) which stamps the poem as belonging to a recognized species of literary composition, of which there is another instance in Stowe's copy from Shirley in Ad. 29729, f. 132 b (one stanza only):

/ balade de bone counseyle /

If it befalle that god the lyst visyte

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1) Tyrwhitt's *Account,* Furnivall *Par. Texts* p. 423, Skeat I. 550, Lounsbury I. 363, Manly in *Phil.* 11. 226. But see ten Brink II. 213 and Jespersen p. 56. — Nicolas is undecided (p. 86).

2) *Life Rec.* IV. nos. 281—2. Flügel's suggestion *(Anglia* 21. 253 ff.) that this may indicate that Chaucer travelled on the continent in 1400, is not very likely.

3) See the *Retracciouns.* — Chaucer would not have been the only poet either who wrote one of his most finished poems on his death-bed — cf. e. g. the Norwegian Henrik Wergeland's pathetic lines *To my Gillyflower* (see also Flügel in *Anglia* 23. 222).

4) Thus MS. Gg; similar French forms in Fairf. I and in Pepys II, in Lansdowne and Leyden *(La bon conceil de lauctour).* There is a Latin version in Seld. B. 10 and in de Worde's print *(Ecce bonum consilium galfridi chaucers contra fortunam);* Hatton has a similar English heading (cf. the colophon in Seld. B. 24, f. 119: *Explicit Chaucer counsaling).* Thynne's title *Good counsayle of Chaucer* was used till Furnivall introduced *Truth (Trial Forewords* p. 8 f., cf. Hammond p. 402 f. and see Kittredge p. 33).

wt ony tourment or Adversytee
thank first the lord and thy self to qwyte
vpon soufrance and humylytee
founde thou thy quarell what war yt it be
make thy defence and thou shalt have no losse
in Remembraunce of christ and of his crosse / finis

A still more characteristic specimen in French is found in Shirley's Trin. R. 3. 20, p. 103:

Balade moral et de bone counseylle

Que vault tresor qui na Joye ne leesse
Et qui ne prent en ce monde playsaunce
Que vaut auoir Repus *7 mys en presse*
Que vaut a milluy porte socourraunce
Cest ce mest vis maleureuse chevance
Et bien chetife quar quant mourir fauldra
Qui plus aura plus dolent mourra

De sens donneur de auoir de gentilesse
Apre la mort ne Remaint vne chance
Bien fait sans plus auer lame sadresse
Rien ne luy vault sa mondaine acayntance
On a asses mais oon ait souffisaunce
Car quant ly homs du siecle partira
Qui plus aura plus dolent mourra

The expressions italicized by me show a strong similarity to lines 1—2 in Chaucer's balade; that there must be some connection between the two poems will hardly be denied, though it may be doubtful which of them imitates the other.[1])

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[1]) A third *Balade moral of gode counseyle made by Gower* (Shirley's Ashm. 59, f. 17 b) is probably an imitation of Chaucer's poem. — The supremacy of Truth was a favourite theme during the Middle Ages, cf. *Dité de Vérité* (XIII cent. — in Jubinal's *Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux* (1834) II. 83 ff.) and the poem in the Vernon MS. with the varied refrain of *treuþe is best* (Furnivall's ed. E. E. T. S. p. 699 ff.; cf. similar poems *ib.* pp. 683 ff. & 740 ff.).

La Complainte de Chaucer à sa Bourse Voide (Purse). Of this poem we have 8 MSS. (and one early print), of which one belongs to the Bradshaw group, Ad. 22139, another to the Shirley tradition, Harl. 7333, and most of the rest to the Tyrwhitt group, Fairfax II, Pepys II, Cambr. Ff. 1. 6, and Caxton. It is ascribed to Chaucer both in the latter group and by Shirley, so that its authenticity is sufficiently secure; the best title is the French one cited above, which occurs in the Pepys MS. [1])

The text occurs in two forms: with and without the Envoy. The latter is wanting in three MSS., of which Ad. 22139 is the most important as representing the Bradshaw group. [2]) Consequently the Envoy was probably added later, [3]) as is also indicated by internal evidence, since the first lines plainly refer to Henry IV's Proclamation to Parliament of Sept. 30, 1399; [4]) this places the composition of the Envoy between the above date and Oct. 13 of the same year, when Henry IV granted Chaucer an

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1) Cambr. Caius Coll. 176 contains the two first stanzas only (printed by MacCracken in *Notes* 27. 228 f.). — The copies in Harl. 2251 and Ad. 34360 (Phill. 9053) are closely joined together by peculiar readings in 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 20, and by the fact that in both the present balade is followed without any break by a totally different poem of 20 stanzas, certainly not Chaucer's, though formerly attributed to him (in the *Cat. of the Harl. MSS.* (1808) I. 25, but see Hammond p. 392, cf. *Anglia* 38. 3 & 32. 481 ff.); the Ad. copy is certainly not a daughter of the Harl. copy (as Koch thinks in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 60), but a sister MS. (*yellownesse* in 1. 11 is written *Ie-lownesse* in Harl. and *eye-lownesse* in Ad., pointing to a common original with the form *ye lownesse,* an *I* having been accidentally destroyed).

2) From another member of this group the two other envoyless copies in Harl. 2251 and Ad. 34360 were probably derived.

3) See Skeat I. 88, ten Brink II. 213, and Cook in *Trans. Connecticut Acad.* 23. 33. Accordingly Shirley's heading in Harl. 7333 f. 147 b *A Supplicacion to Kyng Richard by Chaucier* may refer to the poem in its original state; see ten Brink II. 206, cf. *Literaturblatt* 1883 col. 427 (in spite of the fact that the Envoy is included in the copy in Harl. 7333).

4) See already Tyrwhitt's *Account;* cf. Skeat I. 564, Macaulay IV. 414, Wylie *Henry IV.* I. 16[4].

annual pension of 40 marks.[1]) The copy in Ad. 22139 would then be derived from an early draft of the poem, the Envoy possibly not being added till Chaucer's papers were prepared for publication, when the ancestors of the Tyrwhitt group and of the Shirley tradition were copied. Accordingly the poem will have to be edited from Ad. 22139,[2]) supplemented as far as the Envoy is concerned by Cambr. Ff. 1. 6.[3])

Moral Balade (of Gentilesse) is found in eight MSS., dividing into two main sections, the Bradshaw group (Cotton Cleop. D. VII, Ad. 22139, & Harl. 7578)[4]) and the Shirley tradition (Trin. R. 3. 20, Ashm. 59, & Harl. 7333).[5]) In Shirley's Ashm. 59 the balade is quoted in a poem by one of Chaucer's disciples, Henry Scogan (f. 25).[6]) Here stanza 9 begins (f. 26):

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1) See ten Brink in *Literaturblatt* 1883 col. 426 (the wrong date for the pension, Oct. *3* (cf. Skeat I. 562), is corrected by Flügel in *Anglia* 21. 245 ff., cf. *Life Rec.* p. 327).

2) It offers the best reading in l. 4 *That certes but ye* (though *any* for *hevy* ib. is wrong, see Koch's ed. of the *Min. P.* p. 26; cf. ten Brink in *Literaturblatt* 1883 col. 427). Skeat and Heath prefer Fairfax, but there is no reason for the unique position given to this MS. in the *Globe Ch.* p. li (cf. Koch in *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 110 f.). Otherwise the MSS. are difficult to group, cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 15. 417 f. & 27. 60.

3) This MS. (& Harl. 7333) has the best reading in l. 26 *alle oure harmes* (cf. ten Brink in *Literaturblatt* 1883 col. 427), the second word of which was dropped by Pepys & Caxton (*alle harmes* — accepted by Koch) and replaced by *myn* in Fairfax *(al myn harm* — thus the *Globe Ch.);* Skeat emends: *al our harm.*

4) A similar MS. was used for the first separate print of the poem in Stowe's ed. 1561; the copy of the first stanza on a flyleaf in Trin. R. 14. 51 seems to join the same group. On the whole the MS. relations are not very clear (cf. Koch in *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 108, and in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 58 f.).

5) The copy in Harl. 2251 f. 48 seems to stand apart, though Hammond does not recognize this *(Anglia* 28. 10 ff. & 30. 338).

6) See Skeat I. 82 f. & VII. xli f. & 237 ff., cf. Hammond pp. 371 & 455. The poem is printed in Caxton III, and is also copied in Harl. 2251 f. 158 b—161, headed *Querela senis,* but without Chaucer's stanzas being inserted.

My maistre Chaucier god his soule have
þat in his langage was so curyous —

while stanza 13 concludes:

And of þis thinge herke howe my maistre seyde.

Then follows the present poem (f. 27) with a marginal note by Shirley: *Geffrey Chaucier made þeos thre balades nexst þat folowen* — after which Scogan goes on:

Loo here þis noble poete of Brettayne
Howe hyely he in vertuous sentence
þe losse in youþe of vertue can compleyne.

The authenticity of the poem is accordingly vouched for both by Scogan and Shirley, so that it may safely be considered beyond doubt.[1]). For want of a better title Shirley's *Moral Balade* (Harl. 7333) may be adopted, with the possible addition *of Gentilesse.*

The best text is offered by the Bradshaw group, whose variants are better than those of the Shirley tradition in all important cases;[2]) we ought accordingly to omit *and* in line 1, to read *love* (and not *sewe)* in 4, *vices (not* vice) in 15, *as men may well se* (not *as ye may well see)* in 16, and *That maketh his eires hem that can him queme* in 20.

The motif of *Gentilesse,* developed in this poem, is not dealt with here merely from the point of view of Jean de Meun, who declares in *Roman de la Rose* that *Gentilesse* is independent of

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1) The latter repeats his attribution to Chaucer in Trin. R. 3. 20 p. 358 and in Harl. 7333 f. 147.

2) Thus also Koch's ed. p. 24 f. and Heath in the *Globe Ch.* p. xlix, though in his text (p. 630) he follows Shirley on all important occasions (1, 4, 15, 16, 20); Skeat follows Shirley in 4 & 16 *(sewe & vyce)* and emends 1. 20 (cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 15. 416). — The best MS. is probably the Cotton MS., whose only serious error is the omission of *can* in 1. 20; in 1. 2 we ought surely to read *desireth* (as in this MS., Harl. 7578, Stowe, and Shirley's Trin. R. 3. 20 & Harl. 7333) and not *that coueyteth* (Ad. 22139) or *that claymeth* (Shirley's Ashm. 59, Harl. 2251, Trin. R. 14. 51, and Caxton — thus Skeat and Heath).

nobility; [1]) it is rather treated in the spirit of Dante who in his *Convito,* especially in the canzone prefixed to book IV, derives *gentilezza* from God and not from *antica richezza.* [2]) This idea was borrowed by Boccaccio in *Filostrato,* where Troilo defends himself against Cassandra's taunts on account of Griselda's low birth (VII. 87 ff.):

È gentilezza dovunque è virtute

he says (st. 94) — a line bodily lifted from Dante's canzone (l. 101); later he goes on (st. 99):

Che più, donna Cassandra, chiederete
In donna omai? il suo sangue reale?
Non son re tutti quelli a cui vedete
Corona o scettro o vesta imperiale;
Assai fiate udito già l'avete,
Re è colui il qual per virtù vale,
Non per potenza: e se costei potesse,
Non cre tu ch'ella come tu regesse?

This has no more than the preceding stanza on *gentilezza* (VII. 91 ff.) been incorporated in Chaucer's paraphrase of Troilus' reply to Cassandra (V. 1520 ff.), but it is undoubtedly the source of lines 5—7 in the present poem, for which no definite origin has so far been pointed out:

For unto vertu longeth dignitee, [3])
And noght the revers, saufly dar I deme,
Al were he mytre, croune, or diademe.

The opening phrase *The firste stok* was interpreted by Scogan

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[1]) L. 19 297 ff. (ed. Marteau), cf. Skeat I. 554 f. and Fansler p. 221 f. The subject is similarly treated by the two Condés (ab. 1300; ed. Scheler I. 175 ff. & II. 97 ff.)

[2]) See Koeppel in *Anglia* 13. 184 f., cf. Lowes in *Phil.* 13. 19 ff. & Koch in *Anglia* 46. 19 f.

[3]) This line is also influenced by Boethius *De Cons. Phil.* III. 4 *Inest enim dignitas propria virtute* (cf. Koeppel in *Archiv* 87. 37).

in the sense of *God* or *Christ;* compare the stanza introducing the balade in his poem (97—104):

> Thus "by your eldres may ye nothing clayme",
> *As that my maister Chaucer sayth expresse,*
> "But temporal thing, that man may hurte and mayme";
> *Than is God stocke of vertuous noblesse;*
> *And sith that he is lord of blessednesse,*
> *And made us alle, and for us alle deyde,*
> *Folowe his vertue with ful besinesse,*
> And of this thing herke how my mayster sayde: —

This interpretation has since been pretty widely accepted, though it is far from certain as the expression *the first stock* is used elsewhere in the sense of *the first generation of mankind,* e. g. in Lydgate's *Thoroughfare of Woe:* [1])

> Oure fader Adam bygan with sore travaile,
> Whan he was flemed out of Paradice.
> *Lord! what myght than gentilesse availe;*
> *The first stokke of labour toke his price;*
> Adam in the tilthe whilom was holden wyse,
> And Eve in spynnyng prudent was also,
> For to declere as be myn advise,
> How this world is a thurghefare ful of woo. [2])

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1) Halliwell *Lydgate's Minor Poems* p. 123.

2) Of course this notion was very wide-spread at that time, as shown by John Ball's well-known text from the communist rebellion of 1381 (cf. Walsingham II. 33):

> When Adam dalve and Eve span
> Who was then the gentil man.

The idea was often used in XIV cent. poetry, see *Religious Pieces* p. 80 (E. E. T. S. 1867, cf. *Anglia* 27. 306) and Jean de Condé's *Dis de Gentilesse* 38 ff.); it is even older than Jean de Meun (cf. E. Langlois *Sources de Roman de la Rose* p. 98). In his early poem *Mirour de l'Omme* 1. 23389 ff. Gower treats the question of gentility from the common medieval point of view, but in his later treatment of the same subject *(Confessio Amantis* IV. 2200 ff.) he deals with it

In these circumstances it is at least very probable that *the first stok* in Chaucer's poem means *the first generation*[1]) and that it was really occasioned by Ovid's description of the Golden Age in his *Metamorphoses* I. 89 f.:[2])

> Aurea *prima* sata est *aetas,* quae vindice nullo,
> sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.

The Complaint of fair Anelida and false Arcite. In Shirley's Ad. 16165 Lydgate's *Temple of Glas* has the following colophon (f. 241 b): *Here endiþe þe dreme and þe compleynt of þe desyrous seruant in loue and filowyng begynneþe þe compleint of Anelyda . þe feyre Qweene of Cartage. vpon þe chivalrous Arcyte of þe royal blode of Thebes descend.* Then follows the *Complaint* proper (lines 211—350), while the introductory narrative is found later in the volume (incomplete, stopping with l. 122), headed (f. 256 b): *Balade of Anelyda Qwene of Cartage made by Geffrey Chaucyer.* The complaint occurs alone in Trin. R. 3. 20 p. 106—10, with an elaborate title ascribing it to *Geffrey Chaucier;* the complete poem is found in Harl. 7333, f. 134—5, with a heading which does not mention Chaucer. There are nine more MSS. (besides the early print by Caxton), but only one of these gives the author's name, the comparatively late Harl. 372, where *Chaucer* is written in the margin against the last stanza.[3]) The poem

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rather in the spirit of Dante and Chaucer, probably under the influence of the present poem, and *in connection with the question of our debt to our ancestors* (2222 ff.).

[1]) This would obtain some support from the copy of the first stanza in Trin. R. 14. 51, if any confidence might be put in M. R. James' reading *The first folke* in l. 1 (Cat. II. 337). However, though the text in the MS. is much effaced, the reading *stokke* (as in *Suppl. Par. T.* p. 162) seems quite probable.

[2]) This description Chaucer paraphrased in a separate poem on *The First Stock* (Former Age; cf. below). The problem of true nobility he again treated from the same point of view as here in his Wife of Bath's Tale, D 1109 ff.

[3]) Three MSS. have the Complaint only — Cambr. Ff. 1. 6, Pepys 2006, and Phill. 8299.

is not mentioned in any of Chaucer's own works, but Lydgate says:

Of Anneleida & of false Arcite
he made a complaynt doleful and piteous.[1])

This can safely be identified with the present poem which, however, Lydgate probably knew from one of Shirley's MSS.;[2]) accordingly we must rely chiefly on Shirley's testimony in attributing the poem to Chaucer. There is some corroborative internal evidence in the fact that the three first stanzas are paraphrased from Boccaccio's *Teseide,* which we know Chaucer used in the Knight's Tale and which is not very likely to have been known and utilized by other writers of the period.

Besides the poem has been preserved by the Tyrwhitt group (Pepys II & Caxton II, joined by Phill. 8299), whose readings are close to Shirley's, and by the Hammond group (Fairf. I, Bodley, Harl. 372, & four other MSS).[3]) The remarkable variants of the latter have been regarded as a set of alternative readings, due to Chaucer himself;[4]) they represent, however, really typical scribal emendations.[5]) Especially characteristic in this respect is

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1) Note Lydgate's stressing the *third* syllable of *Anneleida.*

2) He must have written the above passage (from *The Fall of Princes)* during the 'thirties (cf. Schick p. cv and Hammond in *Anglia* 38. 136).

3) Cf. Koch in *Anglia* 3 & 4, *Anzeiger* pp. 184 f. & 101 f.; cp. *Engl. Stud.* 27. 43 ff. and Wild p. 29.

4) Hammond pp. 339 & 356, cf. *Notes* 23. 20 f.

5) See the first section, where they are quoted, and note especially 1. 241 f., where Pepys and Caxton have the only satisfactory reading *for per shall neuer be founde Non oper help,* while the Hammond MSS. have the meaningless version *forther will I neuer be founde* &c, corrected by Skeat and Heath into *ferther wol I never founde* &c. The Tyrwhitt group accordingly forms the best basis for the text, as Heath partly recognizes *(Globe Ch.* p. xxxviii), though he does not always accept its readings; in 214, 286, 304, 319, 331 he reads *to* (for *in), ben* (for *lye), unto* (for *pat - - to), all* (for *half), a* (for *and)* with the Hammond group. Skeat follows the latter throughout in his ed. of the *Minor Poems* (1888, p. 102 ff.), correcting some of the special variants of Fairf., Bodl., & Harl. 372 in his final ed. I. 365 ff. (cf. lines 223, 229, 299, 310, 331).

a concluding stanza found only in a subdivision of the Hammond group, comprising the Tanner, Digby, Longleat, and Cambr. Ff MSS.:

> When that Annelida this woful quene
> Hath of her hande writen in this wise
> With face dede betwix pale and grene
> She felle a swow and sith she gan to rise
> And vnto Mars avo [w]yth sacrifice
> *With-Inne the temple with a sorofull chere*
> *That shapyn was as ye shall aftyr here.*

This peculiar and badly constructed stanza (note especially the concluding lines) is certainly a spurious addition, due to a copyist of the *Anelida*-booklet found among the circle of texts which formed the basis of the Hammond group.[1]) The original poem would then simply have consisted of a narrative introduction and a lyrical complaint, just like *Mars*, and there is no reason to believe it not to have been finished.[2])

In the Tyrwhitt group only the complaint proper has got a heading: *The Compleint of Anelida quene of Hermenye vpon false Arcite of Thebes* (thus Pepys — similarly Caxton and the colophon of Phillipps). Shirley's headings are clearly made up by himself, and the Tanner subgroup has none at all. But the three best Hammond MSS. (Fairf. I, Harl. 372, Bodl.) have a very tempting

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1) It may be of some significance that in Tanner this additional stanza is divided from the rest of the poem by the note *Belliger*—whatever that may mean. — Tanner, Digby, Longleat and Cambr. Ff are united by other variants too (cf. the first sect.). Note that Ff has the complaint only, followed by the spurious stanza, which of course proves that the original of this MS. also the narrative introduction, arbitrarily omitted by the Ff scribe as well as by others (note the conditions in Shirley's Ad. 16165); Hammond's speculations (p. 356) as to the original independence of the complaint proper are thus in vain (cf. also Lowes in *Publ.* 20. 861[3]).

2) As generally imagined (cf. Wells p. 631). When the final stanza is shown to be spurious the chronological arguments, connecting it with the description of the temple of Mars in the Knight's Tale must of course be given up (cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 1. 290 & 55. 201, Tatlock p. 85 f., and Langhans in *Anglia* 44. 239).

title for the whole poem: *The compleynt of faire Anelida and fals Arcite.* Probably this does not give the exact wording of Chaucer's title — if after all he gave the poem any — but it is no doubt sufficiently close to it to be accepted in modern editions. [1])

The Brooch of Thebes and *The Complaint of Venus.* Shirley writes these pieces as different poems in Trin. R. 3. 20, attributing both of them to Chaucer, but giving the latter a special heading and distinguishing them by different running titles, respectively *þallyance bytwene Mars and Venus* (p. 132—9) and *Balade made by Chaucer At þe reverence of a lady þat loved a knyght* (p. 140—1). *Venus* he also copies separately as Chaucer's in Ashm. 59, while in Harl. 7333 lines 1—178 of the first poem occur with the title: *The broche of thebes as of the love of mars and venus.* The Tyrwhitt group has the same heading in Pepys I, where both poems are written as one with the Complaints of Mars and Venus specially noted;[2]) the transcriptions in the Hammond group are similarly marked. [3]) Moreover Lydgate says

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1) In these each of the long lines 272—80 & 333—41 ought to be printed as three (cf. certain of Machaut's *lais,* see Madeleine Fabin in *Notes* 34. 270 f.). Note that a line in *Troilus* has the same peculiar construction (III. 1127):

What Troilus! wol ye do thus? For shame!

The first redaction is different (cf. the note in the *Globe Ch.* p. 498).

Wol Troilus do thus? Allas, for shame!

Bilderbeck's and Tupper's theories about the origin of *Anelida (Queries* 1896 I. 301 f. & *Publ.* 36. 186 ff.) are rather dubious (cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 55. 213 ff. & 56. 28 ff.).

2) Pp. 115—24. There is a fragmentary copy of the poem in Pepys II (pp. 378—82), without any titles. — Jul. Notary's print (ab. 1502) heads the poems *The Loue and Complayntes Bytwene Mars & Venus,* but marks 245—71 separately *Of the broche of Thebes,* and has this colophon: *Explicit the compleyces of Mars and of the broche of Thebis* (cf. Ames *Typographical Antiquities* ed. Dibdin (1810) II. 585).

3) Fairf. I, f. 15: *Complaynt of Mars and Venus.* No title in Tanner; Longleat has only the first poem, and Cambr. Ff. 1. 6 only the second. There was once a copy in Ad. 12524, whose text of the *Legend* concludes with the following colophon: *heyr endyth the*

that Chaucer *made a complaynt — of the broche which that Vulcanus* [1])

At Thebes wrought full diuers of nature,
Ouide writeth, who therof had a sight
For high desyre he should not endure
but he it had neuer by glade nor light
And if he had it ones in his myght
like as my maister saith, & writeth in dede,
It to conserue, he should aye liue in drede.

It is clear that Lydgate refers to the first poem dealt with here, for in his last lines he practically quotes the conclusion of a stanza from it (245—53):

The broche of Thebes was of such a kynde,
So ful of rubies, and of stones Inde, [2])
That every wyght that sette on hit an ye,
He wende anon to worthe out of his mynde,
So sore the beaute wold his herte bynde,
Til he hit hadde him thoghte he moste dye;
And whan that hit was his, then sholde he drye
Such wo for drede, ay while that he hit hadde,
That welnygh for the fere he sholde madde.

Now Lydgate probably knew this poem as well as *Anelida* from a Shirleian volume, and as none of the other MSS. mark either of the poems as Chaucer's, we must accept them as his on Shirley's authority alone; [3]) note, moreover, that he is the only scribe who

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legend of ladyis and bygynneth the compleynte of mars and venus — but the rest of the MS. is lost.

[1]) Bale took *broche* to mean *broach* and translated the title *De Vulcani veru!* — besides *Querelam Martis et Veneris* (see Hammond p. 61 f., cf. Skeat I. 64).

[2]) Cf. Statius, *Thebais* II. 276 f.: *ibi arcano florentis igne zmaragdos Cingit et infaustas percussum adamanta figuras.*

[3]) Langhans' assumption *(Untersuchungen zu Chaucer* p. 49[1]) that Shirley borrowed his title *The Broche of Thebes* from Lydgate is entirely without proof. — Note also that the late and corrupt

keeps up the distinction between the two poems in his copies, and that his title for the first, *The Broche of Thebes,* appears to be authentic. [1])

The last point is not without interest, since Chaucer would seem to have had a special reason for introducing the description of *the broche of Thebes* with its fatal power of ruining the possessor through passionate love. [2]) The traditional account of this motive has been preserved by Shirley in his notes in Trin. R. 3. 20 (pp. 130, 139, 142):

Loo yee louers gladeþe and comforteþe you . of þallyaunce etrayted bytwene þe hardy and furyous Mars . þe god of armes and Venus þe double goddesse of loue made by Geffrey Chaucier . at þe comandement of þe renommed and excellent prynce my lord þe duc John of Lancastre.

Þus eondeþe here þis complaint whiche some men sayne was made . by my lady of york doughter to þe kyng of Spaygne and my lord of huntyngdon . some tyme duc of Excestre and filowyng begynneþe . a balade translated out of frenshe . in to englisshe by Chaucier Geffrey þe frenshe made sir Otes de Grauntsomme . knight. Savosyen.

Scotch MS. Seld. B. 24 concludes its copies of the poems with the colophon *Qd. Galfridus Chaucere* (f. 137 b).

1) From a textual point of view his copies of both poems are comparatively close to the Tyrwhitt group (Pepys I—II and perhaps Notary's print), which is the best basis for the text. The Hammond MSS. are strongly independent as usual; see e. g. *Thebes* 1. 68, where Fairf. I, Tanner, and Longleat stand alone in reading *sorwe* for *woo;* cf. Koch in *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 99 f. and 106 f. Heath's notion *(Gl. Ch.* p. xxxvi) that the Hammond MSS. represent another original draft of the poet's is surely mistaken.

2) Taken from Statius *(Thebais* II. 269 ff., cf. above), who says that Vulcanus wrought the necklace for Harmonia, daughter of *Venus* and *Mars,* to revenge himself upon the latter (cf. Miss Gertrud Herzog Hauser on *Harmonias Halsband* in *Wiener Studien* 43. 7 ff.). Skeat has an improbable theory (I. 66) that Chaucer's reason for introducing the brooch — by the way a happier translation of Statius' *monile* than Skeat's *bracelet* (I. 504) — was the fact that the Duchess possessed a curious tablet of jasper presented to her by the King of *Armonie!*

Hit is sayde pat Graunsome made þis last balade for venus resembled to my lady of york . aunswering þe complaynt of Mars.

Compare with the last colophon the heading of the *Venus* copy in Ashm. 59, f. 43 b:

Here begynneþe a balade made by þat worþy knight of Savoye in frenshe calde sir Otes Graunsoun . translated by . Chauciers. [1])

The information Shirley gives here concerning the Granson mentioned by Chaucer in the Envoy was splendidly corroborated in 1890, when the works of the Savoyard poet Oton de Granson were found to include the originals of the three *balades* which constitute Chaucer's second poem.[2]) Nevertheless the discovery was actually used as proof of Shirley's untrustworthiness, since he was taken to have stated in the Trinity colophon that Granson wrote the *balades* originally for the Duchess of York, which would have been manifestly impossible, seeing that he put them in the mouth of a man. [3]) This is, however, rather unfair to Shirley considering the way in which his Ashmolean heading supplements the Trinity colophon; moreover, the very fact that Chaucer when translating the balades altered them so as to suit a woman surely lends some colour to Shirley's assertion that they were, if not made, at least translated for the Duchess of York, who had also been one of the main figures in the first poem.

As to this Shirley states that the persons of the drama, ostensibly mythological figures in a curious astronomical setting, are

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[1]) Note also the running title on f. 44: *By sir Otes Graunsoun and Chaucer.*

[2]) See E. Piaget in *Romania* 19. 237 ff. and 402 ff., cf. J. Orsier, *Un Ambassadeur de Savoie — Otton de Granson* (1909). The poems arcribed to him are found in an early XV cent. MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 2201, and were printed in G. L. Schirer's diss. on Granson (Strasbourg 1904); only five out of 37, nos. II, XIX, XX, XXXI, XXXVI, are, however, marked with his name in the MS. The originals of Chaucer's poems (nos. VI, IX, X) form part of a group of five *balades* (nos. VI—X; cf. the App. to Paget Toynbee's *Specimens of Old French* p. 377 ff.).

[3]) See *Romania* 19. 418 f., cf. Skeat I. 87, Lounsbury III. 450, and Paget Toynbee in *Acad.* 1891. I. 442.

THE CHIEF PERSONS OF CHAUCER'S BROOCH OF THEBES

MS. Bodl. Fairf. 16, f. 14 b; $9^1/_4 \times 6^1/_2$ in.

PLATE III.

really portraits of two leaders of contemporary society. Now it must be admitted that we have no definite evidence of a love-intrigue between the two persons indicated by Shirley: Isabella, Duchess of York, and John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, though both of them had a rather unsavoury reputation. [1]) But numerous features of Chaucer's story can be explained only by interpreting it as a *roman à clef* — indeed Chaucer makes Mars hint at this himself (1. 173):

This is no feyned mater that I telle.

Though this expression must not of course be pressed too far, several other traits in the description of Mars point to Sir John Holland, as when Venus says of her lover (line 11 f. of her separate *complaint):*

For grace hath wold so ferforth him avaunce
That of knighthode he is parfit richesse.

This is no doubt a rather conventional phrase, but at any rate it does not occur in the French source, which may be significant, the more so as Sir John was certainly renowned for his skill in all feats of arms; [2]) too great stress must not be laid on this, however. A more remarkable phrase occurs in 1. 36 f.:

For she forbad him Ielosye at alle,
And cruelte, and bost, and tirannye.

The expressions here may be conventional, but they are noteworthy, because Sir John also had a rather unenviable reputation for ingenious cruelty. [3]) Moreover this is expressly hinted at in 1. 64 ff.:

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[1]) As to Isabella, the monkish chronicler Walsingham says in his *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series 1863, II. 215) that she was *mulier mollis et delicata, sed in fine, ut fertur, satis poenitens et conversa.*

[2]) See Froissart *(Chroniques* III, ch. 59, & IV, ch. 12; ed. Buchon (1835) II. 566 ff. & III. 41 f.) about the brilliant way in which he acquitted himself during John of Gaunt's campaign in Castile 1386, and at the famous tournament of Saint-Inghelberth near Calais in May 1390.

[3]) See about his bestial treatment of a Carmelite monk — who accused John of Gaunt of treason — Walsingham *l. c.* II. 113 f. and Malverne (Higden's *Polychronicon* IX. 33 ff.). The contemporary miniatures of him in Créton's *Chronicle (Archæologia,* vol. 20, pl.

She hath so gret compassion of hir knight
That dwelleth in solitude till she come;
For hit stod so, that ilke tyme, no wight
Counseyled him, ne seyde to him welcome.

Now it would of course have been absurd to invent such an incident as happening to Mars, the famous god of war. Chaucer no doubt took this from real life, and it is remarkable to find that Sir John Holland seems once to have been in a position much like that of Chaucer's Mars. In July 1385 one of his squires — *celui au monde qu'il aimait mieux* — was killed by some attendants of the Earl of Stafford; the same night in a towering rage Sir John came across the Earl's son and slew him. Says Froissart: "A la bonne heure, dit messir Jean, j'ai plus cher que je l'aie mort que moindre de lui: *or ai-je tant mieux vengé mon écuyer*". [1]) Nevertheless he knew very well he had gone too far this time and immediately sought sanctuary; the dead knight had been a favourite of the Queen, and when the Earl complained to the King, Richard swore that notwithstanding their relationship he would treat Holland *ut publicus homicida.* [2]) His goods were confiscated, he was deprived of his offices, and held in common detestation. [3]) However, the storm soon blew over; in January 1386 Holland appeared utterly penitent before the king and was reconciled with the Earl of Stafford, on the 8th of February he was formally pardoned and quickly regained possession of his forfeited goods and lands. [4])

It appears, then, pretty certain that with his peculiar expressions quoted above Chaucer was hinting at some such case as Holland's awkward position during the latter half of the year 1385, when he was a fugitive for justice; this strongly supports Shirley's information, and there is now really no reason to

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IX & X) show a face both brutal and cunning (on pl. XI *ib.* there is a portrait of Isabella's husband Edmund, Duke of York).

[1]) II. ch. 235 (ed. Buchon II. 331 f.), cf. Walsingham II. 129.

[2]) Malverne IX. 61 f., cf. 72.

[3]) *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* Rich. II. iii. 24, 25, 51 (Sept.—Nov. 1385); cf. Webb's translation of Créton's *Chronicle, Archæologia,* vol. 20. p. 78 ff.

[4]) Malverne IX. 79 f.; *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* Rich. II. ii. 99, 114, 122, 130.

doubt his statement that during this period Holland was carrying on a disreputable love affair with Isabella, Duchess of York.[1]) Moreover, contemporary writers affirm that about this time he seduced John of Gaunt's daughter Elizabeth, so that the Duke had surely no reason to love Sir John, even though to save appearances he had to give him his daughter in marriage in the summer of 1386; immediately afterwards Holland left England as the Duke's constable during his Castilian campaign.[2]) Probably before this date (but still some time after the events of 1385 to which he refers as past) Chaucer would seem — *at þe comandement of my lord þe duc Johan of Lancastre,* as Shirley says — to have composed this poem in which, under a carefully drawn astro-mythological veil, he slyly jeered at the man who had deprived his patron's daughter of her honour.[3]) Later, the poet appears to

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[1]) Both she and her husband Edmund de Langley, the third person of the drama, were certainly staying in England at that time *(Cal. Pat. Rolls,* Richard II. iii. 38. 59. 62); he was created Duke of York on Aug. 6, 1385 *(Biogr.* 32. 110), so that Shirley's mentioning Isabella as *my lady of York* completely agrees with the actual conditions (of course she was *doughter to þe kyng of Spaygne,* see Armitage-Smith *John of Gaunt* p. 92 f.). As to Holland (who did not become Earl of Huntingdon till June 1388, see Malverne IX. 147 ff.) even the expression *som tyme Duc of Excestr*e is scrupulously correct; he got this honour after Richard's successful *coup d'état* in 1397, but lost it in Oct. 1399 *(Biogr.* 27. 148).

[2]) Malverne IX. 96 f., and the continuator of Knighton's Chronicle (a great admirer of John of Gaunt, cf. Lumly's introd. II. xcix) II. 207; cf. Armitage-Smith's biography pp. 310 & 459. It is doubtful whether Chaucer would refer to this scandal in his Physician's Tale C 72 ff., as Tatlock thinks p. 152 ff., cf. Kittredge *Phil.* 1. 5, (A. Brandl thought the affair alluded to in the Squire's Tale, but this has been decisively disproved by Kittredge *(Engl. Stud.* 12. 161 ff. & 13. 1 ff.)).

[3]) The actual date is perhaps February 1386, as we clearly have to do with a Valentine poem (see 1. 13 f., cf. Manly in *Festschrift für Morsbach* 1913, p. 286 ff.). The significance of the astronomical machinery was first pointed out by A. E. Brae *(Queries* 1851. I. 235 & 258) and was interpreted by H. Turein as bearing on the year 1379 (see Koch in *Anglia* 9. 582 ff., cf. his *Chronology* p. 31 f. and Skeat I. 66), but according to Manly *(Studies* 5. 107 ff.) the details rather

have veered round and — perhaps writing in the service of the Duchess — to have added the three concluding balades from the lovers' point of view.[1]) It is true that several scholars refuse to consider the poems, especially the first, as more than a mere *jeu d'esprit*,[2]) but the tradition preserved by Shirley seems to me so decisively confirmed by the evidence adduced here, that I do not see how it can be reasonably challenged any more.[3]) The whole episode certainly throws a curious light on the relations between the poet and his patrons, and this is perhaps the most important result for the Chaucer student.

The Complaint of Pity, and three separate *Complaints* (drafts). In the fragment of one of his MSS. preserved in Harl. 78 ff. 80 —3, Shirley transcribes a poem with the running title *Balade of pite By Chaucier*, while there is another copy with a similar text and heading in Ad. 34360 (formerly Phill. 9053), evidently

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point to 1385, which may to some extent support the evidence given above.

1) See espec. Manly *l. c.* p. 124 f., cf. Wells p. 635 f. and see Langhans *Untersuchungen zu Ch.*, p. 237 ff.

2) They cannot have been translated later than 1392, since the Duchess died on Dec. 23 this year (cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls* Rich. II. v. 245, Malverne IX. 278 f., and Armitage-Smith *l. c.* p. 357), and not in 1394, as Skeat says (I. 86 f.), and all others after him (cf. e. g. Koch *Chronology* p. 71 f.). Perhaps the translations were done not long before that time, since Chaucer complains of his old age in his envoy; he *may* have got the French originals from Granson ab. June 7, 1392, when Richard II granted the latter an annuity of 100 marks *(Cal. Pat. Rolls* Rich. II. v. 63).

3) See also the curious representation of the persons of the drama in medieval dress on the frontispiece of Fairfax 16 (f. 14 b, ab. 1450; reprod. on pl. III), and note that Gower, who almost certainly knew Chaucer's poem, makes the subject point a modern moral. He tells the story after Ovid (like Chaucer) and then goes on *(Confessio Amantis* V. 698 ff.):

Wherof these erthli housebondes
For evere myhte ensample take,
If such a chaunce hem overtake;
For Vulcanus his wif bewreide
The blame upon himself he leide,
Wherof his schame was the more;
Which oghte forto ben a lore
For every man that liveth hiere
To reulen him in this matiere.

derived from a Shirley MS.[1]) The last 14 stanzas of Shirley's text do not occur elsewhere,[2]) while the first 17 are copied in several other MSS. as a separate poem, without any note about the authorship, however.[3]) Shirley also distinguishes between the two poems, but ascribes both to Chaucer, and if we accept this attribution in the case of the first poem, as is commonly done,[4]) we shall certainly also have to do so in the case of the second.[5])

In both cases Shirley's ascriptions are, moreover, supported by internal evidence. The poems are strongly influenced by Italian poetry, and the only contemporary English writings where we meet with Italian influence are Chaucer's own.[6]) One section of the second poem — lines 15—40 in the *Globe Ch.* — employs

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1) Ad. 34340 has one stanza more (31) than Harl. 78 (30) and concludes with the colophon (f. 53): *Explicit Pyte — dan chaucer laurere* (probably an error for *laureat,* not *Lauceire (More Odd Texts* p. 50) or *Lautour* (Skeat in *Acad.* 1889. II. 24, cf. Koch *Chronology* p. 21 & Hammond p. 411)).

2) Except in the *editio princeps* by Stowe 1561, which seems to have been printed from a lost Shirley (cf. the prec. sect.).

3) See about the MSS. Hammond p. 390. When describing Harl. 7578 on p. 330 she has unfortunately omitted to note the copy of *The Complaint of Pity* in this MS., f. 13 b—14 b, following the *Summum Sapientiae* (not Lydgate's, cf. MacCracken p. xliv[1]).

4) Cf. Hammond p. 390 and Wells p. 638.

5) The authenticity of this poem was doubted by ten Brink (II. 219 f.) and it was rejected by Furnivall *(Trial Forewords* p. 95 f.), who, however, later accepted it *(More Odd Texts* p. 5), like Skeat, Koch *(Chronology* p. 20 f.), and Pollard *(Ch. Primer* p. 39). The acceptance is now pretty general (cf. Wells p. 637), though still opposed by Hammond (p. 411), who urges *(Anglia* 28. 25 f. & 32 f.) that the "continuation" of *Pity* may as well be spurious as the "continuation" of *Purse* in Ad. 34360 & Harl. 2251. There is, however, the obvious difference that Shirley in his running title (in Harl. 78) and colophon (in Ad. 34360) expressly ascribes *both* the *Pity* poems to Chaucer, while the copies of *Purse* and its "continuation" do not show any trace of Shirleian influence (cf. the prec. sect).

6) Schofield's theory about the influence of Boccaccio's Latin *Ecloga XIV* on the *Pearl (Publ.* 19. 203 ff.) appears to me exceedingly doubtful (cf. Coulton in *Rev.* 2. 42).

terza rima, the metre of Dante and Petrarch,[1]) and the *Complaint of Pity* appears to me strongly coloured by *il dolce stile nuovo* as exemplified by the same two authors. This is also proved by the occurrence of verbal echoes. The origin of the conceit of Pity being dead and buried in the heart of the beloved has been sought in medieval French poetry, but Chaucer's rich poetical imagery is very different from the rigid allegorical figures of Machaut and Deschamps.[2]) On the other hand we find in Dante's *Vita Nuova* exactly the same spiritual and artistic atmosphere,[3]) and in Petrarca's *Canzoniere* there is a close verbal parallel to Chaucers expression in l. 14:

I fond hir deed and *buried in an herte.*[4])

Compare Petrarch's Sonnet CXX:[5])

Ite, caldi sospiri, *al freddo core;*
Rompete il ghiaccio *che pietà contende;*
E se prego mortale al ciel s'intende,
Morte o mercè sia fine al mio dolore.

The chronological importance of this is that the *Complaint of Pity* must be moved down from the early date, commonly given to it at present, and dated at least after the first Italian journey, and not improbably still later.[6])

The text is in a very unsatisfactory state, as it has been handed down to us by Shirleian authorities (Harl. 78*, Ad. 3460, Harl. 7578) and by the rather unreliable Hammond group, represented by Fairfax*, Bodley*, Tanner*, Cambr. Ff*, Longleat, & Cambr. Trin. R. 3. 19*. From the six starred MSS. ten Brink constructed a critical text, recognizing Fairfax as the best MS.,

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1) See Lounsbury III. 310 f., cf. Paget Toynbee *Dante in Engl. Lit.* I. xv f.

2) Cf. the parallels given by Flügel in *Anglia* 23. 195 ff.

3) Note especially § 8, l. 4 ff., 18 ff., 38 ff., 50 ff.

4) Skeat does not at all understand the poetical charm of this (see his note I. 458. George Darley used a similar image in his poem *To my dead mistress,* also provided with a motto from Petrarch.

5) In Mestica's crit. ed. of Petrarca's *Rime* (Firenze 1896); no. CLIII in Scherillo's 2. ed. from Petrarca's autograph MS. (1908).

6) See Hammond p. 391, but cf. Koch *Chronology* p. 7 and Pollard *Ch. Primer* p. 56.

but making extensive use of Shirley's Harl. 78 and emending the lines through frequent conjectures;[1]) Skeat and Heath follow ten Brink in the main.[2]) Most of Shirley's independent readings are, however, undoubtedly due to carelessness, especially the numerous insertions in his texts (e. g. *the* in 1. 4, *for* in 1. 5 &c). Many of these have nevertheless been used by the editors to bolster up Chaucer's lines, as in 19 *(to)*, 34 *(mannes* — Harl. 7578: *any)*, 35 *(that)*, 44 *(For)*, 52 (*alle* — not in Harl. 7578), 86 (*than* — not in 7578), 94 *(your)*, 109 (*al* — not in 7578).[3]) These additions ought probably no more to be accepted into the text than the similar insertions made in the Hammond group (e. g. *I* in 1.18, *now* in 1. 25, *ther* in 1. 49, *that* in 1. 64).[4]) In some cases the editors quite rightly follow the Hammond group against the Shirley text, e. g. in lines 1—3, 24, 31, 42, and especially in 1. 117:

Sith ye be deed — allas! that hit is so!

where all the three Shirleian MSS. mistakenly reproduce the opening line (plus the originally omitted rhymeword):

Now pitee þat I haue sought so yoore agoo.

But in several other cases the Shirley readings, though accepted by the editors, are of doubtful value as compared to those of the

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1) *Essays on Chaucer* (Ch. Soc. 1874) p. 165 ff; see further Koch in *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 96 f.

2) Cf. *Globe Ch.* p. xxxv; Heath's remark *ib.* p. xxxvi as to Shirley's texts (of which he did not know that in Phill. 9053 (now Ad. 34360) pr. *More Odd. T.* p. 11 ff) being perhaps derived from an earlier draft of Chaucer's is entirely without foundation, cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 5 ff.

3) In 1. 15 Harl. 7578 alone adds *that,* and in 19 & 101 it alone reads *gan to* and *set* (for *setteth),* all readings conjectured by ten Brink (cf. 1. c. p. 177 & *Globe Ch.* p. xxxvi), but of which at any rate the first is very dubious.

4) These are omitted by the editors who, however, admit *so* in 1. 32 on Shirley's authority, supported by the two worst Hammond representatives, Longleat and Trinity (Heath and Skeat (not in his ed. of the *Minor Poems* in 1888) insert *a* in 1. 16 on the strength of these MSS. only). The conjectured additions in 41 *(and)*, 61 *(y-)*, 67 *(ne)* are of course absolutely unwarranted, though *ne* in 1. 105 may be necessary (cf. ten Brink 1. c. p. 177).

Hammond group, for instance in 77 *(is*—Sh.: *nis),* 88 (Ha: *is falle*—Sh: *should be),* 95 (Ha: *euer*—Sh: *ay),* and especially in 69 f., where Fairfax and the other Hammond representatives have:

> And hath depryved yow of your place
> *That is hygh beaute apertenent to your grace*

while the editors follow Shirley in reading:

> And hath depryved yow *now* of your place
> *That hight "Beautee, apertenant to Grace."*

The latter line appears to me singularly weak and lamely expressed, in spite of ten Brink's praise. [1])

As to the title it must be noted that Fairfax heads the first poem *Balade,* corresponding to Shirley's inscribing both parts *Ballad of Pity,* but this heading is due rather to an early editor than to Chaucer himself. Seeing, then, that no really authoritative title has been handed down to us, the best name for the first poem is probably Shirley's *A Complaint of Pitee* (in the introductory notices in Harl. 78 & Ad. 34360), and not *The Compleynte vnto Pyte* (from Bodley), preferred by Skeat, Heath, and the Chaucer Society. [2])

The last 14 stanzas of Shirley's text in Harl. 78 (and in Ad. 34360) fall into three parts, of which the first consists of two 7-line stanzas, while the second is an interesting experiment in

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[1]) L. c. p. 176; note Skeat's difficulty in understanding the expression (I. 460). — In 3 *(was* for *nas),* 23 *(that* for *the),* 48 *(that* for *tho),* 80 *(your* for *now)* Skeat rightly follows the Hammond authorities, while ten Brink (and generally Heath) accept Shirley's readings. The latter would seem to have been correctly accepted by all editors in 34, 50, 53, 89, (in 1. 21 the eclectic reading in the *Globe Ch. nas—was, may* be correct). — The best solution of the difficulty in 1. 92, where the Hammond group has *thou Herenus quene* (Shirley reads *vertuouse,* acc. by ten Brink; Liddell emends *serenous, Globe Ch.* p. 327[n]), is perhaps not Skeat's *Herines* (I. 62 & 460, cf. *Acad.* 1888. I. 9), but Flügel's *Herebus* (= Erebus, *Anglia* 23. 207) in spite of the false quantity.

[2]) The poem is clearly *not* a Complaint *to* Pity — I do not understand Furnivall's statement about 5 MSS. having this title *(Trial Forewords* p. 29) — but a poem *concerning* Pity; cf. the colophon in Longl. & Trin.: *the Exclamacion of the Deth of Pyte.*

terza rima. Chaucer first wrote three triplets (the opening line is wanting, but since the sense is incomplete, this may be due to the copyist), and then five more, introduced and concluded by two single lines, so that the poet appears to have made two different attempts at this difficult metre, after which he seems to have given it up for good.[1]) The last poem consists of nine stanzas of 10 lines each, several of them apparently unfinished.[2]) From all this it is pretty clear that the various parts really form three separate drafts, no doubt written in connection with *The Complaint of Pity* and put aside among the poet's MSS. together with that poem;[3]) after his death the *Complaint* was separately transcribed and ultimately preserved by the Hammond group only, while another copy was made of the finished poems plus the drafts later transcribed by Shirley. The title given to the three drafts by Skeat, *A Compleint to his Lady,* is a misnomer; they ought simply to be headed *Complaints* and numbered I—III.

Envoy to King Richard (Stedfastnesse). This poem has been preserved in twelve MSS., chiefly belonging to the Bradshaw and Shirley groups.[4]) It is attributed to Chaucer by Shirley only,

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1) See Saintsbury *Hist of Engl. Prosody* I. 153. Shirley writes this part in three stanzas of 8, 8, & 9 lines; Skeat and Heath print them (unnecessarily) in two sections, and Skeat tries to supply various words and lines he thinks wanting (I. 360 f.). — Note that in the *Envoy* to the Clerkes Tale Chaucer used sexains, which are like double triplets and not like the usual French *sexain* (cf. H. Chatelain *Recherches sur le vers français au XV^e siècle* (1908) p. 108 ff.).

2) Two lines are wanting in the second stanza, and a rhymeword is wrong or wanting in st. 4, 6, & 8; this is surely evidence of an unfinished work, though some of the defects may be due to the copyists.

3) Cf. Koch *Chronology* p. 22 ff.; when, however, Koch *ib.* connects the *Amorous Complaint* with these poems he is surely mistaken. — Skeat's notion that the three fragments (as he recognizes them to be I. 527) form the original draft of *Anelida* (I. 78) is impossible, since the complaints are evidently uttered by a man.

4) For nine of these see Hammond, p. 394, and add the copy in Lambeth 344 (printed by MacCracken in *Notes* 23. 213 f.); the late Scotch text in the Maitland Folio MS. in Pepys' Library at Magdalen Coll. Cambr. (cf. *ib.)* I have not seen. According to Carleton

whose most circumstantial heading is that in Harl. 7333, f. 147 b: *This balade made Geffrey Chaunciers the Laureall poete of albion and sent it to his souerain lorde kynge Richarde the secounde þane being in his castell of windesore.* This statement is credited by all students, and of course it fits the poem very well; it seems then purely arbitrary, when Shirley's account of Chaucer's *Bon Conseil* as supported by Gascoigne is rejected, while this is accepted.

Shirley has another heading to the poem, also noteworthy, in Trin. R. 3. 20, p. 356: *Balade Royal made by oure laureal poete of Albyon in hees laste yeeres.*[1]) This might point to a date ab. 1397 when the political situation would certainly have been suitable for the spirit of the poem — though it was probably intended as a Machiavellian compliment to Richard on his bold bid for supremacy rather than as a somewhat commonplace reflection on his failure to do justice, a reflection which Chaucer would hardly have dared to address to the King.[2]) At any rate Shirley's statement entitles us to count Richard among Chaucer's patrons, while it also justifies the attempt to explain other poems as occasioned by his patronage of the poet.[3]) Accordingly the title here given to the piece and taken from Shirley's Trinity heading of the last stanza *Lenvoye to Kyng Richard*, describes the purport

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Brown's *Register of ME. Religious Verse* no. 2059, the two last stanzas occur in Dublin Trin. Coll. MS. 432, f. 59 a (cf. vol. I p. 516), while the two copies of Lydgate's *Prayer for King, Queen and People (Lydgate Canon* no. 97) in Trin. R. 3. 21 both conclude with the envoy of Chaucer's poem (ff. 245 b and 319 a; printed by MacCracken as above).

1) Cf. also the old heading in Hatton 73 f. 147 b: *Geffrey Chauncier sende these Balades to Kyng Richard* (see MacCracken in *Notes* 23. 212).

2) Cf. Furnivall *Par. Texts* p. 433 and *Trial-Forewords* pp. 8 & 108 f.; Skeat I. 84; Wells p. 640; cf. App. C. This date is now also preferred by Koch *(Chronology* p. 76 and *Anglia* 46. 49 ff.), though in 1881 he chose to date it in 1389 *(Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 109; cf. Pollard *Ch. Primer* p. 129, and Root *The Poetry of Chaucer* p. 75).

3) Denied by J. R. Hulbert *(Chaucer's Official Life* (1912) p. 63 f.), who, however, does not discuss this poem and its implications (cf. Moore in *Notes* 28. 192).

of the poem much better than Furnivall's *Lack of Stedfastnesse,* now generally abbreviated into the meaningless *Stedfastnesse.*[1])

By far the most satisfactory text is offered by the Bradshaw group, of which the Cotton MS. Cleop. D. VII is probably the best representative;[2]) the variants of this group must be preferred in those cases where it is opposed by the Shirley tradition.[3]) Accordingly in lines 2 & 22 respectively *holde* and *for* must be omitted, while in 1. 4 we must read *dede* (not *werke),* in 1. 5 *lyke* (not *oon*), in 1. 6 *for* (not *by* or *thorowe*), in 1. 8 *maketh* (not *made*), and in 1. 28 *wedde thy folke* and not *drive thi peple.* All these readings are also accepted by Skeat who, however, in some other cases prefers the Shirley variants to the Bradshaw version or emends this; in my opinion we had better follow the Bradshaw authorities throughout and read *the* instead of *this*[4]) in 1. 1, *Is* in 1. 5 instead of Shirley's *Beon* (accepted by Skeat),[5]) *For among us nowe*[6]) in 1. 10 instead of Shirley's *For nowe adayes,* and *conclusion* in 1. 10 instead of *collucione.*[7]) Furnivall accepts Shirley's readings in most cases,[8]) and so does Heath in the

1) Cf. W. S. Singer's title in his ed. of Chaucer 1822: *Balade sent to K. Richard.* See also Hammond p. 394.

2) The copy in Ad. 22139 lacks the envoy. The group is joined by Fairf. II. & Harl. 7578 as far as the text of this poem is concerned.

3) Represented by Trin. R. 3. 20 & Harl. 7333 and joined by Hatton 73, copied in Lambeth 344 (cf. MacCracken in *Notes* 23. 212 ff.). — A third group, of still less value, is formed by the late XV cent. text on an old flyleaf of Trin. R. 14. 51, by the still later Bannatyne MS. (1568, with a spurious stanza before the envoy), and by Thynne's print in 1532 (cf. Koch in *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 109, and Heath in the *Globe Ch.* p. xlix; in his ed. 1883 Koch greatly overrates the Bannatyne copy).

4) Thus Shirley, Bannatyne, & Ad. 22139; acc. by Skeat.

5) Bannatyne and Ad. 22139 have *Ar,* but the use of the singular here is in conformity with Chaucer's usage elsewhere, as in *C. T.* A 3230 *For youthe and elde is often at debaat* (cf. Jespersen's *Mod. Engl. Grammar* II. 6. 523).

6) Trin. R. 14. 51 & Thynne omit *nowe;* Bannatyne omits *For,* and this is accepted by Skeat.

7) Thus Shirley, joined by Trin., Thynne, & Bannatyne; acc. by Skeat.

8) *Par. T.* p. 433.

Globe Chaucer (except in 2, 4, 8); the character of the variants does not at all bear out his theory that the Bradshaw and Shirley authorities represent two different drafts of the original. [1])

Envoy to Adam. The single stanza in question does not occur outside Shirley's Trin. R. 3. 20 p. 367, where it is headed: *Chauciers wordes . a Geffrey vn to Adame his owen Scryveyne.* [2]) The universal belief in its authenticity is accordingly based on Shirley's evidence alone, entirely unsupported as it is. [3])

Envoy to a Lady (Womanly Noblesse). Like the preceding piece this poem occurs in one MS. only, the late Ad. 34360 f. 21 b, apparently in that part of it which was copied from Shirley, since it is followed by a stanza headed *The question of halsam* and elsewhere ascribed to *Halsham Esquyer* by Shirley only. [4]) The heading of the present poem (cf. below) also looks like Shirley and there is at any rate one trace of his peculiar spelling: *trie[w]* in 1. 8. On the whole there cannot be much doubt that the copy is derived from a Shirleian volume, [5]) and we shall then have to accept it as Chaucer's on Shirley's authority as well as the six preceding poems. [6]) The title of *Womanly Noblesse,* due to

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1) *Globe Ch.* p. xxxii; cf. Koch in *Archiv* 102. 412. H. H. Holt has tried to give a critical text of the poem in *Journ.* 6. 419 ff., but his stemma (p. 427, cf. p. 423 f.) exhibits the absurdity of deriving the Cotton MS. (ab. 1425) from Fairfax (ab. 1450), while his text (p. 428 ff.) is chiefly Shirleian, and is also marred by the rhymes in *-on,* necessitating such an un-Chaucerian form as *don* (for *doun).*

2) In this title Chaucer's Christian name was probably added as an afterthought; cf. the running title in Shirley's Ad. 16165 f. 11—12 &c: *Boicius in prose by Chaunciers .a. Geffrey.*

3) Koch (ed. 1883, p. 12) and Skeat omit *long* and *more* in lines 3 & 4; this is not done by Heath *(Gl. Ch.* p. 558, cf. p. xliii) and is hardly necessary. — About Adam see ch. II. 1.

4) See Ad. 16165 f. 244, Harl. 7333 f. 148, and MacCracken in *Notes* 25. 126; cf. under *Proverbs* below.

5) Cf. Skeat pp. 64 & 147, but see Hammond p. 463 and *Anglia* 28. 4 & 26; cp. Wells p. 647.

6) The authenticity is supported to some slight extent by the metrical artificiality of the poem; there are only two different rhymes, and in a way common in Old French lyrical poetry the concluding lines

Skeat who first discovered and printed the poem in 1894,[1]) seems to me too abstract to be quite relevant; I would prefer *Envoy to a Lady.*[2])

The text is very unsatisfactory and lacks a whole line in the second stanza; the construction appears to show that it must have been omitted by a scribe and cannot have been wanting in Chaucer's draft. Since all prints of the poem embody certain corrections by Skeat I shall give an exact reprint of the unique copy in Ad. 34360 (formerly Phill. 9053):[3])

[Fol. 21 b] *Balade that Chauncier made*

So hath myn hert . caught in remembraunce
Yowre beaute hoole . and stidefast gou*er*naunce
Yowre vertues al . and yowre hie noblesse
That yow to s*er*ue . is sette al my plesaunce
So wele me liketh youre womanly contenaunce
Youre fressh fetures . and youre comlynesse
That whiles j live . myn hert to his maystresse
Yow hath ful chose . in trie[4]) p*er*seueraunce
Neu*er* to chaunge . for no man*er* distresse
μ And sith j shal do . this obs*er*uaunce
Al my live . withouten displesaunce
Yow for to s*er*ve . with al my besynesse[5])
And haue me somwhat . in your souuennaunce

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repeat the two first as in *Complaints* III (and in Anelida's *Complaint* (p. cf. Skeat IV. xxxi). It is completely arbitrary to reject the poem from metrical and artistic reasons, as Koch does *(Engl. Stud.* 27. 60 & 30. 450). Cf. Kittredge in *The Nation* New York 1895 I. 239 f., and see Root *Poetry of Ch.* p. 79 & Dodd *Courtly Love* p. 99.

1) See *Athen.* 1894. I. 742 & 805, cf. Pollard *ib.* 773 & 837.

2) The poem is no proper balade, since it lacks a refrain (like *Bukton*); but there are several treatments of a similar subject among Machaut's *balades* (nos. cxxxiii & ccxliv, ed. Chichmaref pp. 216 & 127).

3) Not Phill. 9030, as Skeat says IV. xxv. — The sign μ is used by Shirley to indicate a new stanza (see below & cf. Brotanek *Die Englischen Maskenspiele* p. 308).

4) A final *v* has been added later.

5) After this a line is wanting; Furnivall's proposal *Taketh me, lady, in your obeisaunce* (cf. Skeat IV. xxvi) is no doubt near the truth.

My woful hert . suffrith grete duresse
And how humbly . with al symplesse
My wil j conforme . to youre ordynaunce
[Fol. 22 a:] As yow best list . my peynes for to redresse
μ Considryng eke . how j hange in balaunce
In yowre service . suche loo is my chaunce
Abidyng grace . whan that yowre gentilnesse
Of my grete wo . list do allegeaunce
And with youre pite . me som wise avaunce
In ful rebatyng . of myn hevynesse
And thynkith be raison . that wommanly noblesse
Shuld nat desire . for til do the outraunce
Ther as she fyndith . non vnbuxumnesse

Lenuoye

Auctour of norture . lady of plesaunce
Soueraigne of beaute . floure of wommanhede
Take ye non hede . vnto my Ignoraunce
But this receyvith . of yowre goodely hede
Thynkyng that I have caught[1]) in remembraunce
Yowre beaute hole . your stidefast gou*er*naunce

Balade of a Reeve. These three stanzas are neither printed among Chaucer's works nor treated as his by most scribes;[2]) they have been preserved in two MSS. Shirley's Ad. 16165 brings the first stanza headed *Balade* on f. 244 a, and the two last stanzas on f. 244 b with the running title *Balade by Chaucer;* the rest of the page is occupied by another poem in two stanzas, also headed *Balade.*[3]) The poems were discovered by Furnivall who at first took the running title of f. 244 b to be the heading of the first balade, the two last stanzas of which he accordingly

1) First written *caust* which has been struck out.
2) They are dealt with very cursorily by Hammond pp. 68 & 409 and barely mentioned by Wells p. 621.
3) The three last lines of the second stanza are written on f. 245 a (without any running title); space is left for a third stanza, which has not been copied, however. — Fol. 244 b is reproduced here (pl. IV).

printed as Chaucer's;[1]) when he perceived his error he thought it possible that both poems might be Chaucer's. [2]) On the other hand Miss Hammond has maintained that "it is Shirley's usual custom to make his running title fit the poem which begins on the page below"; [3]) consequently she is inclined to think that Shirley refers to the second poem as written by Chaucer. However, an examination of Shirley's MSS. will show exactly the opposite: that, when one poem stops and another begins on the same page, the running title of this generally refers not to the latter but to the former piece. Such conditions repeatedly occur in Ashm. 59; ff. 16 b —17 b are occupied by an extract from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes,* and in accordance with this f. 17 b is headed *þe epistel of Kynge Johas,* though a new poem begins here, entitled *Balade moral of gode counseyle made by Gower.* This is brought to an end on f. 18 a, where a *balade ryal made by Lydegate* begins, but the page is headed *Balade of moralite made by Gower.* Similarly f. 49 a, where Lydgate's *Doublenesse* concludes and his *Holy Meditation* begins, is headed *Lidegate poesye of wymen* in accordance with the contents of the former poem. The most convincing instances are perhaps offered by f. 56 b—57 a; on the first page Lydgate's poem on the Coronation of Henry IV stops, the page being headed *Grace by Lidegate to þe kynge,* while the poem beginning here, the four last stanzas of Lydgate's *Vertues of the Mass,* ends on f. 57 a, headed accordingly *Of verbum caro factum est Lidegate.* [4]) From these conditions it would seem

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1) *Athen.* 1871. I. 210.

2) See his ed. of *Jyl of Breyntfords Testament* (1871) p. 34 ff.: *A Balade or two by Chaucer.*

3) *Notes* 19. 37. Nevertheless she prints both balades *ib.* p. 38 "to give the benefit of doubt".

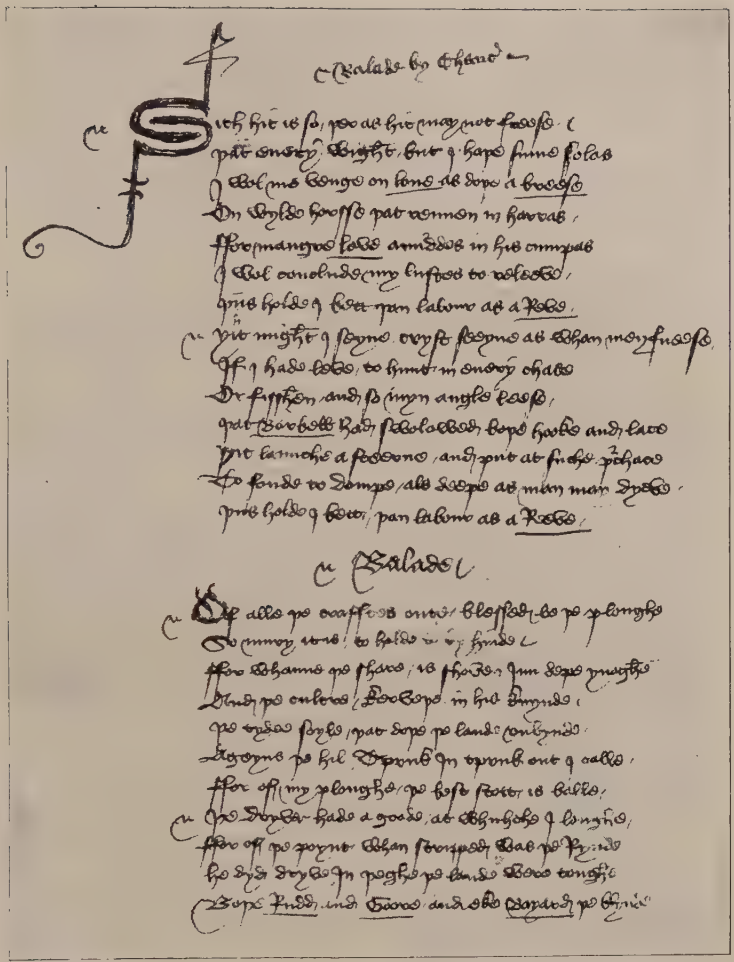
4) *Lydgate Canon* nos. 9 & 70; the last three stanzas of the first poem repeat the same two rhymes and have the same refrain *Grace and gode howre to þy roial estate,* so that they really are a sort of Envoy in *balade*-form. This explains the title of the second poem: *Lenvoye to þe kynge henry þe sixt by Lidegate .a. folowing begynnepe þis balade next folowing of þe lenvoye of þe same to þe Qweene μ And þane shoule yee rede nexst a devoute seyinge of verbum caro factum est.*

clearly to appear that when continuing a poem overleaf, Shirley generally wrote the running title of the new page first and so naturally was inclined to make it fit the unfinished poem, even if this stopped in the middle of the page.[1]) Accordingly there can hardly be any doubt that the heading of f. 244 b in his Ad. 16165 applies to the first balade, and that it is consequently this which he intended to designate as Chaucer's. The same poem occurs in Harl. 7578 f. 15 without any heading; both texts are printed below exactly as they stand in the MSS.:[2])

[Ad. 16165 f. 244 a:]	[Harl. 7578, f. 15 a:]
Balade	
μ Hit is no right alle oþer lustes to leese /	It is no Right alle other lustes to lese
This monethe of *May* / for missyng of on cas	This mery month of may for myssinge of on cas
þerfore I wol þus my chaunce cheese	But ayeyns loue I wol my chaunce chese
Ageyns *love* / *trey* ageyns an as /	To take trey and sette ayens an aas
Hasard a tout / and launche an esy pas	Hassarde a tout a launce an esy paas
In lowe cuntrey / ther as hit may not greve	I lowde contree ther as I may not greue
þus holde I bett / þan labour as a reve /	This holde I bette thenne laboure as a Reue
[F. 244 b: Balade by Chaucer]	
μ Sith hit is so / ther as hit may not freese /	But nowe sene it is soo ther as it may nat frese
That euery wight / but I. haþe sume solas	That euery wight / but I haue some solas

[1]) In composing Ad. 16165 Shirley's habit seems to have been the same. However, in two others of his volumes, Trin. R. 3. 20 & Sion A. 2. 23, the body of the text is written in brown ink, but the running titles in black, suggesting that the latter were added later and written continuously.

[2]) Except that a few contractions have been dissolved; the italics denote original underlinings in the MSS.



PART OF A BALADE BY CHAUCER, IN SHIRLEY'S HANDWRITING

MS. B. M. Ad. 16165, f 244 b; $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in.

PLATE IV.

I wol me venge on *loue* as doþe a *breese*	I wol me breke on loue as doith a brese
On wylde horsse þat rennen in harras /	On wilde horse that rennen in harras
ffor maugre *love* amiddes in his cumpas	ffor maugre alle on a myddes in his compas
I wol conclude / my lustes to releeve /	I conclude my lustes to releue
þus holde I bett þan labour as a *Reve* /	This holde I bette thanne laboure as a Reue
	[F. 15 b:]
μ Yit might I seyne / cryst seeyne as whan men fneese	I might seine Crist seyne as whenne men fnese
If I hade leve / to hunt in euery chace	Leef I had been to hunte in euery caas
Or fisshen / and so myn angle leese /	Or fisshe and so myn angel lese
That *Barbell* had swolowed boþe hooke and lace	That the barbel had swolowed hooke 7 laas
Yit launche a steerne / and put at suche perchace	Thanne might I launche a sterne 7 pulte at swiche purchas
To fonde to dompe / als deepe as man may dyeve /	And ther in dompe as depe as man might dyue
þus holde I bett / þan labour as a Reve /	This holde I bette thanne laboure as a Reue[1])

Since we have accepted the seven preceeding poems as Chaucer's on the sole authority of Shirley, there is scarcely any reason to doubt his testimony here; moreover there is at least some

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1) This is evidently a very corrupt and careless copy of a text like Shirley's. Still it has some value as showing that the correct reading in l. 15 is probably *fneese* and not *sneese* as printed by Hammond and Furnivall (the latter gives the correct reading in the notes to his print in *Jyl of Breyntfords Testament* p. 36, but *ib.* (& in *Athen.* 1871. I. 210) he explains *sneeze* as a reference to the great Pestilence). Another possible correction of the Ad. text occurs in Harl. l. 10 where *wreke* (erroneously written *breke) may* be right instead of *venge* (a less common word in Chaucer).

supplementary evidence in favour of the Chaucerian authorship of the present poem. First the purely negative argument offered by indirect internal evidence: neither the language nor the style prevents the balade from being Chaucer's. It is written in the Standard South Eastern literary language of the second half of the fourteenth century, with a slight touch of the oldfashioned London dialect as shown by the form of the rhymeword *deeve* (MSS. *dyeve, dyve;* 1. 20) from OE. *dyfan* — a state of affairs exactly corresponding to the main characteristics of Chaucer's own language.[1]) The prosodical structure of the poem is like Chaucer too; the use of alliteration (1, 2, 20) and the repeated omission of the first unstressed syllable (3 & 17) are well-known metrical habits of his.[2]) The rhymes are pure; the elision of the final-*e* in *chace* (1. 16) and *lace* (1. 18) corresponds to such rhyme-forms in the *Canterbury Tales* as *plas* (B 1971) and *gras* (B 2021).[3]) The vocabulary of the poem includes a good many words not to be found elsewhere in Chaucer *(breese, harras, signe* (v.)[4]), *chace* (s.), *Barbell, astern, dompe, deeve);*[5]) but this is not without parallels among the genuine writings; in the seven lines of the stanza to *Adam* there occur at least six words, otherwise not employed by the poet *(scriveyn, scalle, renewe, rubbe, scrape, rape)* — a fact which in the neatest possible way cuts away the basis of mechanical "stylistic" investigations.

Certain positive agreements with Chaucer's recognized works may be accidental coincidences, such as the mention of the dicing game of *Hasard* and its various terms in lines 3—5 (cf. *C. T.* B 124 f., 3851, & C 581 ff.) and the pointed animosity against reeves (cf. A 587 ff., 3144 ff., 3859 ff.) On the other hand, there

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1) See W. Heuser *Alt-London* p. 53, cf. Wild p. 74; cp. *Dict.* s. v. *Dive.*
2) Cf. Skeat VI. lxxxviii & xcvii.
3) In *purchace (*1. 17) the *-e* is merely due to the spelling.
4) The spelling *seeyne* indicates the beginning diphthongization of the long *i* in the first half of the XV cent.; cf. R. E. Zachrisson *Pronunciation of English Vowels 1400—1700* Göteborg 1913, p. 71 f.
5) The words *launche* and *freese* are not common in Chaucer either (1. 8 is probably only a stilted expression for summer, cf. Gower's *Conf. Am.* VII. 4300: *if the monthe of Iuil schal frese).*

are some details about the diction, which definitely suggest a connection with Chaucer's recognized works. Already Miss Hammond has drawn attention to the parallel between 1. 17 f. and the *Complaint of Mars* 236—44:

> Hit semeth he hath to lovers enmite,
> And lyk a fissher, as men alday may see,
> Baiteth his angle-hook with som plesaunce,
> Til mony a fish is wood til that he be
> Sesed ther-with; and then at erst hath he
> Al his desyr, and ther-with al mischaunce;
> *And thogh the lyne breke, he hath penaunce;*
> *For with the hoke he wounded is so sore,*
> *That he his wages hath for ever-more.*

In both places a lover is compared to a hooked fish, and both comparisons are elaborated in the same semi-grotesque way, so that they certainly seem to be due to the same author.[1]) An imitator works in another way as shown by Lydgate's translation of Deguilleville's *Human Pilgrimage* 11136—9:[2])

> *And I kan wynse ageyn the prykke,*
> *As wylde coltys in Arras,*
> *Or as bayard out off the tras,*
> *Tyl I a lassh haue off the whyppe.*

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1) The striking tehnical inferiority of the balade is clearly due to the pent-up force of strong personal feelings, which were evidently involved here and which naturally hampered the process of artistic composition (cf. *Adam.).* Lines 19—20 are very coarse, but this vein of pleasantry is not unknown in Chaucer either; see e. g. *C. T.* B 9, 1606 f. & 1623 f. (cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 47. 385). — *Barbell* in 1. 18 is a sort of carp, but may also allude to some woman's name (Barbara?).

2) The French original has nothing corresponding to these lines; cf. Miss Locock's introd. to Furnivall's ed. (E. E. T. S. 1899 ff.) p. xvi*.

Here the two last lines are verbally lifted from Chaucer's *Troilus* I. 218—20: [1])

> *As* proude *Bayard* ginneth for to skippe
> *Out of the wey,* so priketh him his corn,
> *Til he a lash have of the longe whippe* —

But moreover the two first lines are very close to l. 10 f. of the present balade: *a breese on wylde horsse... in harras* — and the fact that the two loans occur together may possibly be allowed to suggest that they were taken from the same author.

On the whole there cannot be much doubt that we shall have to uphold the authenticity of the present poem, adding it to the Canon of Chaucer's Minor Poems — as in the case of the preceding *Envoy to a Lady* — almost solely on the strength of Shirley's MS. ascription.

Proverbs. These two short stanzas of four lines each are copied by Shirley in Ad. 16165 f. 246, simply headed *Prouerbe,* but have also been preserved in the Tyrwhitt group, represented by Fairfax II & Harl. 7578, and here they are headed *Proverbe of Chaucer.* In Harl. 7578, where they are written in four long lines, they are followed without any break by two stanzas of 7 lines each, beginning *The worlde so wide the eyre so remuable* & *The*

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1) Of course the connection here is far more intimate than in those cases where the similarity does not extend beyond the employment of the common phrase *as bold as blind Bayard* (see e. g. *C. T.* G 1413 & *Conf. Am.* VI. 1280; cf. Wright p. 132 and Skeat V. 431). This also occurs in l. 11 of the second *Balade* in Ad. 16165 f. 244 b:

> Boþe *Rudd* and *Goore* and eke *Bayard* þe blynde.

This poem, the implications of which are extremely coarse, begins

> Of alle þe crafftes oute blessed be þe ploughe
> So mury it is to holde it by hinde

and concludes

> Ageyns þe hil tpruk In tpruk out I calle
> ffor of my plough þe best stotte is balle.

These lines constitute the double refrain of the two stanzas, thus offering some internal evidence against Chaucer's authorship, since this technical peculiarity is entirely unknown in his undoubted work.

more I goo the fert[h]er I am behinde. These stanzas are copied separately by Shirley in Ad. 16165 f. 244, headed *And filowyng begynnen . two verses made in wyse of balade . by Halsham Esquyer* — and in (the original of) Harl. 7333 f. 148, headed *Halsham Squire made thes II balades.* [1])

Evidently these two stanzas are quite unconnected with Chaucer, nor were they printed with his works till Bell's edition in 1854—6; [2]) they were finally rejected by Bradshaw in 1866, while he accepted the original eight lines as appears from his emendations to them in the Chaucer Society Publications. [3]) But even these are sometimes considered spurious, as by Koch on account of the supposed imperfect rhyme in line 7 and of their inartistic form. [4]) The rhyme *compas: embrac(e)* is however as good as *plas: solas* & *Thopas: gras* in the *Canterbury Tales,* [5]) while the form, the short epigrammatic stanza of proverbial contents, may be considered a recognized one in so far as it is found among Deschamps' poetry: [6])

Cy s'en suit un proverbe bien notable

Quant les deux cours seront d'acort
Pour l'union de Saincte Eglise,
Je fonderay de terre glise
En mys la mer un chastel fort.

Chaucer certainly knew Deschamps and may have got the idea for

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1) Cf. *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* I. 234; according to MacCracken *(Notes* 25. 126 f.) the stanzas occur with a similar heading in Shirley's Lydgate MS., formerly in the Ellesmere collection. They were no doubt originally written by Halsham and later annexed by Lydgate; cf. Flügel in *Anglia* 14. 463, Hammond *ib.* 28. 4, 15 ff., 21, and MacCracken nos. 90 & 153.

2) VIII. 128 & 149, cf. Skeat p. 145 f. & I. 564.

3) *Par. T.* p. 431, cf. Furnivall p. 107 f. Hammond errs, then (pp. 68 & 449), in considering their authenticity doubtful on Bradshaw's authority.

4) *Chronology* p. 78; cf. *Engl. Stud.* 15. 418 & 27. 60.

5) B 1971 f. & 2020 f., cf. B 1910 & 1913; see also Skeat I. 565 and J. Payne in *Essays on Ch.* p. 113.

6) *Oeuvres* VII. 216 (no. 872).

his *Proverbs* from this effusion. [1]) Anyhow, their authenticity is too well vouched for, externally and internally, to allow of any serious doubts.

The Parlement of Foules has been handed down to us in a more or less complete state by 14 MSS. and one early print in Caxton III; of these fifteen authorities ten belong to the Tyrwhitt Group and five to the Hammond Group. [2]) The latter does not give any author's name, while the former has only a few late notices about it. Its chief representative, the Cambr. Gg MS., which heads the poem *here begynnyth the parlement of ffoulys* (f. 480 b), has a colophon on f. 490 b, added in a late XV cent. hand: *Explicit parliamentum auium In die sancte valentini tentum secundum Galfridum Chaucer . deo gracias.* [3]) Two other members of this group, Harl. 7333 and Trin. R. 3. 19, imply that the poem is Chaucer's by adding a stanza beginning *Maister gefferey chaun-cers þat now lith graue,* [4]) while a late and inferior MS., Selden

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1) The second *Proverb,* which is quoted elsewhere by Chaucer *(C. T.* B 2405, cf. H 160 f.), is taken from the French and is also quoted by Deschamps (cf. Skeat I. 564). — To the first *Proverb* there is a parallel among the poetical sayings ascribed to the old Bohemian poet Smil of Pardubic (cf. *Der Neue Rath des Herrn Smil von Pardubic,* transl. into German by Jos. Wenzig, Lpz. 1855, p. 79):

Bist satt du, wirf nicht das Brod bei Seit'
Ist warm dir, wirf nicht hinweg das Kleid.

This parallel is closer than those collected by Kittredge in *Phil.* 7. 479, where rain and sun are contrasted, not as here and in Chaucer heat and cold. Smil of Pardubic was born ab. 1340—50 and was an adherent of King Wenceslaus till 1394 (cf. Jul. Feifalik in *Sitzungsber. der phil.-hist Classe d. kais. Akad.* Wien 1860, vol. 32, p. 685 ff.); his *New Council* is a bird poem not unlike the *Parlement of Foules,* and on the whole Chaucer's possible knowledge of his poetry — through Queen Anne's Bohemian courtiers in England — constitutes an interesting problem.

2) Cf. Furnivall's *Trial Forewords* p. 53 f., Koch in *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 97 ff., and *Globe Ch.* p. xxxix.

3) Similar headings and colophons (without the poet's name) are found in three members of the Hammond Group. Fairf. I, Bodl., & Tanner.

4) Cf. Koch in *Archiv* 111. 82 f. and Hammond p. 446; the stanza is

B. 24, notes after a spurious conclusion: [1]) *Here endes the parliament of foulis Quod Galfride Chaucere.* This somewhat insufficient direct evidence is however supported by Chaucer's own indirect testimony, since he says of himself in the Prologue to the *Legend* that he wrote *the parlement of foulis,* while in the *Retraccioun*s he mentions among *his enditynges of worldly vanitees — The book of seint Valentynes of the parlement of briddis.* These expressions certainly look like references to the present poem, and already Lydgate seems to have been perfectly sure of the identification as appears from the following lines in his Prologue to the *Fall of Princes:*

> Of foules also he wrote the parliament
> Therin remembring of royall Egles three
> howe in theyr choyse they felt aduersitee
> tofore nature profered the batayle,
> Eche for his partie if it would auayle.

Moreover internal evidence of some weight may be found in the poem's borrowings from Italian sources and in its allusions to Richard II's marriage with Anne of Bohemia, traced by Koch and others, so that its authenticity may unhesitatingly be taken as finally proved.

By far the best text is offered by the Tyrwhitt Group, [2]) the Hammond Group having as usual introduced a number of unauthentic changes, the most arbitrary of which is *harde fyle* instead of *hire wile* in l. 215, though only the latter reading suits *couched* in l. 216. [3]) And in l. 65 the Tyrwhitt reading

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taken from Lydgate's lines in Commendation of Chaucer (see ch. I. 2). Shirley's influence cannot be traced in this part of Harl. 7333, though Hammond attributes the copy ultimately to him (p. 515).

1) See Koch *l. c.* p. 302 f.

2) Cf. Koch in *Archiv* 111. 64 ff. & 299 ff., 112. 46 ff.

3) Corrected into *towchyd* by three inferior authorities (cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 50 f. & *Archiv* 111. 305 & 313). Nevertheless Miss Hammond prefers this set of readings in her paper *On the Text of Chaucer's Parlement of Foules* (Univ. of Chicago, Dec. Publ. VII; see, however, Koch's criticism in *Literaturblatt* 1903 col. 158 ff.). Root contends that both sets of variants are due to Chaucer himself (*Journ.* 5. 189 ff.), but this has been decisively disproved by Tatlock p. 44[2].

And ful of turment and of harde grace

is immensely superior to the Hammond reading

And was sumdel ful of harde grace.[1])

Of the Tyrwhitt MSS. Cambr. Gg would seem to have had partial access to a considerably better text than the rest, as seen for instance in such a case as 1. 363, where Gg alone reads *The rauen wys.*[2]) The rondel 688—92 has been inserted here in a late XV cent. hand, though space was left for it; it was originally included in two MSS. only, Oxf. St. John LVII and Digby 181, representing respectively the Tyrwhitt and Hammond Groups. Thus no less than three independent copies of Chaucer's original omitted the rondel, which appears to have found its way into our MSS. through contamination with a fourth, otherwise lost copy. The strange frequency with which the rondel was omitted is probably due to its having been added later in the margin of the poet's MS., so that in this case too the original of our text must have been a draft.[3])

There are a good many individual errors in the Cambr. Gg MS., of which the most important is the reading *north nor west* in the poet's apostrophe to the planet of Venus, where all other MSS. have (117—19):

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1) Of the Tyrwhitt MSS. Gg & Ff show contamination with the Hammond Group here, but the rest agree in the above eminently Chaucerian reading, making the doubts of Hammond (p. 108 f.) and Koch *(Engl. Stud.* 27. 49 & *Archiv* 112. 59) equally superfluous.

2) Cf. Koch in *Archiv* 111. 73 ff., 306 ff., 112. 65 ff., and see his *Versuch einer kritischen Textausgabe von Chaucer's Parlement of Foules* (Berlin 1904).

3) Koch, who thinks that all the MSS. (except parts of Gg) go back to one copy of the original, gives a less probable explanation *(Archiv* 112. 58 ff.). — Four authorities (Caxton, Trin. R. 3. 19, Fairfax, & Bodley) have instead of the rondel the French line *Que bien ayme a tarde oublie.* In 675—9 Chaucer states his intention to write a rondel to a French tune, surely indicated by this line, a very common one in French poetry (cf. Skeat I. 525 f.); probably the gave up the attempt and later added the present rondel in the margin.

As wisly as I saw thee *north-north-west*
When I began my sweven for to wryte,
So yif me might to ryme hit and endyte!

By means of this passage it is possible to date the poem rather exactly, since this position of the planet is comparatively rare; during the years 1378—83 to which the historical allusions of the *Parlement* would seem to limit its composition,[1]) it appears that as evening star Venus could have been observed in the North-North-West only about the beginning of May 1382,[2]) so that the poem must have been written *after* the royal marriage it celebrates — a state of affairs which is also indicated by Chaucer's obvious knowledge of the fact that there was a twelvemonth's interval between the commencement of the final negotiations and the actual wedding (Dec. 1381—Jan. 1382).[3])

L' Envoy de Chaucer à Scogan occurs in three good MSS. of the Tyrwhitt Group, all of which ascribe it to Chaucer, so that the external evidence is quite satisfactory.[4]) The poem addresses a certain Scogan in a jocular way as the culprit who by threatening to leave his lady at Michaelmas because she would not listen to

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[1]) See Hammond p. 387 ff. & Wells p. 643 ff., cf. ch. III. 2.

[2]) Cf. Manly in *Festschrift für Morsbach* p. 288 ff. M. Luplau-Janssen, of Copenhagen, has kindly calculated for me that in London ab. May 1, 1378—83 Venus was seen respectively c. 170, 55, 78, 147, 8 (1382), & 124 degrees from the North.

[3]) See 647 f. & 661 ff.; Skeat I. 75[2], ten Brink II. 86 ff., Legouis p. 82 ff., Root *The Poetry of Ch.* p. 64 ff., and Koch *Chronology* p. 37 f. But Koch's dates vacillate extraordinarily; in 1877 he was in favour of 1381 *(Engl. Stud.* I. 288 f.), in 1880 of 1380 *(Ausgewählte Kleinere Dichtungen Chaucer's* p. X f., emending *west north west),* in 1903 of 1381 again (*Archiv* 111. 306 f., preferring Gg's reading *north nor west),* and finally in 1921 of April 1382 *(Engl. Stud.* 55. 224 f., cf. *Literaturblatt* 1919 col. 92), returning once more to the common reading of the MSS.

[4]) See Koch's *Crit. Ed. of the Minor Poems* p. 26, cf. sect. 1. The best text is perhaps that of Fairf. II & Pepys II; the heading in Cambr. Gg gives the poet's initials only.

him,[1]) has made Venus weep so freely that her tears have caused inundation and pestilence on earth; perhaps she and her son will even wreak their vengeance not only on Scogan but on all others who are *hore and round of shape.* From this it is clear that Scogan must have been of Chaucer's own age and girth and not quite young either, at least forty years old or more;[2]) also that the poem was written before Michaelmas,[3]) probably during a summer when the damp climate had brought on a pestilence. The latter allusion is now invariably taken as a reference to the autumn of 1393, when there were great tempests in Cambridgeshire, inundations in Suffolk, and a serious epidemic in Essex.[4]) However, it may be effectively urged against such a view, first that all these occurrences happened somewhat too late to tally with the poet's *innuendo* about Scogan's rash vow and its dire consequences, and next that the inundation and the epidemic took place in separate counties and did not exhibit those general characteristics evidently implied by Chaucer's language. For these reasons I think the

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1) Ll. 18—19

That, for thy lady saw not thy distresse,
Therfor thou yave hir up at Michelmesse

are obviously dependent on *Hast thou not seyd* im 1. 15, so that the past tense of this bit of indirect speech really represents the present tense of direct speech — in other words the preterite *yave* is equivalent to *woldest yive,* and the contemptuous dismissal of the lady is not a fact, but a threat. Only in this way could Scogan's utterance really be made *in blaspheme of this goddes;* a mere statement after the event would hardly have been considered blasphemous.

2) Though this is denied by Kittredge in *Studies* I. 116 f.

3) And *not* towards the close of the year, as Skeat says I. 557.

4) Walsingham *Historia Anglicana* II. 213: "Mense Septembris, fulgura, coruscationes, et tonitrua, in multis regni partibus multo damna fecere, sed præcipue in Comitatu Cantabrigiæ, ubi domos et blada juxta Lolleworth, et in ipsa villa, terribiliter cremaverunt. Aquarum etiam inundantia non multo post irruit, quæ apud Bury aream implevit ecclesiæ, et apud Newmarket domorum parietes diruit, et viris illic ac mulieribus pene periculum demersionis intulit, mense Octobri. Eodem anno, multi moriebantur in Estsexia, ingruente pestilentia mense Septembri." — Furnivall *(Par. T.* p. 419) & Skeat (I. 556 f.) quote Stowe's account. Cf. ten Brink II. 203, Koch *Chronology* p. 70 f., Hammond p. 393, Wells p. 642.

allusion is rather to another year and would propose 1391, about which Walsingham says:[1])

Mortalitas. Hoc anno, in æstate, septimo Idus Juliis sol apparuit rubeus per nebulas spissas et foetidas interpositas, et quasi nihil praestans luminis a meridie usque ad occasum. Et expost fere per sex hebdomadas nebulæ superabundabant temporibus meridianis. Quædam vero per totum diem et noctem durabant, nullatenus evanescentes. — *Eo tempore mortalitas tanta succrevit in Northfolchia et multis aliis Comitatibus, ut non impar magnis pestilentiis censeretur.* Siquidem, ut de aliis civitatibus et villis taceam, apud Eboracum infra breve tempus undecim millia cadavera sunt elata.

From this it will be seen that in 1391, during the latter half of July and all the month of August, the English climate was even more damp than usual, and that this brought about a great and very wide-spread pestilence which seems to have been especially violent in Norfolk and in the adjacent counties. These conditions will meet all the points of Chaucer's *badinage;* further the express mentioning of *Norfolk* is highly suggestive, since the family estate of the Scogans or Scoggans, the Manor of Haviles, was situated here.[2]) Moreover the pestilence actually seems to have claimed a Scogan as one of its victims, since in 1391 Henry Scogan inherited the manor from his brother John Scoggan, *capellanus.*[3]) Now, ever since the time of Tyrwhitt, Henry has been identified with the Scogan of Chaucer's poem,[4]) though the latter is practically certain to have been a middle-aged man, while Henry was only 30 years old when his brother died in 1391.[5]) Nor does the extremely moral character of the sole preserved specimen of Henry's poetical

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1) *Hist. Angl.* II. 202 f,; cf. Higden's *Polychronicon* IX. 258 f. About the relations between the planets and floods (cp. the two first stanzas of the poem) see R. K. Root in *Publ.* 39. 59.

2) Francis Blomefield *Topographical Hist. of the County of Norfolk* III. 824.

3) See Kittredge in *Studies* I. 115.

4) Tyrwhitt's *Account,* Skeat I. 83 f., Brotanek *Die Englischen Maskenspiele* p. 8; Hulbert *Chaucer's Official Life* p. 54.

5) S[idney] L[ee] in *Biogr.* 51. 1 f., cf. Kittredge in *Studies* I. 117[2].

activity fit in very well with such a piece of flippancy as that about which our Scogan is chaffed. Accordingly nothing is more likely than that Chaucer really addressed the elder brother John in his *Envoy,* though he certainly knew Henry too, at appears from the latter's *Moral Balade.* [1]) The *Envoy* must, then, have been written in July or August 1391, as Johan Scogan appears to have died during the latter part of this year. [2])

L'Envoy de Chaucer à Bukton is found in one MS. only, Fairfax II, and in one early print, Julian Notary's edition of *Mars & Venus.* The authenticity is proved by the heading in Fairfax (as above), supported by Notary's title *Here foloweth the counceyll of Chaucer touchyng Maryag &c whiche was sente to Bucketon;* the reference in l. 29 f.:

> *The Wyf of Bathe* I pray you that ye rede
> Of this matere that we have on honde

is another strong indication of Chaucer's authorship. The text is a good one, both authorities belonging to the Tyrwhitt Group. [3])

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[1]) See Kittredge l. c. p. 113 f. & *Publ.* 16. 450 ff.; cf ten Brink II. 219. The two brothers were early mixed up; Caxton II gives Henry's *Moral Balade* to John (cf. *Queries* 1888. II. 326, 454 & 1889. I. 17 f.). It is even possible that the XV cent. tradition of the jester John Scogan (see Farnham in *Rev.* 16. 120 ff., cf. *Notes* 37. 289 ff. & 38. 57) may be derived from the reputation of Chaucer's merry companion. About his possible authorship of three pseudo-Chaucerian poems see ch. VI. 2.

[2]) See Kittredge l. c. p. 114. The date of the poem is important for the Chaucer Chronology on account of its l. 38 f. (cf. Kittredge in *Phil.* 7. 483):

> Ne thinke I never of slepe wak my muse,
> That rusteth in my shethe stille in pees.

This would seem to imply that at that time and during the immediately preceding years Chaucer had almost ceased to write (cf. Mather's ed. of the *C. T. Prologue,* p. xxxiii, and Koch in *Anglia* 46. 50).

[3]) Cf. Koch in *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 108, and his ed. of the *Min. P.* p. 25. — In Thynne's ed. Bukton's name is strangely omitted, the first line reading *My mayster &c;* Urry conjectured that John of Gaunt was meant, but Tyrwhitt in his *Account* restored the true

The poem was almost certainly written in 1396 [1]) and sent to Sir Peter Bukton of Holderness in Yorkshire, the faithful friend of Henry IV. [2])

The First Stock (Former Age) was discovered by Bradshaw in two Cambridge MSS., Ii. 3. 21 & Hh. 4. 12. [3]) In the first — and best — it forms part of a copy of Chaucer's *Boece,* being headed *Chawcer vp on this fyfte meter of the second book* (f. 52 b); the Hh MS. concludes *ffinit etas prima — Chaucers* (f. 41). These ascriptions sufficiently prove the authenticity of the poem, which is, however, clearly a fragment copied from one of the poet's drafts. [4]) In its present shape the piece is little more than a cento of echoes from the descriptions of the primeval state of human innocence in

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reading (see, however, already Stowe's table of contents 1561; cf. Furnivall *Par. T.* p. 423 and Langhans *Untersuchungen zu Chaucer* p. 1 ff).

1) Skeat I. 85, Koch *Chronology* p. 72 f., Hammond p. 366 f., Wells p. 641. Lowes is probably right in placing the poem "before rather than after August 1396" *(Notes* 27. 48).

2) Not to Robert Bukton as proposed by Tatlock p. 210 f. and Hulbert *Chaucer's Official Life* p. 54 f. (cf. *Phil.* 10. 437); see E. P. Kuhl in *Publ.* 38. 115 ff., cf. Cook in *Trans. Connecticut Acad.* 20. 191, and Wylie *Henry IV* vol. 4, p. 142.

3) *Par. T.* p. 173, cf. *Athen.* 1867. I. 192 & 246, Koch in *Anglia* 3, *Anzeiger* p. 185, and his ed. of the *Min. P.* p. 22.

4) It is not only unfinished, but several lines are imperfect (superfluous syllables in 23 & 34, imperfect rhyme in 47; see Skeat I. 541 f.). Possibly, then, the last line of stanza VII, now wanting, was never written, though Koch and Skeat attribute this defect to the copyist and emend respectively *Yit hadden in þis worlde þe maistrie* & *Fulfilled erthe of olde curtesye.* If one must emend, however, the last phrase of the preceding line clearly demands some explanation, so that we ought to read something like this (l. 55 f.):

> Humblesse and pees, *good feith, the emperice*
> *[Of alle yfere, wolde hem lede and gye].*

Cf. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I. 90: *Sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.*

Ovid, Boethius, and Jean de Meun. [1]) This makes *The First Stock* a very appropriate title. [2])

The Death of Blanche. Three authorities of the Hammond Group, Fairfax I, Bodley, & Tanner, contain a complaint in 667 short couplets on the death of a young noblewoman, *gode faire Whyte* (l. 948). [3]) The two first MSS. head it *The booke of the Duchesse,* probably because of the scribe's identifying the piece with that mentioned by Chaucer in his *Retraccioun*s under this title; no doubt it is the same work as that referred to in the Prologue of the *Legend* as *The deth of Blaunche the duchesse.* [4]) The external evidence is accordingly indirect only, and the identification must be substantiated through internal evidence in order to be really convincing. [5]) Now there was, during the latter half of the fourteenth century, only one Duchess Blanche in England, the first wife of John of Gaunt, [6]) and towards the close of the present

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1) Cf. Skeat I. 79 & 539 and Fansler p. 223.

2) Wells terms it *The Golden Age* (p. 638), cf. Hammond p. 368.

3) The text is bad (cf. Koch in *Anglia* 4, *Anzeiger* p. 95 f., & *Engl. Stud.* 27. 32 ff.); Thynne used a similar, but more complete MS., see Skeat I. 64 and Max Lange's diss. Halle 1883.

4) Thus also Lydgate in *The Fall of Princes.* This is evidently the most authentic title (in spite of Langhans' remarks in *Anglia* 44. 229). Thynne entitled the poem *The Dreame of Chaucer* (cf. the late hand in Tanner 346, f. 102), but Speght restored the correct title (f. 355v, cf. Stowe's table of contents 1561). Cf. Hammond p. 363.

5) Furnivall's remarks in *Trial Forewords* p. 128 are not decisive, though accepted by Hammond p. 364.

6) She married him in 1359 and died in 1369, cf. Walsingham *Historia Anglicana* I. 286 & 309. — In his *Joli Buisson de Jonece* Froissart enumerates her among his patrons after Queen Philippa (241—50):

Aussi sa fille de Lancastre
Haro! mettés moi une emplastre
Sur le coer, car, quant m'en souvient,
Cestes souspire me couvient,
Tant sui plains de melancolie.
Elle mourut jone et jolie
Environ de vingt et deux ans;
Gaie, lie, friche, esbatans,
Douce, simple, d'umble samblance;
La bonne dame ot à nom Blanche.

The similarity with the English *Blanche* poem is striking *(Le Joli Buisson* is dated Nov. 30, 1373).

Complaint she and her husband are clearly indicated as the models of the dead wife and her lamenting lover (l. 1318 f.):

A *long castel* with walles *whyte*
By seynt *Johan! on a riche hil.*

These lines evidently contain punning allusions to *Blanche of Lancaster* and *John of Richmond*,[1]) allusions which complete the identification of the present poem with Chaucer's *Death of Blanche the Duchess.*[2])

In this case the process of identification is comparatively easy and the result absolutely certain; but when it is a question of identifying an anonymous translation or paraphrase with a piece of work mentioned by an author as his, the process becomes much more difficult and uncertain. Not only is there much less probability of discovering satisfactory internal evidence in the shape of really characteristic passages, but the possibility of the original having been translated more than once — even though only one paraphrase may now exist — has to be seriously reckoned with.[3]) Unfortunately we are confronted by this very problem in a peculiarly acute form in the case of Chaucer's most important translation, *The Romance of the Rose.*

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1) See Skeat V. 490 & *Acad.* 1894 I. 191; cf. *Notes* 31. 250 ff. & 442 f., 32. 54. Strangely enough these instances are overlooked in Tatlock's paper on *Puns in Chaucer (Flügel Memorial Volume,* 1916, p. 228 ff.).

2) Stowe seems to have been the first to identify the two main characters of the poem, in his note in Fairf. 16, f. 130, where he adds after the title of the poem *made by Geffrey Chaucyer at ye request of ye duke of lancastar: pitously complaynynge the deathe of ye sayd dutchesse blanche.* Francis Thynne's objections *(Animaduersions* ed. Furnivall p. 28 ff.) are pointless, cf. Tyrwhitt's note to *C. T.* ver. 4467, ten Brink p. 3 ff., Wells p. 632.

3) Cf. Bradshaw's remarks in his letter to Furnivall of Jan. 12, 1872 (see Prothero's *Memoir* p. 353).

CHAPTER V.

THE ROMANCE OF THE ROSE.

1. *MS. and Dialect.*

OF Guillaume de Lorris' and Jean de Meun's famous thirteenth century allegory *Le Roman de la Rose* only one Middle English translation appears to exist, preserved in a single MS. at the University Library of Glasgow, marked Hunt. Mus. V. 3. 7. This is a large quarto volume of 150 vellum leaves, carefully executed in a style of writing and illumination dating from the first quarter of the XV century or so.[1]) The wide margins — there are only 24 lines of writing to the page — and beautifully executed initials on almost every page indicate that the MS. was ordered by a wealthy patron. The text is written with some care and seems to have been collated throughout with another MS. Certain words are inserted later, and a whole line (6190) is added by the scribe in the margin of f. 123.[2]) While this may have been due to an original oversight, in four other cases a space has first been left blank and later filled with a line written in somewhat different ink, but in the scribe's hand. It would seem, then, that

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1) P. Henderson Aitken's Catalogue (1908) dates it *Early Cent. XV.* (p. 329). Skeat's date towards 1440 (I. 13) is almost certainly too late. — The volume is made up of quires of eight, with catchwords and signatures e. g. c I—IIII (f. 15—18), d I—IIII (f. 23—6), e I—IIII (f. 29—32) &c. Eleven leaves of writing are now lost, among these the first; see the collation in the Catalogue.

2) On f. 131 b *eke* has been added by the scribe both above l. 6609 and in the margin.

these lines were omitted in the scribe's original, and discovered by him in another MS. They are (1892, 1984, 2036, 3490):[1])

That he hadde the body hole made (f. 36 b).
Sen that thyn aunswar doth me ease (f. 38).
And gaue hym thankes many a oon (f. 39 b).
That he had knowlege certanly (f. 68 b).

The existence of other MSS. of the translation is also proved by the *editio princeps* in Thynne's Chaucer of 1532, ff. CXXVIII—LXVIII, where the lines in question occur in practically the same form as in the Glasgow MS.[2]) Moreover, in five cases where a line is left blank in the MS., the edition inserts lines which certainly do not look like having been made up by Thynne.[3]) This shows first that Thynne's authority was *not* a sister codex to the Glasgow MS., since it is superior not only to the latter, but also to its ancestor, in which the Glasgow scribe must have found many lines missing[4]) — and secondly that this scribe occasionally made some use of a MS., identical with or closely similar to Thynne's codex.

To the above instances of lines missing in the Glasgow ancestor must now be added four more, where Thynne has a perfectly satisfactory text, while the Glasgow MS. shows originally blank

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1) The second and fourth of these correspond roughly to the French text, while the first and third do not; see Kaluza's *Parallel Ed.* (Ch. Soc. 1891, from which the translation is quoted throughout). Kaluza's statement (pp. 111, 117, 119, 201) that these four lines are "written by a later hand" is, however, absolutely incorrect.

2) The first line (1892) reads in Thynne *Through the body in my herte made,* which gives better sense.

3) Ll. 892, 1553, 3136, 4856, 6205; two other cases are doubtful (cf. below). — Kaluza thinks *(Engl. Stud.* 18. 109 f.) that Thynne actually printed his ed. from the Glasgow MS. and himself composed all lines not in this codex. But this is an entirely arbitrary view, nor does the Glasgow MS. look like having been through a Tudor printer's hands; see further below.

4) Except in the cases of 892 & 6205,, where gaps are left at the bottom of the pages (f. 17 b & 123 b), he carefully leaves a blank where one of the above lines has been omitted (though at 1553 & 7110 the blank is left after the lines instead of before them).

lines, filled in later in a XVI cent. hand. Three of these lines read (6688, 6786, 7092):

And wole but erly deme that here (f. 133 b).
Of thynges that he best myght (f. 135 b).
Of al that here axe Iust their dome (f. 142 b).

None of these lines correspond to the French text, and the first gives no sense at all,[1]) while in all three cases Thynne has a completely satisfactory version.[2]) The XVI cent. scribbler would seem to have made these lines up himself, while in the fourth instance he borrowed Thynne's version, no doubt from his printed edition (l. 5624):[3])

That all be tyme spare shall he.

In two instances, however, lines left blank in the Glasgow MS. are omitted also by Thynne (1195 f. & 6372),[4]) and it is possible that at least three more couplets are missing (after 564, 866, and 7172 respectively).[5]) Then there are two cases in which worthless substitutes for omitted lines have been introduced into Thynne's edition (or into the MS. he used). One is the rendering of Langlois 11807 ff., which stands like this in the Glasgow MS. (7107—10):

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1) Kaluza emends: And wole but *only done* that here.

2) Accepted by all editors except Kaluza, e. g. by Skeat and Liddell (in *Globe Ch.*).

3) What appears to be the same hand collated the MS. with Thynne's edition, as is seen from certain marks throughout the volume (his figures, e. g. *12* on f. 16 b, *1* on f. 18 b, *2* on f. 20 b &c, correspond with Thynne's sheets, Aa — Gg, each consisting of six leaves). This seems to have been done when the MS. was complete, as it still was in the XVIII cent. when somebody numbered the first 400 lines correctly, putting *50* at the 6th line on f. 1 (though the first leaf with 1—44 is now lost) and noting at 7688 (f. 150): "7690. Urry. p. 268." Thynne printed from a complete MS.

4) Cf. Bell VII. 215, Skeat I. 238, and especially Liddell in the *Globe Ch.* p. 730.

5) See Skeat I. 117, 129, & 251, cf. 448; cp. Liddell l. c. p. 739. — In the case of 5223 the first half of the line is wanting both in Glasgow and Thynne; cf. Skeat I. 220 & 439.

A Paris n'ot ome ne fame,	Ther was no wight in all parys
Ou parvis devant Nostre Dame,	Biforne oure lady at paruys
Qui lors aveir ne le peüst	To copy if hym talent toke.
A transcrivre s'il l'i pleüst.	

It will be seen that the Glasgow scribe left a line blank after l. 7109 instead of before it; evidently the scribe of his original carelessly omitted the line in his MS. without noticing the slip. Thynne (or possibly the scribe of his MS.) naturally did not understand the text; so he referred to the French original and reconstructed the passage in a somewhat clumsy way:

> There nas no wyght in al Parys
> Beforne our Lady at paruys
> That they ne myght the booke by
> The sentence pleased hem wel trewly
> To the copye / if him talent toke
> Of the Euangelystes booke.

Instead of the four last lines Bell will read: [1])

> That they ne mighte buy the booke
> To copy, if hem talent tooke.

But the true reading is rather:

> That *he* ne myghte *han* the boke.
> To copy if hym talent toke.

Further, Langlois 11179, f. are rendered like this in Thynne's ed. (6317 f.):

Mais tant est fort la decevance	But so slyghe is the aperceyuynge
Que trop est grief l'apercevance.	That al to late cometh knowynge.

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1) Bell VII. 241, cf. Kaluza's ed. p. 407 and Skeat I. 249.

The second line is, however, left blank in the Glasgow MS., and corresponds so badly with the French text that it was evidently made up by Thynne himself (or possibly by the scribe of his MS.). As a matter of fact the original translator probably followed a different text, while the scribe of the Glasgow-Thynne ancestor did not skip the second half of the couplet completely, but suffered his eye to stray from the middle of the first line to the end of the second, so that the line following 6316 in the Glasgow MS. ought to be arranged like this:

Car trop est griès la decevance	But so sligh is ...
Mais tant est fors l'aperce-vance. [1])	..... the aperceyuyng

Here Kaluza's emendation is practically perfect: [2])

But so sligh is *the deceyuyng*
That to hard is the aperceyuyng

Finally there are some cases where the first line of a French couplet is left untranslated in both authorities, while a new English line is inserted, as for instance in 4653—8 (Langlois 4247 ff.):

Ou, se tu l'eüsses esté,	For if thou wistest what it were
Ja nou servisses un esté,	Thou noldist serue hym half a yeer
Non pas un jour, non pas une eure,	Not a weke nor half a day

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[1]) The reading of the Turin MS. *(Be* in Langlois III. 190), with which the ME. translation agrees on other occasions too, e. g. in the omission of l. 649 f. (cf. Langlois II. 34; thus also the Berlin MS., see Kaluza's ed. p. 40). This alters the original sense of the French passage — "Deception is so strong that the realization of it is appalling" — into "The deception is appalling, but it is difficult to realize it" — in substantial agreement with Kaluza's emendation above.

[2]) Cf. Skeat I. 237 & 444, and Liddell in the *Globe Ch.* p. 729.

Ains crei que senz point de demeure	Ne yit an hour withoute delay.
Son homage li reneiasses,	
Ne jamais par amour n'amasses.	Ne neuer (I) lovede paramours[1])
	His lordshipp is so full of shoures.

Here it is quite clear that a line was dropped before 4657 and later replaced by the perfectly meaningless l. 4568, the senseless *I* in 4657 being probably inserted at the same time; it is very suggestive that the rhyme is faulty.[2]) This substitution must evidently have taken place already in the ancestor of the Thynne and Glasgow MSS.,[3]) and on the whole sufficiently many omissions and substitutes may be traced back to this authority to make it probable that this was not the author's original, nor a very faithful copy of it. In fact, it must have been transcribed in a rather careless way, as appears from the peculiar reading of l. 6341, found both in Glasgow and Thynne:

That hight dame abstinence *and reyned.*

The French line is *C'est dame Astenance-Contrainte,* and the correct English reading obviously is *abstinence streyned,*[4]) but in the ancestor of the Thynne-Glasgow parent MS. the initial long *s* must have been joined to the *t,* as often happens, and separated a little from the continuation *reyned* in such a way that

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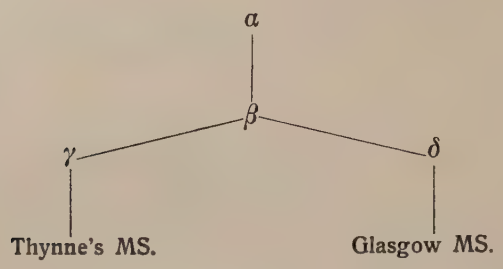
1) About this expression see Skeat V. 67 and Macaulay in *Rev.* 4. 16, but especially Hinckley's *Notes on Ch.* p. 66.

2) A precisely similar case is offered by l. 2441 f.

3) That these must have a common parent is also proved by a curious displacement of the leaves in some of the last quires. This was noticed by Tyrwhitt in his note on Chaucer's *Retraccioun*s (cf. *Queries* 1894. I. 446 f.), and was fully explained in Skeat's Introduction to the 1905 facsimile of Thynne's Chaucer (p. xxx) and in Aitken's Catalogue (p. 330). When, however, Skeat infers from this peculiarity that the Thynne and Glasgow MSS. are sister codices, he is wrong as shown above.

4) As in l. 7364, cf. Kaluza's *Par. Ed.* p. 363 and Skeat I. 237.

the copyist mistook it for a common ME. abbreviation of *and.*[1]) We get then the following genealogical scheme:



Since the α version must have been practically identical with the Thynne and Glasgow MSS., and as the latter cannot be later than 1420 or so and was very probably earlier, the present text may be traced back almost to the time of Chaucer's death.

The dialectal characteristics of the text are oddly at variance. The first 1800 lines or so agree on the whole pretty closely with the South Eastern dialect as spoken in London about 1400, though they contain a few peculiar rhymes. But in the next 4000 lines there are considerably more than 200 unusual rhymes, many of them of a pronouncedly northern character, while the last 1900 lines are again in closer conformity with the standard language of the closing fourteenth century. These facts would point to a composite origin for the translation, unless it could be shown that the deviations from the London dialect *were due to a scribe and not to the author.*[2])

Now it strikes one at once that up to l. 1800 or thereabouts the rhymes are generally so pure as to make it very likely that the few exceptions were really inserted by a scribe. As a matter of fact there are only two cases distinctly northern in character before l. 1785 f., the rhymes *love: behove* (1091 f.)[3]) and

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[1]) Cf. also Liddell's note to l. 1058 in the *Globe Ch.* p. 671.

[2]) Cf. T. Arnold in *Acad.* 1878. II. 67.

[3]) Noted by Luick *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte* 1896 p. 209 ff. (cf. *Engl. Stud.* 23. 336 ff., 24. 342 ff., and *Archiv* 101. 146); see also Lange in *Anglia, Beiblatt* 21. 316 f.

especially *care: ware* (505 f.)[1] perhaps also *thousand: garland* (867 f.).[2] If we apply a stricter test to this part of the translation, examining the rhymes to find out whether they agree with Chaucer's own standard of not, we shall see that several more must be rejected, at any rate 1341 f. *(shet: mette)* and 1705 f. *(aboute: swote),* probably also 481 f., 699 f., 1279 f. *(gardyn: (ther)yn).*[3] But it is impossible to deny the possibility or rather certainty that this part of the translation was originally written in conformity with Chaucer's own prosodical rules.

This is practically also the case with the last 1900 lines (5811—7696). Here we have again two or three rhymes of a clearly northern character, *are: fore* (6045 f.), *Christendome: somme* (7091 f.),[4] and possibly *algate: sate* (7477 f.).[5] Several other rhymes sin against Chaucer's rules, especially 7 in *-y: -ye* and 9 in *-aunce: -ence,* in all about 20,[6] so that the percentage of un-Chaucerian rhymes is somewhat higher here than in the first part of the translation. Still the conformity with Chaucer's metrical usage is striking enough.

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1) Emended by Skeat I. 419 f.; cf. Lange in *Anglia* 35. 343 ff. & 36. 479 ff.

2) See W. Hagedorn's diss. *Ueber die Sprache einiger nördlicher Chaucerschüler* Göttingen 1892 p. 15. — *Wone: Rone* (1673 f.) does not belong here, since *Rone* is not the Northern *rane,* a bush (thus Skeat p. 152 & VI. 218 and Liddell in the *Globe Ch.* p. 677; cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 66 f. and Lange in *Anglia* 37. 155 f.), but *Rouen* (see John Page's *Sege of Rone* in B. M. Eg. 1995, ff. 87—109, (pr. in Brie's ed. of *The Brut,* E. E. T. S. 1906 ff., II. 394 ff.), and Furnivall's *Fifty Earliest English Wills,* E. E. T. S. 1882, pp. 43 f. & 161; cf. Kaluza in *Engl. Stud.* 13. 528 and Skeat I. 430). Käte Heidrich's identification with *Rosnay (Das geographische Weltbild des späteren englischen Mittelalters* diss. Marburg 1915) is impossible.

3) See koch *Chronology* p. 7 ff. (cf. Skeats notes *ib.* p. 87) and *Engl. Stud.* 27. 61 ff., 30. 450 ff., 55. 169 ff. (cf. Kaluza p. 128 ff.; Skeat p. 149 ff. & *Introd.* to *Ryme Index of Minor Poems* p. xi ff. (Ch. Soc. 1889); Lange in *Anglia* 37. 146 ff.).

4) Cf. Skeat p. 92.

5) See Hagedorn's diss. p. 17.

6) Kaluza pp. 135 ff. & 44 ff. (p. 45 he corrects *penaunce* in l. 6568 into *pacience,* counting this as an impure rhyme).

The intermediary 4000 lines are much more puzzling. Pronouncedly northern rhymes frequently occur; there are 7 instances of the preservation of the OE. *ā*-sound, the present participle twice ends in *-ande* (2263 f., 2707 f.), the characteristically northern verb *slo* is found 8 times &c. [1]) On the other hand there are at least 15 cases where OE. *ā* is represented by the southern *ō*, [2]) and the usual ending of the pres. part. is certainly *-yng*, [3]) while the southern *sleen* occurs as well as the northern *slo*.[4]) This would seem to show that the present 4000 lines were really written in the South Eastern standard language just like the opening 17—1800 and the concluding 1900 lines, while the comparatively few rhymes (ab. 30 in this part of the text) showing the influence of a Northern — or rather North Midland — dialect must have been introduced in a more casual way. [5])

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1) See Kaluza p. 42 f. (add 5521 f. to his instances of *slo;* the occurrence of *grete* (to cry) in 4115 f. might also have been noticed). He is wrong in considering *e* as the representative of OE. *y* a northern peculiarity (4631 f., cf. 2471 f. & 2091 f. — also in 1397 f.); it is East Midland (see Wyld in *Engl. Stud.* 47. 1 ff. & Vollmer in *Anglia* 21. 205 f.) and common in Chaucer (cf. Wild p. 354 ff). The ending *-es* (3. sing. pres.) is not characteristically northern (5419 f., 5649 f.), but eastern as well (Wyld *Short Hist. of English* p. 193) and not unknown in Chaucer (see E. Holmqvist *On the Hist. of the Engl. Pres. Inflections* Heidelberg 1922 p. 72 f., cf. Lounsbury I. 387 and Kittredge in *Studies* I. 2), any more than the omission of the ending *-est* (2. sing. pret., 2399 f., 3153 f.) in the weak verbs (cf. Kittredge *Observations on the language of Troilus* Ch. Soc. 1894 p. 253; note on the other hand that the full form often occurs in the interior of the verse, where it is demanded by the rhythm, e. g. *myghtist* (2512), *woldist* (2515, 2633)).

2) Cf. Hagedorn's diss. p. 18.

3) It rhymes with *thyng* in at least 12 cases between 1700 and 2700: 1975, 2069, 2159, 2163, 2175, 2257, 2373, 2379, 2491, 2541, 2601, 2607.

4) 2751 f. (cf. 7175 f.). The rhyme *crowne: persoune* (3201 f.), objected to by Kaluza (p. 42) because Chaucer has the form *persone* only, might be emended by introducing the true Chaucerian form *corone*.

5) It is impossible to accept Hagedorn's hint (diss. p. 20) that the translation may have been the work of two or three disciples of Chaucer, written in partial imitation of the master's language and

Of rhymes failing to come up to a strict Chaucerian standard there are nearly 200 further instances in the middle part of the translation. Most of these, between 150 and 160 in all, sin by disregarding the final *-e* [1]), the worst cases being perhaps those which rhyme the endings *-y: -ye.* [2]) Other rhymes are un-Chaucerian on account of the different qualities either of the vowels or of the consonants in the rhyming syllables; in such cases, however, Chaucer's rules are not sufficiently strict to justify the absolute condemnation of all these rhymes. [3])

It is of course true that the middle part of the translation

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diction. Hagedorn's own examination of Hardyng's Chronicle (ib. p. 25 ff.) shows that the dialect of this avowed imitation of Chaucer is far more pronouncedly northern than that of any part of the *Romance.*

1) Kaluza has (p. 47 ff.) almost 200 instances of this kind, but he does not pay sufficient attention to the fact that Chaucer often uses twin forms (see his own list p. 131), e. g. *abbaye* & *abbay* (cf. 3865, 3915), *preye* & *prey* (cf. 3675), *seye* & *sey* (cf. 3091, 3961, 5711, 2591, 4643, 2135, 2887, 3099, 4787, 5253, 5523, 5067); *bacheler* & *bachelere* (cf. 2827, 2981), *messenger* & *messagere* (cf. 2919), *yeer* & *yere* (cf. 4653); even *wele* (cf. 1843, 1911, 2239, 2991, 3011, 3181, 3377, 4583, 4961) occurs at least twice (besides *wel)* in Chaucer's known works *(Tales* A 2231, *Complaints* 96). P. 49 Kaluza attacks the rhyme *nought: bisought* (3869 f.), *which on p. 45 he quotes from Tales A 4117* (cf. F 1273 & *Rom.* 6565); *grac(e): compas* (3207): *laas* (5127) & *bar: squar(e)* (3811 & 4154) are also true Chaucerian rhymes (cf. B 2021). On the other hand he has overlooked at least five impure rhymes, 3345 f. *(hende: freend),* 3351 f. *(were: daunger),* 3709 f. *(hete: set),* 4657 f. *(paramours: shoures),* 5107 f. *(inne: in).*

2) Kaluza gives 36 instances (p. 47) but *hy* & *high* in 2393 f., 3209 f., & 3911 f. are mere scribal mistakes for *hye;* on the other hand he has overlooked the really impure rhyme in 3591 f. *(in hye: curteisly).*

3) P. 47 Kaluza objects to assonances (7 in all), but these are not quite unknown in Chaucer (cf. Skeat VI. lvi f., Lounsbury I. 394 ff., Kittredge in *Studies* I. 4 f.). *Give* & *yeve* are common twin-forms in Chaucer, so that Kaluza is wrong (p. 47) in objecting to the rhyme *leve: yive* (2335 f.), while there is absolutely no reason to correct *wynde (:binde,* 2055 f.) into *wende* (p. 46); as to *fere: here* (3843 f.) see Skeat VI. xlvi (cf. Hagedorn's diss. p. 11 and Skeat VI. xxxvi ff.).

differs more from Chaucer's language and prosody than do the preceding and following parts, but it is at least as important to note that the difference is one of quantity rather than of kind. Northern touches are also found in the beginning and in the conclusion, and the same suspicious rhymes even occur both in the first and in the second parts of the translation.[1]) When, therefore, Skeat thinks it possible to emend the un-Chaucerian rhymes of the opening 1700 lines, [2]) while Kaluza partly does the same as far as the last 1900 lines are concerned, [3]) there can be no principal objection to a similar attempt in the case of the central 4000 lines.[4]) The common superstition that scribes practically never meddled with rhymes is not borne out by the facts;[5]) on the contrary dialectal changes within a text often affected the rhymes, as seen in the text of *Le Roman de la Rose* offered by a handsome XIV cent. MS. in the Royal Library of Copenhagen.[6]) Here the original Central French language has been changed into the Picard dialect,[7]) in the course of which process numerous lines and even couplets have been completely remodelled. To take the more important changes in the first 128

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1) Cp. the rhymes *care: were* in 505 f. & *love: byhove* in 1091 f. with *bare: were* in 5457 f., *were: forfare* in 5777 f., & *love: bihove* in 2963 f. (cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 55. 173).

2) See Skeat (p. 150 & I. 419 f., 427) on 505, 1348, 1447; cf. H. Lange in *Anglia* 35. 338 ff., 36. 479 ff., 37. 160, & *Beiblatt* 21. 316 f.

3) E. g. 5831 f., 6565 f., 6665 f., 6679 f.; see Kaluza pp. 44 ff. & 62 ff., cf. Skeat I. 6 f.

4) Note Kaluza's emendations of 4793 f., 4823 f., 5541 f. (p. 46); cf. Lounsbury II. 61.

5) See Furnivall p. 110, cf. Morley *Engl. Writers* V. 249 ff., and espec. Miss Carr on the habits of the southern scribe of the Auchinleck MS. *(Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Language & Lit.* no. 2 (1918) p. 153 ff.). Note also the changes introduced into the text of *Cursor Mundi* by the southern scribe of the Bodl. MS. Fairf. 14.

6) Gl. Kgl. Saml. 4°. 2061, cf. N. C. L. Abrahams *Description des MSS. français de la Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague* 1844, p. 142 ff.

7) Cf. Langlois p. 176 f. He has collated the MS. for his ed., where it appears in the notes as *He.*

lines only, the couplet 23 f. has been changed from its usual form:

Ou point qu' Amors prent le paage
Des juenes genz, couchiez m'estoie
Une nuit, si con je soloie

into

Des jones gens *a ses mestoie*
Vne nuit *couchies iou estoie.*

L. 30 has become

Si con li *fais amonnestoit*

instead of

Si com li songes recontoit.

In l. 31 the rhyme-word *rimaier* has been changed into Northern French *rimer*, and l. 32 is altered accordingly:

en nos cuers nueus emprimer

instead of

Par voz cuers plus faire esgaier.

Characteristically enough the line in the Copenhagen MS. still begins with a *P*, which has, however, been pricked out. The rhyme of the couplet 45 f. has been changed from *mais: ou mais* into *mais: tous fais* — evidently to avoid *rime riche* —, in l. 59 the rare rhyme-word *gobe (ME. proud)* has been replaced by *noble,* and in l. 74 *lores s'esforce* has become *lors se ren force,* since *lores* in the Picard dialect counted as one syllable only and an extra syllable accordingly had to be introduced. [1])

1) This reading occurs in at least two other MSS., see Langlois I. 4.

The above version is consequently a clear case of a scribe's elaborate dialectal changes in the French original; it is then only natural to enquire whether the un-Chaucerian rhymes of the ME. translation may not be accounted for in a similar way [1]), especially as the linguistic and stylistic unity of the whole translation is far more pronounced than the differences separating the various parts. [2]) The somewhat peculiar character of these differences will appear from a comparison with the text of the French original.

2. *The State of the Text.*

The MS. of the French original used by the ME. translator was clearly corrupt in several places; for instance in 4331 f. the correct reading *teigne,* moth, had evidently been replaced by *caigne,* tramp, as shown by ME. 4751 f.:

C'est *kaigne*[3]) qui riens ne refuse — It is *a slowe* may not forbere
Les pourpres e les bureaus use. — Ragges Ribaned with gold to were.

A similar, but more important instance is found in l. 149 where the reading *mynoresse* in the Glasgow MS. and in Thynne is still thought a scribal mistake for *moveresse,* corresponding to the French *moverresse* in l. 141. [4]) At least two French MSS.

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[1]) Lindner once hinted as much, but thought the difficulty of the rhymes insuperable *(Engl. Stud.* 9. 172). Skeat says *(Essays on Ch.* p. 679) that the northern peculiarities in the middle part of the translation are misunderstood by the scribe who is apt to introduce southern forms. As a matter of fact, however, the attitude of the scribe is exactly the opposite, as sufficiently appears from the frequent *-ing* and the few *-and* forms of the pres. part. (cf. above; this is entirely misunderstood by Skeat I. 5).

[2]) See A. D. Schoch in *Phil.* 3. 354 f., cf. Lounsbury I. xx.

[3]) This is *not* the correct reading as believed by Liddell in the *Globe Ch.* p. 711; cf. the notes in Langlois' ed. II. 214 (Kaluza prints *taigne* in his l. 4313).

[4]) See already Francis Thynne's *Animaduersions* ed. Furnivall p. 74, cf. Hammond p. 508.

and one old edition read, however, *meneresse,*[1]) which was presumably taken over into the English text by the translator and later corrupted into *mynoresse.*

From both the above instances the importance of making an attempt to determine the character of the particular French MS. used by the Middle English translator will appear, an attempt made possible by M. Ernest Langlois' examination of the more than 200 MSS. of *Le Roman de la Rose,* the results of which are utilized in the critical edition he is now bringing out for *La Société Des Anciens Textes Françaises.*[2]) Now the most important test passage used by Langlois to classify the authorities for the de Lorris part, evidently ran in the French MS. of the translator as it does in certain MSS. belonging to various subdivisions, K, L, M, N, of Langlois' group II.[3]) For ME. 3023—32 clearly do not translate lines 2833—7 of the standard French text, but the following garbled version:

Ne fu mie sens li gaignons,	He was not soole for ther was moo
Avec lui ot deus compaignons	For with hym were other twoo
Une fame et un vilain ome;	Of wikkid maners and yuel fame
Li ons Male Bouche se nome,	That oon was clepid by his name
Nez fu, sachiez, en Normandie;	Wykked tonge god yeue hym sorwe
C'est uns vilains que Dieus maudie!	For neither at eve ne at morwe
	He can of no man good speke
	On many a iust man doth he wreke

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1) See Langlois II. 8 and cp. Godefroy s. v.

2) The last vol. (III) has brought the text as far as l. 12976. XIX cent. eds. are those by Méon (1814), Michel (1864), & Marteau (1878 ff.; cf. Fansler pp. 9 & 240 ff.). For the early eds. see F. W. Bourdillon's monograph (Bibliograph. Soc. 1906). There is a good modern Engl. transl. by F. S. Ellis (1—3, 1900).

3) See Langlois p. 241 ff., cf. p. 265 f.

Et la fame si ot non Honte.[1])	Ther was a womman eke that hight Shame — — —.

The same MSS. omit 2859—62 and change l. 2863 f. into a form rendered by the ME. translator as follows in l. 3060 ff.:

Or sont as roses garder troi,	And thus to kepe it ther were three
Por ce que nus senz lor otroi	That non shulde hardy be ne bolde Were he yong or were he olde Ageyn hir will awey to bere
Ne rose ne bouton n'emport.	Bothoms ne Roses that ther were.[2])

That the French original of the ME. translation was derived from the same ancestor as the four subgroups K, L, M, N also appears from the fact that ME. 4546 evidently translates their common version of Langlois 4154:[3])

Par foi je m'en vueil repentir.[4])	But *certeyn* now I wole repente.

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[1]) The standard text is (Langlois I. 143 f.):

Ancois avoit a compaignons
Male Bouche le jangleor,
Et avuec lui Honte e Peor.
Li miauz vaillanz d'aus si fu Honte.

Ll. 5—6 of the garbled version are found in the subgroups K L, while l. 2 seems to occur in M N only (Langlois p. 265 f.). Though these peculiarities are clearly represented in the ME. version (cf. 3024 & 3027), they have *not* been introduced into Kaluza's French text (1. 2817 ff.), which is rather unsatisfactory here as elsewhere.

[2]) The ME. text is badly corrupted; cf. below.

[3]) Cf. Langlois p. 448 f.

[4]) Cf. Kaluza's French text 1. 4134; the standard text runs *Trop m'en vueil, ce crei, repentir* (Langlois II. 207).

These MSS. also have an interpolated chapter in the long confession of *Faux-Semblant* after 1. 11222; apparently first 98 lines were added (I—XCVIII), and later 60 more were inserted in various places (VIII, 1-20—XII, 1-4—XIV, 1-4—LVI, 1-2—LVIII, 1-30. [1]) Most of the MSS. belonging to group II offer various arrangements of these 158 lines; the ME. translation renders the following combination: I—VIII (6361—70) — VIII, 5-16 (6371—82) — IX—L (6383—424) — LVII—VIII (6425—6) — LI—VI (6427—32) — LIX—XCVIII (6433—72). [2]) The French subdivision in closest agreement with this selection is K, which has the following arrangement: I—VIII — VIII, 1-20 — IX—XII — XII, 1-4 — XIII—XIV — XIV, 1-4 — XV—XCVIII. [3]) In most cases, however, the peculiar mistakes of K do not agree with the ME. translation, except in one instance, 4169—72 (ME. 4561—4): [4])

Ja, se Deu plaist, dou deu d'Amours	For love shall neuere yef god [5]) wille
Ne *de lui* plaintes ne clamours	Here *of me* thurgh word or wille
	Offence or complaynt more or lesse
Ne d'Esperance, ne d'Oiseuse,	Neither of hope nor Idilnesse.
Qui tant m'a esté gracieuse,	
Ne ferai mais —	

Here the K MSS. read *de moi* in 1. 4170, in complete agreement with ME. 4562. [6])

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1) See Langlois p. 426 ff., cf. III. 310 ff.

2) Kaluza's French text 11239—348. His 1. 11276 is closer to ME. 6400 than Langlois XXVI, but XLIV *Si que je m'aille de vous plaindre* goes better with ME. 6418 *That me mote nedis on thee pleyne* than Kaluza 11294 *Si que ge m'en aille complaindre.*

3) Cf. Langlois p. 430.

4) Langlois p. 435 ff. Neither the omissions of 4137 f., 4185 f., 4247 ff. &c, nor the interpolation after 1. 4230 have affected the ME. text.

5) Kaluza's emendation for *yeve good* in the MS.

6) Kaluza prints *ferai* (1. 4150), which suits neither the French nor the ME text.

Then, again, there are other cases, where the ME. translation approaches a text like that of the L subgroup, especially in 356 —7, where the correct reading appears to be:

E toutes les *denz* si perdues
Qu' ele n'en avoit mais nes une.

But an L-variant goes better with the one corresponding ME. line, 366:

E toutes les *mains* si perdues.[1]) And bothe her hondes lorne fordwyned.

Further, in l. 1719 f., the standard text runs:

Ainz remest enz, encor' l'i sens
E si n'en issi onques sans.

This couplet was not understood by the copyists who introduced a number of truly extraordinary variants, especially in the first line; the reading which is closest to the ME. text (1753 f.) occurs in certain MSS. of the L subgroup:[2])

Ainz remest en mon cuer lançans — But in myn herte still it stode
Que n'en issi goute de sans.[3]) — Al bledde I not a drope of blode.

It appears hopeless, after this, to refer the French original

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[1]) See Langlois II. 19, cf. Kaluza's ed. p. 22. The variant may, however, not be specially characteristic of subgroup L, but may be shared by the other subdivisions of group II, since in Langlois' critical apparatus this is represented by L-readings only (cf. I. 52). The same may be true of certain couplets, not rendered by the ME. translator, and stated by Langlois to have been omitted in L, such as 1515 f. & 2635 f. (om. by Kaluza before 2621 f.).

[2]) Langlois II. 89 & 311 f.

[3]) Kaluza prints the last line as here, but has the first in a different form (1709 f.): *Ainçois remest li fers dedans* (though the L-MS. Roy. 19. B. XIII was among the authorities he says he used for his text (cf. p. 2 of his ed.)).

to any definite subgroup;[1]) moreover, in the test passage on which Langlois relies for further classification of his group II, l. 109 f, the ME. text (l. 115 f.) does not translate any of the numerous corruptions offered by the various subgroups, but renders the true text as found in group I and in a few hybrid MSS.:

Descendoit l'eve granz et roide	Cam doun the streme ful stif and bold
Clere estoit l'eve et aussi froide.[2])	Cleer was the water and as cold.

There must in fact have been a good many readings belonging to group I in the French MS. used by the English translator, such as for instance l. 1240—2 (ME. 1262—4):

Ele fu une clere brune;	Clere broune she was and therto bright
Le vis avoit cler et luisant:	Of face of body wenaunt
Je ne sai fame si plaisant.[3])	I wot no lady so plesaunt.

A few MSS. of group I read differently:

Elle fu une clere brune;
Faitisse estoit et avenant;
Je ne sai dame si plaisant.[4])

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1) Note also that while both couplets 77 f. & 1515 f. are omitted in the subgroups L M and preserved in K N (cf. Langlois p. 293), the ME. text translates the first (81 f.) and omits the second (between 1546 & 1547).

2) Cf. Langlois p. 266 ff.; Kaluza's reading (l. 110) is not quite so close to the ME. version.

3) This (correct) reading is also found in subdivision G of group II, while the subgroups L M and K N have different variants (cf. Langlois p. 294); *si* in l. 1242 is taken from the notes I. 64. But compare with the H-variant of 1241 *Gente iert e bele e avenant* ME. 1263 where Thynne reads *auenaunt* (cf. 3679); possibly this reading is a later insertion (see below about the activity of a reviser).

4) See Kaluza 1232—4 (cf. Langlois p. 263); the second line may have influenced ME. 1233 (cf. below).

This or a similar reading is preferred by certain MSS., some of which belong to the subgroup B, whose readings seem to have influenced the Middle English text a good deal, as proved by the following series of interpolations, all rendered in the ME. translation: [1])

1. Two lines inserted after l. 4228 (ME. 4627 f.):

Car selonc qu'ele porroit	Till she demurely sad of chere
Mout volentiers me secorroit. [2])	Seide to me as she come nere.

2. Two lines after l. 11254 accompanied by the ordinary l. 11249 f. [3]) (ME. 6503—6):

De folie m'entremetroie	It is but foly to entremete
Se en lit a chien oint querroie	To seke in houndes nest fat mete
S'il sont a l'Ostel Deu porté,	Lete bere hem to the spitel anoon
Ja n'ierent, par mei conforté. [4])	But for me comfort gete they noon.

3. Ten lines after l. 11568 (ME. 6841—8 render the eight last, transposing two couplets):

Tu sembles sainz on. — Certes voire.	*Without me may no wight dure*
Ordener me fis a prouvoire,	*I walke soules forto cure*
S'oi la suite de tout le monde,	Of al the world cure haue I
Tant come il dure a la reonde;	In brede and lengthe boldly
Par tout vois les ames curer,	
Nus ne peut mais sanz moi durer	

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1) Langlois p. 359 f.
2) Langlois II. 210 (cf. Kaluza l. 4209 f.).
3) Cf. Langlois p. 361.
4) Langlois III. 193, cf. Kaluza l. 11381 f. (& 11375 f.).

Et preeschier et conseillier,	I wole bothe preche and eke counceilen
Senz jamais des mains traveillier.	With hondis wille I not traueilen
De l'apostole en ai la bule,	For of the Pope I haue the bull
Qui ne me tient pas pour entule. [1])	I ne holde not my withes dull.

4. Six lines after 1. 11678 (ME. 6965—70):

Einsi somes des genz cremu	Thus be we dred of the puple Iwis
De tel propos ne me remu	And gladly my purpos is this
Fors que de ceus qui ont planté	I dele with no wight but he
En tresor deniers a plenté	Have gold and tresour gret plente
Leur acointance trop desir	Her acqueyntaunce wel loue I
Ce sont auques tait mi desir. [2])	This is moche my desire shortly.

All these interpolations are found in the five most important members of Langlois' B group, [3]) Bibl. Nat. 1571, 1576, 25524, the Turin and the Arras MSS. (Ba, Bâ, Bi, Be, Bê). [4]) When these MSS. differ the ME. translation occasionally agrees with some of the members, as for instance with the two first in

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1) Langlois III 206 & 322, cf. Kaluza 1. 11718 ff.

2) See Langlois III. 210 f., cf. Kaluza 1. 11839 ff.

3) But there are other features of these with which the ME. translation does not agree, e. g. the interpolation of four lines after 1. 11790 (ME. 7088), the substitution of 16 lines for 11903—4 (ME. 12077 f.), and the transposition of 10769—70 (ME. 5897 f.).

4) There are certain other agreements between the ME. translation and the four first MSS. alone (cf. Langlois p. 361), such as the moving of 11237 f. (ME. 6483) up behind 11232, the transposition of 11579 and 11580 (ME. 6861 f.), and the reading *faisions* for *grevions* in 11655 (cf. *dide* in ME. 6941). But 11665 f., 11803 f., & 12055 f. were not omitted in the French original, as they are in these four MSS., and 11291 f. had the standard reading (cf. ME. 6543).

rendering the couplet interpolated after l. 4406; compare Langlois 4403—7 (with this couplet inserted) and ME. 4845—55:[1])

Mais je sai bien, pas nous devin,	For I wote wel in sothfastnesse
Continuer l'estre devin	That what[2]) doth now his bisynesse
A son poeir vouleir deüst	With ony womman for to dele
Quiconques a fame geüst,	For ony lust that he maw fele
D'engendrer i ou filz ou fille	*But if it be for engendrure*
Car autrement trop s'i aville, [3])	*He doth trespasse I you ensure*
	For he shulde setten all his wille
	To geten a likly thyng hym tille
	And to sustene if he myght
	And kepe forth by kyndes Right
Et soi garder en son semblable.	His owne lyknesse and semblable.

In some other cases the translation agrees with authorities partially belonging to the B group but of a somewhat hybrid character, such as the MSS. Bruxelles 11019 and Montpellier 438 (Langlois *Bu* & *Bû)*. For instance it follows them in interpolating six lines after l. 11834 (ME. 7137—41):

Mais mostrer mie ne le vodrent	They nolde shewe more a del(e)[4])
Lor livre prirent et repodrent	
Et le gardent et garderont	But thenne it kept and kepen will[5])
Tant qu'a ce tens venu seront	Til such a tyme that they may see

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[1]) Cf. Langlois p. 365. On the other hand the translation does not accept the interpolation of a couplet after 11951 (ME. 12126).

[2]) Emended by Skeat into *who;* Kaluza proposes *That what man doth his b.*

[3]) *Omitted* in Kaluza's French text (p. 278).

[4]) Thynne: *They nolde shewe it no more a dele* (read perhaps *never* for *no more,* cf. Kaluza's text p. 409).

[5]) Thynne: *wel(e).*

Qu'il se puissent si fort crester	That they so stronge woxen be
Que nus ne puisse contrester.[1])	That no wyght may hem wel withstonde.

But there is a far more important passage the interpolations and gratuitous repetitions of which clearly show the hybrid character of the codices in which they occur: the Bruxelles and Montpellier MSS., Brit Mus. Egerton 881 ($\chi\omega$), and finally the French MS. used by the English translator, as appears from ME. 6573—94 (Langlois 11317—26):[2])

Poissanz on deit, bien le recors,	A myghty man that can and may
Aus propres mains, au propre cors,	Shulde with his honde and body alway
En labourant querre son vivre,	Wynne hym his fode in laboring
S'il n'a dou il se puisse vivre,	If he ne haue rent or sich a thing
Combien qu'il seit religieus,	Al though he be religious
Ne de servir Deu curieus;	And god to serven curious
Ainsinc faire le li couvient,	Thus mote he done or do trespas
Fors es cas don il me souvient,	But if it be in certeyn cas
Que bien raconter vous savrai	That I can reherce if myster be
Quant tens dou raconter avrai.	Right wel whanne the tyme I se
Les diz saint Augustin cerchiez,	[S]eke the book of seynt Austyne
Entre ses escriz reverchiez,	Be it in papir or perchemyne
Le livre Des Uerres des moines:	There as he writ of these worchynges
La verrez que nules essoines	Thou shalt seen that noon excusynges
Ne doit querre li ons parfaiz	A parfit man ne shulde seke
Ne par parole ne par faiz.	Bi wordis ne bi dedis eke
Combien qu'il seit religieus,	Al though he be Religious
Ne de servir Deu curieus,	And god to seruen curious
Qu'il ne doie, bien le recors,	*That he ne shal so mote I go*

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1) Langlois p. 366, cf. Kaluza 12003—8.
2) See Langlois p. 381, cf. III. 196 & 316.

Aus propres mains, au propre cors,	*With propre hondis and body also*
En labourant querre son vivre,	*Gete* his fode in laboryng
S'il n'a propre dou puisse vivre.	If he ne haue *proprete of* thing.

The six last French lines are mainly a repetition of 11321 f. & 11317—20, just as the last six English lines are little but a repetition of 6577 f. & 6373—76.[1]) In the rest of the B group 11317—26 are omitted before the interpolation; that they are present in *Bu, Bû, κω'*, and in the French original of the ME. translation shows of course that all these MSS. are hybrids.[2]) As to the last MS. in particular the fact of its contamination also clearly appears from another passage where it must have adopted readings from a new subdivision of group I, C. This interpolates six lines after l. 4304, rendered by ME. 4713—20:

C'est Caribdis la perilleuse,	It is karibdous perilous
Desagreable e gracieuse;	Disagreable and gracious
C'est descordance qui s'accorde	*It is discordance that can accorde*
Acordance qui se descorde	*And accordaunce to discorde*
C'est sapience sans science	*It is wisdom withoute science*
C'est science sans sapience	*Kunnyng withoute sapience*[3])
C'est sens que nus ne puet savoir	*Witte withoute discrecioun*
C'est possession sans avoir.[4])	*Havoire withoute possession.*

After this there cannot be any doubt that the French original

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1) The *new* expressions are italicized above.

2) Other peculiarities of *Bu, Bû, κω* were, however, not present in the French MS. original such as the notice inserted before 11223—980 (cf. Langlois p. 396 f.).

3) L. 4717 f. stand like this in Glasgow and Thynne

It is *kunnyng* withoute science
Wisdom withoute sapience

— which is plainly absurd.

4) See Langlois p. 411 f. (cf. II. 213). The six lines are found in certain B-MSS. too, but here they are inserted after 4302, sometimes with 4303 f. omitted. They are *omitted* in Kaluza's French text, after l. 4286. — Note also the reading *m'aloie* instead of *m'estoie* in l. 23, in C and certain B MSS.; cp. ME. 23 *I went.*

of the ME. translation was a greatly contaminated MS., showing readings from various subdivisions of groups I & II, not unlike such a MS. as Brit. Mus. Eg. 881 *(κω)*. [1]) This French text may to some extent be reconstructed from the critical apparatus of Langlois' edition, though we cannot, of course, hope to reach anything like complete certainty in all details. [2]) However, such as it is, a comparison between it and the ME. text yields various interesting results. Though neither of the English authorities shows any break at l. 5810 of the translation, there is really a large gap here, comprising upwards of 5500 verses (Langlois 5155—10680), while the text stops definitely with l. 7692 (Langlois l. 12352), leaving more than 10000 French lines untranslated. Accordingly the ME. translation consists strictly speaking of two fragments only, a fact already pointed out by Tyrwhitt. [3]) Ten Brink thought that the gaps were due to the copyists, [4]) while Lindner maintained that the two fragments were written by different authors, since the French name *Bel-Acueil* is preserved in the first fragment, but rendered by *Fayre-Welcomyng*

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1) Cf. Langlois pp. 143 & 255 f. Note also that many of the French variants are paralleled by several groups, such as 1186 *Mainte bele chevalerie* (for *Mainte joste e mainte envoïe)*, found both in L, M, N and in *Be-Ga* (Langlois p. 258, cf. ME. 1207 *The[re] hadde he don gret chyualrie)*. — It will be seen from the above that the readings of the various French groups and subgroups are equally distributed throughout all parts of the English version, so that these cannot have been translated from different MSS.

2) Kaluza's French text is often unsatisfactory (cf. above and note such a case as 4828 where he has *mole,* but L M N read *douce* (Langlois l. 4846, cf. p. 455 & I. 234) corresponding to ME. 5412 *swete)*. Langlois' critical apparatus is not complete either, but may be supplemented from his monograph on the MSS., and sometimes from Kaluza's ed.; for instance, his reading in 848 *Je ne sai dame si plaisant* (from B. M. Eg. 881) is the true basis for ME. 868 *I wot no lady so likyng* (Langlois 854: *Que vos iroie je disant)*.

3) III. 314; cf. Ebert in *Jahrbuch* 4. 88 f., Hales in *Folia Litteraria* p. 80 ff., and Lounsbury II. 7 f.

4) P. 19 ff., cf. *Jahrbuch* 8. 300 ff.

in the second (ME. 5811 ff.).[1]) Finally Kaluza split up the first fragment into two, observing that there is an impure rhyme in l. 1705 f. *(aboute: swote),* and that before this the French *bouton* is rendered by *knoppe,* but afterwards by *botoun.* He also noted that about this juncture the translation is getting more diffuse, as the first 1700 ME. lines correspond to about 1650 French lines, but gradually more and more lines are inserted, until at last about 5800 English lines do not represent much more than 5100 French lines; in the second fragment, however, the translation again becomes a pretty close one, about 1900 English lines corresponding to about 1850 lines of the original.[2])

In this way Kaluza divided the translation into three fragments A,B,C, and his results have been very generally accepted, though they are really based on curiously weak evidence.[3])

First as to the passage where according to Kalûza fragments A and B have been joined together, 1704—10 (Langlois 1668—74):

L'odor de lui entor s'espant:	The swote smelle spronge so wide
La soatume qui en ist	
Toute la place replenist.	That it dide all the place aboute
Quant je le senti si flairier,[4])	Whanne I hadde smelled the sauour swote
Je n'oi talent de repairier,	No will hadde I fro thens yit goo
Ainz m'aprochasse por le prendre,	Bot somdell neer it wente I thoo
Se j'i osasse la main tendre.	To take it but myn hond for drede
	Ne dorste I to the Rose bede.

It is clear that this passage is corrupt since sense and syntax both go wrong after l. 1705, which also rhymes very imperfectly

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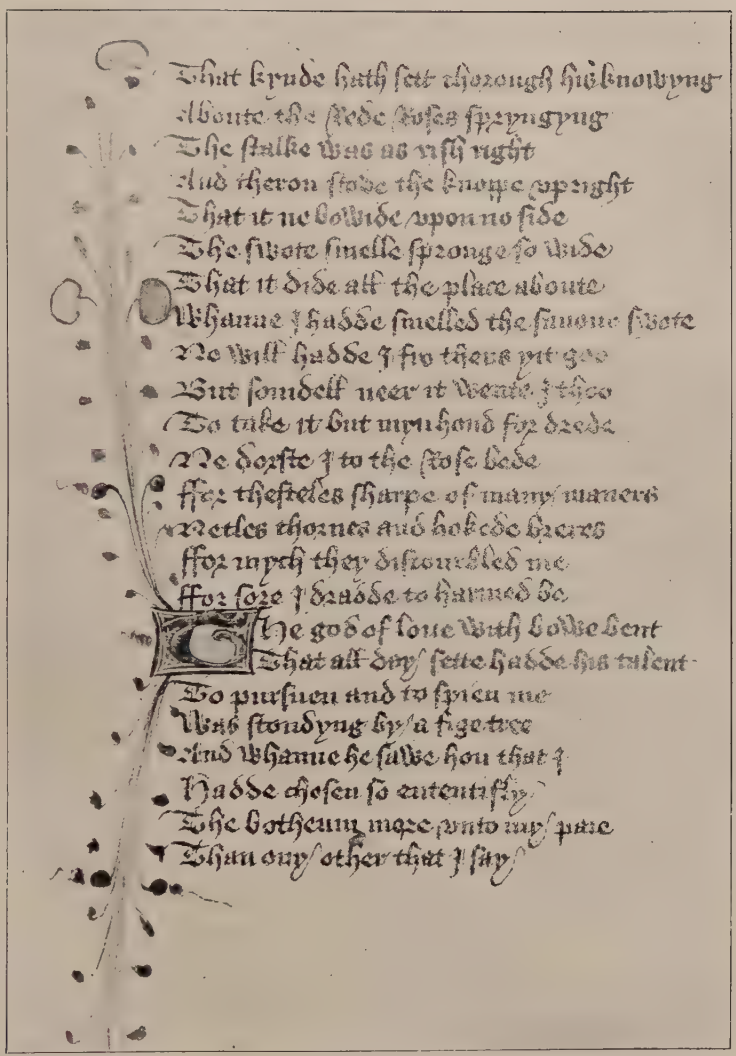
[1]) *Engl. Stud.* 11. 163 ff. (1888); already noticed by F. J. Child in *Athen.* 1870. II. 721.

[2]) Cf. Kaluza's letter to Furnivall in *Acad.* 1890. II. 11 ff.

[3]) See Skeat p. 65 ff. & I. 1 ff., Langlois I. 39, Hammond p. 450 ff., & Wells p. 648 ff.; but cf. A. D. Schoch in *Phil.* 3. 339 ff.

[4]) This line has been inserted from Langlois' notes II. 87 (cf. Kaluza 1661).



THE ROMANCE OF THE ROSE, LINES 1699—1722

MS. Glasgow Hunt. Mus. V. 3. 7, f. 32 b;
$10^{3}/_{4} \times 7^{3}/_{4}$ in.

PLATE V.

with l. 1706.[1]) That there is a real break after l. 1705 is, however, far from clear[2]); there are many other passages of the translation where the sense is much more unsatisfactory than here, such as Langlois 3879—82 (ME. 4217—20):

Peor ot grant conestablie,	Thanne drede hadde in hir baillie
E fu a garder establie	The kepyng of the Conestablerye
L'autre porte, qui est assise	Toward the north I vndirstonde
A main senestre, devers bise.[3])	That openyde vpon the lyfte honde.

Here the failure to translate the French phrase *l'autre porte* deprives the last English line of any real meaning. Nor does the fact that French *bouton(s)* is rendered *knoppe(s)* in 1675—1702, but *botoun(s)* in 1721 ff. prove that the work of a new translator begins between l. 1702 and l. 1721;[4]) as a matter of fact French *moison* is rendered *fasoun* in l. 551, but *moysoun* in l. 1677 — without the necessity for a new division becoming apparent. Finally, impure rhymes do not crop up in any large number till about l. 1800.[5]) From all which the definite fact emerges that there is no sharp break at l. 1705, but a gradual

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1) Originally Kaluza thought that the first fragment stopped with l. 1704 (*Acad.* 1890 II. 11 ff.); the supposed break after l. 1705 was first suggested by Skeat (*ib.* 51 f. & 1891. II. 137) and accepted by Kaluza p. 38. — The latter's emendation of *filde* for *dide* and Reeves' adoption of Thynne's reading *dyed* (= coloured; cf. *Notes* 38. 124, but see Skeat I. 164) are both equally unsatisfactory.

2) Cf. Pollard's *Ch. Primer* p. 142; the MS. shows no break at all, cf. pl. V.

3) In l. 3879 *ot* (cf. Kaluza 3859 and note ME. *hade)* is taken from Langlois' B-group (cf. I. 193); the correct reading seems to be *rot.*

4) Liddell thought that the new translation did not begin till l. 1715 (cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 55. 168 f.) and proposes to emend the rhyme of l. 1705 f. into *replete: swete* or *swete* (v.): *swete (Globe Ch.* p. 678). — Skeat will continue l. 1705 thus: *Fulfild of baume, withouten doute* (I. 430).

5) Ll. 1785, 1789, 1811, 1813, 1849, 1851, 1853, 1857, 1861 are the first impure rhymes after l. 1705.

transition in lines 1600—1800 from a comparatively close and correct translation to a rather looser and less correct one.[1] Ll. 1705—8 are simply corrupt, and a possible emendation would read somewhat like this:

That al the place *it gan to fille.*
To go therfro I had no wille,
Whan I had smelled it *savour so.*[2]
But somdel ner it wente I tho.

The big gap in the translation between l. 5810 and l. 5811 has sometimes been explained, not through imperfect textual transmission, but as an intentional omission owing to the deliberate choice of a well-defined section of Jean de Meun's work for translation (ME. 5811—7696).[3] It has also been imagined that the independence of this part of the translation was indicated by its special running title in the Glasgow MS., where ff. 115 b—50 are headed *ffalssemblant.*[4] Such headings exist, however, also in copies of the French original, e. g. in MS. Thott Fol. 412 in the Royal Library of Copenhagen[5] where *Faulx semblant* — or *Faulx semblant ⁊ malebouche* — is the running title of nearly all the 40 columns in question. So the English heading was simply

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1) Note the peculiarly *Northern* flavour of a line like 1701 *The stalke was as risshe right,* rhyming *rum ram ruf* (similar instances, all occurring *before* l. 1705, are given by Fick in *Engl. Stud.* 9. 162). — Prof. Jack thinks that the character of the translation changes after l. 1608 *(Comm. on the Poetry of Chaucer and Spenser,* 1920, p. 118), while ten Brink (p. 177) thought the greater purity of the rhymes in the first 1800 lines due to a later revision (note that Kaluza once thought that the first fragment stopped with l. 1768; *Acad.* 1890. II. 11).

2) Observe that the *sauour swote* seems a mere repetition of *the swote smelle* in l. 1704.

3) Lindner in *Engl. Stud.* 11. 163 ff., but see ten Brink p. 19 ff. (cf. *Jahrbuch* 8. 306 ff.).

4) Cf. Kaluza p. 8[1]. Note, however, that the fragment really begins on the preceding page (without any break at all).

5) See the Cat. by Abrahams (1844) p. 147, cf. Langlois p. 178.

copied from the French and does *not* prove any separate existence of this portion of the translation. [1])

It is also clear that the couplet l. 5811 f. is not at all suited to form the introduction to an independent work, [2]) while the fragmentary character of the translation is strongly emphasized by the conclusion. This differs in our two authorities. The Glasgow MS. concludes on f. 150 (7690—92):

I am licenced boldely
To Reden in Diuinite
And longe haue red
Explicit. [3])

But Thynne goes on for a few lines longer (7690—96, cf. Langlois 12352—60):

J'ai de divinité congié	I am lycensed boldely
Veire, par Deu! pieç'a leü.	In diuynite for to rede
Por confesser [4]) m'ont esleü	And to confessen out of drede
Li meilleur qu'en puisse saveir	
Par mon sen et par mon saveir.	

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[1]) Note also such rubrics as the following on f. 90 (before l. 4615): *Coment Raisoun Vient a lamant* — and on f. 102 b (at l. 5201): *Comment Raisoun Diffinist aunsete.* This mistake for *amisete* (cf. Kaluza in *Engl. Stud.* 13. 529) proves that a French MS. was used by an earlier scribe than the Glasgow copyist (cp. the rubrics *L'Amaunt* & *Raisoun* on ff. 91 a—b, 93, 101, 102).

[2]) Ainsinc *Amors* a ceus parole
Qui bien reçurent sa parole.

Quant *il* ot sa raison fenie	Whanne *love* hadde told hem his entent
Conseilla sei la baronie	The baronage to councel went

In spite of the reading *love* in l. 5811 (cf. Kaluza p. 246[1] & Skeat p. 92 f.) the reference to the preceding section (Langlois 10679) is quite unmistakable.

[3]) Above this word two lines are completely erased. On the back of the leaf (f. 150 b) the scribe writes *I take youre silf to recorde* followed by *Explice* — but it is more than doubtful whether this has anything to do with the text of the translation.

[4]) This is a B-reading (for *confesseur,* see Langlois III. 238, cf. Kaluza 12531).

Se vous voulez ci confessier,	If ye wol you nowe confesse
Et ce pechié sans plus laissier,	And leaue your synnes more and lesse
Senz faire en jamais mencion,	Without abode / knele downe anon
Vous avreiz m'assolucion.	And you shal haue absolucion.

The English rendering of the original is not very happy; the French lines 12355 f. are omitted and the rhyme of l. 7695 f. is impure. The Glasgow version of l. 7692 is closer to the French text, though evidently somewhat corrupt; 7693—6 would seem to have been added by Thynne himself [1]), who also appears to have emended l. 7691 correctly, so that the concluding lines ought to run somewhat like this:

I am licenced boldely
In Divinite for to rede
And longe have red *withouten drede.*

This conclusion is of course exceedingly abrupt, and it was probably for this reason that Thynne tried to round off the text by adding the four last lines. [2]) But even so the translation stops short at a most important point, seeing that in the very next French section (Langlois 12361—80) *Faus Semblanz* is going to cut off the tongue of *Male Bouche,* an action hinted at already in the description of *Faus Semblanz* (Langlois 12093—96), duly translated in ME. 7417—20:

Et fist en sa manche glacier	But in his sleue he gan to thring
Un bien trenchant rasoir d'acier,	A rasour sharp and wel bytyng
Qui fut forgé a une forge [3])	That was forged in a forge
Que l'en apele Cope Gorge.	Whiche that men clepen Coupe gorge

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[1]) Cf. Kaluza in *Engl. Stud.* 18. 109.

[2]) Note that his l. 7695 does not translate the corresponding French line (12359), but refers to the following couplet (12361 f.):
Male-Bouche *tantost s'abaisse,*
Si s'agenoille et se confesse.

[3]) The first half of this line is taken from Kaluza (l. 12269); Langlois reads *Qu'il fist forgier* (III. 228).

All these facts are surely quite incompatible with the assumption that 5811—7692 form a special episode, carefully selected by the ME. translator. On the contrary it seems perfectly clear both from the opening and from the concluding lines that here we have a mere fragment of a translation, once presumably complete. And there are also other considerations which make the theory that the present text of the ME. *Romance of the Rose* is a compound made up of scraps from two or three different translations, very unlikely indeed. For instance, neither of our authorities contains the slightest hint that we have to do with the work of more than one man, while the double origin of the French poem is clearly marked. For though Jean de Meun continues the work of Guillaume de Lorris without interruption (after l. 4058), later he inserts a long passage (Langlois 10526—652) where he quotes the six last lines composed by de Lorris (10555—60 = 4053—8) and the two first written by himself (10595 f. = 4059 f.), connecting them as follows (10561—7 & 10584—90):[1])

Ci se reposera Guillaumes,
Li cui tombleaus seit pleins de baumes,
D'encens, de mirre e d'aloé,
Tant m'a servi, tant m'a loé!
Puis vendra Johans Chopinel
Au cueur joli, au cors inel,
Qui naistra seur Leire a Meün,
— — — — — —

Cist arra le romanz si chier
Qu'il le voudra tout parfenir,
Se tens e leus l'en peut venir,
Car, quant Guillaumes cessera,
Johans le continuera,
Emprès sa mort, que je ne mente,
Anz trespassez plus de quarante.
— — — — — — [2])

1) Cf. Langlois III. 304.

2) The existence of the break between l. 4058 & l. 4059 (see espec. F. Guillon *Jean de Clopinel dit de Meung* 1903, p. 188 ff.) was very well

Further, when a fifteenth century English scribe found it necessary to supply some gaps in his copy of Lydgate's *Troy Book* from another version he did not omit to draw attention to the extraneous matter,[1]) so that the lack of such notes in the Glasgow MS. (and in Thynne) would seem beforehand to make the unity of the *Romance* a rather more likely proposition than its composite origin.

It is, however, pretty obvious that the text is of such an extraordinarily unsatisfactory kind as to demand an equally extraordinary explanation. As shown above the translation appears in the main to have been written in the literary Standard English of the late fourteenth century, though it is strangely mixed not only with Northern dialectal peculiarities, but also with comparatively late grammatical forms and idioms. Two phenomena are of especial importance here, the uses of *do* and of final *-e*. In the opening and concluding parts of the translation *do* is used in the old causal way (thus mostly in Chaucer), while in the central part there are a good many instances of the new pleonastic use in cases where Chaucer would generally employ *gynne*.[2])

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known during the Middle Ages. The XV cent. MS. of the French *Roman* at Glasgow (Hunt. Mus. T. 2. 10) has the following note inserted here (f. 25): "*Cy fine maistre guillaume de lorriz* Jusques ci a parle maistre guillaume de lorriz qui commanca cest Romant et a tant seteet / que plus nen fist et pour ce quil ne pout. ou quil ne voult. ou parce que le matiere na belissoit pas a plass / ou que il nentendoit pas la verite du songe a quoy Il deuoit estre remene. Il plut a maistre Jehan chopinel de Mun ensuiure ce que maistre guillaume avoit commence et pole de sore [!] en auant . en telle maniere con vous orrez ensuiuant."

1) Cambr. Univ. Kk. V. 30, f. 19: *her endis barbour and begynis ye monk* — f. 304 b: *her endis the monk and bygynnis barbour*. However, on ff. 11 & 323 b where the two Northern fragments respectively begin and stop, there are no notes; cf. Bradshaw's *Coll. Papers* p. 58 ff. As to this Barbour see Koeppel in *Engl. Stud.* 10. 373 ff., and especially P. Buss in *Anglia* 9. 493 ff.; cf. Wells p. 110.

2) See Lounsbury II. 73—5 and Kaluza p. 40 f., but espec. J. S. Kenyon *The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer* Ch. Soc. 1909 p. 153 ff. and Rud. Hittmair *Das Zeitwort Do in Chaucers Prosa* Wien 1923, p.

These circumstances suggest that the central part has been subject to later scribal emendation, and the probability of this view is strengthened by certain significant facts relating to the treatment of the final *-e*. This is sometimes sounded — as in 1. 1710 *Ne dorste I to the rose bede* — and sometimes not, as in 1. 2367 *To many his herte that wole departe.*[1]) This circumstance is responsible for a good many of the impure rhymes in the central part (fragment B) of the translation.[2]) An astonishingly large percentage of these are found in close proximity to each other; no less than 86 out of 228 faulty rhymes in this part occur in 24 groups, comprising from 3 to 15 couplets with 3, 4, 5, or 7 impure rhymes in each.[3]) Such a very peculiar distribution decidedly points to some kind of later interference with the translation;[4]) the exact nature of the disturbance will appear from a more detailed examination of the text.[5])

If, now, a line-for-line comparison of the French original and the translation is made, it will be seen at once that the apparent shortness of the ME. version is really due to accidental omissions and that the remaining fragments, while sometimes carefully translated as in the beginning and towards the end, are often

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75 ff.; cf. J. F. Royster in *Phil.* 12. 449 ff. Out of the 22 instances of the *do* auxiliary collected by the latter, at least 3 are, however, used in the causal sense (2287, 4530, 4599), while in seven cases *did* may simply be replaced by *gan* (as realised by Hittmair p. 82, to whose instances add 2152). And in spite of Kaluza's remark p. 411, practically all the remaining lines may be emended by reading *mot* (and *most*) for *doth* (and *dost*).

1) Cases of the latter description are noticed by Skeat in *Acad.* 1878. II. 143 f. and by Kaluza p. 50, but no instances of the former kind, have been noted, though they are numerous, cf. 1713, 1717, 1718, 1725, 1726, etc., etc.

2) Cf. Lounsbury II. 65 ff. and Skeat p. 81 f.

3) See Index B: *Impure Rhymes in the Romance of the Rose.*

4) In *The Ile of Ladies* the percentage of impure rhymes is almost the same as in the *Romance* 1706—5810 (nearly 100 in 2206 lines), but

5) there are practically none of these groups.
For other modernisations as the use of *who* for *that* in 1. 4194 and *it is I* instead of *it am I* in 1. 4365, see Lounsbury II. 13 f.

very loosely paraphrased, especially in the central part where circumlocutions abound, which lengthen the translation so much that it takes fully 4000 English lines (1805—5810) to render less than 3400 French ones (Langlois 1771—5154).[1] This is the result of a large number of insertions, varying in length from several lines or even couplets down to a single superfluous phrase, evidently inserted to eke out a line metrically. Such plain stop-gaps are generally made up by means of the preposition *without;* the most common are *withoute wene, withoute were, withoute drede, withoute fable, withoute fayle,* & *withoute more.*[2] A very significant instance is offered by three different tags of this kind occurring in three consecutive lines, ME. 4971—6 (Langlois 4501—6):

Coment il firent tel besoigne	Hou euere they myght *withoute blame*
Senz receveir honte e vergoigne;	Escape awey *withoute shame*
Ou, se honte e domage i orent,	In youthe *withoute damage*
Coment encore eschaper porent	Or repreef of her lynage
De tel peril senz perte aveir[3])	Losse of membre shedyng of blode
Ou d'ame ou de cors ou d'aveir.	Perell of deth or losse of good.

1) Cf. above, and see Skeat I. 4 and Schoch in *Phil.* 3. 352, but especially Kaluza's list (p. 17) of the number of French verses corresponding to every 100 English lines, from which it appears that the translation of Kaluza's fragment B is on the whole much more prolix than that of fragments A & C. Note, however, that the padding is far from equally pronounced in all parts of B; of its 41 hundreds 12 correspond to 90—103 French lines, exactly the same proportion as is found throughout A and C.

2) The respective occurrences of these six phrases in Kaluza's three fragments are (cf. Skeat's remarks as quoted by Kaluza p. 39 and see Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 55. 173):

A: 2-0-1-1-2-0
B: 9-8-4-2-1-4
C: 0-0-2-1-1-0

Skeat counts in all more than forty instances of such tags in B against 6 in A and 5 in C.

3) This line follows in the main Kaluza's text 1. 4487 (the expression *tel peril* is also found in Langlois' B-group (cf. II. 221; the correct reading is *De teus periz senz pis aveir)).*

The whole passage seems an obvious instance of textual corruption. [1])

Further evidence of such corruption appears to be present in passages giving an unsatisfactory translation of the French text, accompanied by faulty rhymes. A peculiarly significant case of this kind is found in 2397—402 (Langlois 2277 ff.):

En plusors sens seras destroiz,	*Thou shalte no whyle be in o state*
Une eure chauz e autre froi,	But whylom colde and whilom *hate*
Vermauz une eure, une autre pales:	Nowe reed as Rose / now yelowe and fade
Onques fievres n'eüs si males,	*Suche sorowe I trowe thou neuer had[d]e*
Ne cotidianes ne quartes	Cotidien / ne quarteyne
Bien avras, ainz que tu t'en partes,	It is nat so ful of peyne.
Les dolors d'amors essaiees.	

The translation of *fievres* by *sorowe* in l. 2400 is especially bad in view of the various fevers mentioned in l. 2401. Note also the heavy and dragging rhythm of 2397 f. & 2399 f. — in contrast with the quick and lively, quite Chaucerian movement of the last couplet 2401 f. — coupled with northern rhymes, a peculiarity which returns in such parallel instances as 2207 f., 2481 f., 5045 f., 5399 f., & 5457 f. [2])

Very suggestive too are the frequent clear cases of ME. lines not corresponding with the French text and presumably inserted later, as for instance l. 3311 f. (Langlois 3079 f.):

Cuidiez vos donc qu' Amors consente	What wene ye love wole consente

1) Note also that the four times repeated *withoute* in ME. 4717—20 occurs in a passage *not* translated from the French and likely to be a later insertion.

2) Other instances of bad translation accompanied by faulty rhymes are the couplets 3129 f., 3165 f., 3511 f., & 5059 f.

Que je refraigne e que je dente	*That me assailith with bowe bent(e)*

Note again here that the insertion of l. 3312 is accompanied by an impure rhyme. Similar cases are 1982, 3883, 5692, and especially 1789—92 (Langlois 1753 ff.):

Et quant li maus plus m'angoissoit,	And euermo that me was woo
Tant plus ma volentes croissoit [1])	The more desir hadde I to goo
Toz jorz d'aler vers la rosete	Vnto the Roser where that grew(e)
Qui oloit miauz que violete.	*The freysshe bothum so bright of hewe.* [2])

This method of *interlinear substitution* may in a few cases have been employed by ordinary scribes to replace lines omitted in the MSS. they copied; [3]) but on the whole they are far too numerous, about forty in all, to be completely accounted for in this way. [4]) They point undoubtedly to the existence of a peculiar source of grave textual corruption, sometimes also affecting more lines than one, as in the passage 4010—14 (Langlois 3680 ff.):

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1) This line is taken from Kaluza's French text l. 1744; Langlois reads: *E la volentez me croissoit.*

2) This is a stock phrase; cp. 2959—61 (Langlois 2771 ff.):

E soi que guerir ne pooie	Me forto curen no thyng I knewe
Fors par le bouton ou j'avoie	Save the *bothom bright of hewe*
Tot mon cuer mis e ma beance.	Wheron was sett hoolly my thought.

Note Mac Clumpha's observation *(The Alliteration of Ch.* 1888, p. 43) that the alliterative phrases in the *Romance* are few, but that they are repeated over and over again.

3) Cf. the prec. sect.

4) A. D. Schock enumerates 45 instances in all *(Phil.* 3. 351), to which the six given here must be added; on the other hand 11 of his instances are not happy (1181, 1713, 2422, 2983, 3604, 7591, & 7684 render the corresponding French lines clearly, if somewhat freely, and the same is true of 7118 & 7328 except that they have been otherwise corrupted, while 1824 & 7636 are really inserted lines). In 1090 & 6666 the rhymes are faulty.

Fos est qui en vos s'asseüre	Who tristith thee he doth folye
De garder roses ne bouton [1])	To kepe Roses or bothoms
Ne qu'en la queue d'un mouton.	*Whanne thei ben faire in her sesouns*
Trop estes recreanz e lasches,	*Thou art woxe to familiere*
Qui deüssiez estre farasches.	Where thou shulde be straunge of chere

Here 4012—3 evidently do not render the corresponding French lines, and the rhyme of 4013 f. is faulty; probably the lines originally ran somewhat like this:

Who tristith thee, he doth folye
Roses or knoppe forto kepe, [2])
More than he doth a shepe.
Thou art to sluggy and coward here
Where thou shulde be straunge of chere.

Now it is very curious to see that the line wrongly inserted here as 4013 *may* be used in an earlier passage where a couplet is left untranslated, 3829—36 (Langlois 3536 ff.):

Why hast thou ben so necligent
To kepen whanne I was absent
This verger heere left in thi warde
To me thou haddist no Rewarde
To truste to thy confusioun
Hym thus [3]) to whom suspeccioun
I haue right gret for it is nede
It is well shewed by the dede.

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1) In this line the reading *roses* is taken from Langlois' notes (II. 184, cf. Kaluza's French text 1. 3661); the correct reading appears to be *rose.*

2) As to the reading *knoppe* note that this is the true English rendering of *bouton,* used in 1675, 1683, 1685, 1691, & 1702; cf. above.

3) So Thynne; the Glasgow MS. reads *this.*

When this is compared with the French text (Langlois 3536 ff.) it will be seen that there are no lines here corresponding to 3831 f., while 3835 f. do not at all translate the French couplet 3539 f., as they ought to. But here 4013 fits in, and a possible emendation might read:

Garz neienz, por quoi t'a failli	Why hast thou ben so negligent
Sens, que bien fusses d'un garçon	To trusten whan I was absent
	Hym thus to thy confusioun
Don j'ai mauvaise sospeçon?	To whom I have suspeccioun?
Bien pert que tu croiz les losenges	It is well shewed *by thy chere*
De legier or garçons estranges.	*Thou art woxe to familiere.*

In all these cases the inserted English lines correspond superficially to French couplets, even if they do not translate them, while the prolix character of the translation is chiefly due to lines added without any equivalents at all in the original. Sometimes only a single line has been added, and as such additions occur with approximately the same frequency throughout the translation, this comparatively innocent expedient was probably in many cases resorted to by the original translator and need not always be explained through later scribal emendation.[1]) This explanation may also cover some of the numerous added couplets, e. g. 1229 f., 1397 f., 2301 f., 2795 f., 3263 f., 4479 f.,[2]) 4625 f.,

[1]) In the three parts of the *Romance* distinguished by Kaluza there are 35 one-line additions in A, 75 in B, and 20 in C; cf. Schock in *Phil.* 3. 350 (his figures of 35, 91, & 22 include inserted "pairs of alternate lines", see below under *cross-expansion*). Of these one instance in A (1349) and nine in B (1853, 1897, 2138, 2442, 3312, 3378, 4631, 5574, 5611) rhyme faultily, while 19 in B and one in C occur in immediate connection with couplets with impure rhymes; all these 30 instances are, then, probably due to textual corruption.

[2]) This couplet reads in Thynne's ed. (similarly in the Glasgow MS.):

Thus am I possed vp and downe
with doole / thought / and confusyoune.

Both Bell (VII. 152), Skeat (I. 208), and Liddell *(Globe Ch.* p. 708) follow Thynne in taking *dool* as a subst. (OF. *doel),* but in

& 5807 f., but most of these are of a typical stop-gap character, such as 1. 4503 f.:

> Sith they ne may *withoute drede*
> Helpen but lytel who taketh heede.[1])

Still more open to suspicion are the added couplets which have faulty rhymes, such as 2563 f. *(abrode: forweriede)*, 2583 f. *(apparaunt: shent)*, 2753 f. *(escape: make;* the next rhyme, 2755 f., is faulty too), 3289 f. *(hastily: folye)*, 4593 f. *(wille: til;* both 4591 f. and 4595 f. have faulty rhymes), 5627—36 (faulty rhyme in 5635 f. *ben: sustene)*, & 5739—44 (faulty rhymes in 5741 f. *sy: folye* and in 5745 f. *set: gete).*[2]) One case is peculiarly suggestive, because the apparently corrupted rhyme of one couplet seems to have necessitated the insertion of a couplet with a characteristic impure rhyme — ME. 3615—19 (Langlois 3349 ff.):

Il m'a lores par la main pris	And by the honde *without doute*
Por mener dedenz le porpris	Within the haye *right al aboute*
	He ladde me with right good chere
	Al enuyron the verger(e)
Que Dangiers m'avoit chalongié.	That Daunger hadde me chased fro

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this way *thought* becomes rather meaningless, and probably we ought to read *dull thought.*

1) Other quite superfluous additions are: 1971 f., 2013 f., 3281 f., 3353 f., 3515 f., 3843 f., 2033 f., 2885 f., 3895 f., 4097—100 (and omit *forth by* in 4096), 4463 f., 4515—18, 4749 f., 4789—92, 5127 f., 5315 f., 5319 f., 5353 f., 5487 f., 5531 f., 5545 f., 5549 f., 5755—8, 6555—8, 6703 f., 6749 f., 6857 f. (note the *five* accents in 6857), 7205 f. All these may be cut out without the slightest consequence to the text.

2) In certain other cases a faulty rhyme does not appear in the added lines but in the couplets immediately preceding or following them: 1985—90 (1983 f.), 2345—8 (2343 f.), 2479 f. (2481 f), 2489 f. (2487 f.), 3013 f. (3011 f.), 3675—8 (3673 f)., 3809 f. (3811 f), 4423—6 (4421 f), 5471 f. (5469 f.), 5645 f. (5643 f.), 6303 f. (6301 f).

Accordingly the passage may be supposed originally to have read like this:

Than[1]) by the honde he me hadde,[2])
Within the haye *he me ladde,*
That Daunger had me chased fro.

As to the further expansion of the translation certain devices for splitting up the original French couplets must be especially noticed. Take for instance 3322—6 (Langlois 3088 ff.):

Car vos porriez bien gaster	For ye may well if that ye wille
En oiseuse vostre françois.	Youre wordis waste in Idilnesse
	For vtterly withouten gesse
	Al that ye seyn is but in veyn(e)
Mieuz voudroie morir ançois	Me were lever dye in the peyne

Two lines of padding have been inserted in the middle of the rendering of the French couplet 3089 f., evidently with the express intention to evade the difficulty of one rhyme only; significantly enough one of the patched -up rhymes is impure (3325 f.). Moreover, in other cases such *central expansions* occur in connection with further corruptions, as in 5331—40 (Langlois 4783 ff.):

C'est l'amour qui vient de Fortune,	Loue cometh of dame fortune
	That litel while wole contune
	For it shal chaungen wonder soone
Qui s'eclisse come la lune	And take Eclips right as the moone
	Whanne he is from vs lett
Que la terre obnuble e enombre	Thurgh erthe that bitwixe is sett

[1]) Cf. *lores* in Langlois 3349 and note that the preceding ME. line, 3614, begins with *And.*

[2]) As to this idiom (still a Danish one) cp. e. g. *C. T.* E 303 *And seyde thus whan he hym hadde asyde.*

	The sonne and hir as it may falle
	Be it in partie or in all
Quant la lune chiet en son ombre.	The shadowe maketh her bemys merke
	And hir hornes to shewe derke.

Here it takes four lines to render the first French couplet [1]), and six to translate the second. Another way of circumventing the rhyme-difficulty is found in 4889—96 (Langlois 4433 ff.):

Car Jennece boute ome e fame	For youthe sette bothe man and wyf
En touz periz de cors e d'ame	In all *perell* of soule and lyf
	And perell is but men haue grace
Et trop est fort chose a passer	The *perell* of you(g)th forto pace
Senz mort ou senz membre casser,	Withoute ony deth or distresse
	It is so full of wyldenesse
Ou senz faire honte ou domage,	So ofte it doth shame or damage
Seit a sei ou a son lignage.	To hym or to his lynage.

A line has been inserted before and after 4892—3 which translate the French couplet 4435 f.; both lines are mere stop-gaps, and the first clumsily repeats the *perell* of the preceding line. [2])

The most common way of splitting up the couplet is, however,

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1) The following is a list of *central expansions,* 24 in all (the figures in parentheses indicate faulty rhymes): 681—4, 707—10, 929—32, 1145—8, 2127—30 (2125 f.), 2825—8, 3087—90, 3323—6 (3325 f.), 3867—70, 3875—8 (3875 f.), 4221—4, 4251—4, 4797—800 (4795 f.), 4837—40, 5023—6, 5081—4, 5101—4, 5129—32 (5131 f.), 5267—70, 5275—8 (5279 f.), 5325—8, 5331—4, 5639—42, 7079—82.

2) The third *perell,* in l. 4892, is probably a scribal mistake for *tyme* (cf. Skeat I. 215). — There are not many instances of such *circular expansions:* 2039—42, 3227—30 (3219 f.), 3989—92, 4631—4, 4859—62, & 4891—4.

through *cross-expansion,* of which a good instance is afforded by 5769—76 (Langlois 5119 ff.):

Mais laissons teus preescheurs	But late vs leven these prechoures
E parlons des *entasseurs:*	And speke of *hem that in her toures*
	Hepe vp her gold and fast shette
	And sore theron her herte sette
Certes Deu n'aiment ne ne doutent,	They neither loue god ne drede
	They kepe more than it is nede
Quant teus deniers en tresors boutent.	And in her bagges sore it bynde
	Out of the sonne and of the wynde.

The translator — or rather the person responsible for the present text — has not only required 2½ lines to render *entasseurs;* he has also had to insert a line after each half of the French couplet 5121 f., merely for the sake of the rhyme, as appears from the extremely vacuous character of both insertions. Another and still more instructive instance is found in 5585—91 (Langlois 4979—83):

Car teus n'a pas vaillant deus miches	[F]or he that hath mycches tweyne
	Ne value in his demeigne
Qui est plus a aise e plus riches	Lyueth more at ese and more is Riche
	Than doth he that is chiche
Que teus a cent muis de froment,	And in his berne hath soth to seyn
	An hundred mavis of whete greyne.
Si te puis bien dire coment:	
Qu'il en est espeir marcheanz.	Though he be chapman or marchaunte.

Here the cross-expansion of 5585—8 is enforced by the double rendering of one French line in 5589 f., while the next French line has not been translated at all.[1]) And in the long passage 5191—206, corresponding to Langlois 4679—86, there is actually a double cross-expansion (5191—8) followed by a double central expansion (5201—6):[2])

Mais ne sai s'il te voudra guieres:	But I not where it wole avayle
	In veyn perauntre I shal travayle
Amours sont de pluseurs manieres	Love ther is in sondry wise
	As I shal thee heere devise
	For somme loue leful is and good
Senz cele qui si t'a mué	I mene not that which makith thee wood
	And bringith thee in many a fitte
E de ton dreit sen remué	And Rauysshith fro thee al thi witte
De male eure fus ses acointes;	*It is so merueilouse and queynte*
Pour Deu, gar que plus ne l'acointes.	With such love be no more aqueynte
Amitiez est nomee l'une:	Loue of freendshipp also ther is
	Which makith no man done amys

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1) Cf. 5501—8. Schoch has not more than 9 instances in all of these inserted "pairs of alternate lines", as he calls them (*Phil.* 3. 350), though there are at least 31: 2009—12, 2697—700, 2975—8, 3123—6 (3123 f., 3127 f., 3129 f.), 3131—4, 3153—6 (3153 f.), 3259—62, 3313—6 (3311 f., 3317 f.), 3939—42, 4257—60, 4261—4, 4323—6 (4323 f.), 4745—8 (4747 f.), 4937—40, 4961—4, 4979—82, 5091—4 (5095 f.), 5097—100, 5137—40, 5191—4, 5195—8, 5247—50 (5251 f.), 5261—4, 5501—4, 5563—6, 5585—8, 5773—6 (5777 f.), 6127—30, 6997—7000, 7123—6, 7641—4. — 4721—4 look like another case, but probably 4721 f. is a genuine couplet, while 4723 f. is a later addition (cf. below).

2) Cases similar to the last are the expansions of Langlois 4757 f. in 5295—300 (5293 f.), and of L. 4813 f. in 5371—80.

	Of wille knytt bitwixe two
	That wole not breke for wele ne woo
	Which long is likly to contune
C'est bone volenté comune.	Whanne wille and goodis ben in comune.

The peculiar character and large number of the various methods of expanding one French couplet into two English ones would seem definitely to show that these ingenious devices were not employed by the original translator, but were introduced into his work afterwards.[1]) This would, then, also apply to such instances of expansion as ME. 5617—22 (Langlois 5009 ff.):

Ou riert a l'Ostel Deu portez,	Or that men shull hym berne in haste
Lors sera bien reconfortez;	To lyue til his syknesse be past(e)
	To somme maysondewe biside
	He caste nought what shal hym bitide
Ou espeir qu'il ne pense point	He thenkith nought that euere he shall
Qu'il ja puist venir a ce point.	Into ony syknesse fall[e].

Here each of the two French couplets is rendered by three English lines, with impure rhymes in 5617 f. & 5621 f. Often, however, the corruption is far more pronounced, as in 5431—54, where 24 ME. lines render only eight French couplets, Langlois 4865—80:

E quant en tel point les a mis,	And whanne they sette so high be
Creire leur fait qu'i ont d'amis	They wene to haue in certeynte

[1]) Longer expansions of a single French couplet are found in 1094—8 (Langlois 1077 f.), 2803—8 (2653 f.), 3102—6 (2899 f.), 3556—60 (3293 f.), 4309—13 (3945 f.), 4851—6 (4407 f.), 4883—8 (4431 f.), 4948—54 (4485 f.).

Tant qu'il ne les sevent nombrer;	Of hertly freendis to grete noumbre
N'il ne s'en peuent descombrer,	That no thyng myght her state encombre
Qu'il n'aillent entour aus e viegnent	They trust hem so on euery side
Et que pour seigneurs ne les tiegnent;	Wenyng with hym they wolde abide
	In euery perell and myschaunce
	Withoute chaunge or variaunce
	Bothe of catell and of goode
	And also forto spende her bloode
	And all her membris forto spille
	Oonly to fulfille her wille
	They maken it hole in many wise
Et leur prometent leur servises	And hoten hem her full seruise
Jusqu'au despendre lor [1]) *chemises,*	*How sore that it do hem smerte* *Into her naked sherte*
Veire jusques au sanc espandre	Herte and all so hole they yeve
Por aus garantir e defendre,	For the tyme that they may lyue
Prest d'obeir e d'aus ensivre	
A touz les jourz qu'il ont a vivre.	
E cil qui teus paroles oient	So that with her flaterie
S'en glorefient e les croient	They maken foolis glorifie
	Of her wordis spekyng
	And han cheer of a reioysyng
Ausinc con ce fust evangile.	And trowe hem as the euangile
E tout est flaterie e guile.	And it is all falsheede and gile.

Here the English lines are very far from rendering the wording of the original with any exactness, but are rather a loose para-

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1) This is a B-reading (for *les,* cf. Langlois II. 235 and see Kaluza 1. 4854).

phrase of the general drift of the passage [1]); note especially the unsatisfactory way in which one French line is rendered in ME. 5445 f.

Similar passages are not rare, and are evidently corrupted though in most cases they manage to convey at any rate the main ideas of the originally fairly correctly. Sometimes, however, the text has been so changed through numerous omissions and insertions that the sense is completely spoilt, this being especially the case in the long description of the Castle of Jealousy (Langlois 3797—936), rendered very unsatisfactorily by ME. 4145—300. Here several important passages of the original have been omitted, particularly the lines mentioning the four gates of the castle (Langlois 3823—8), though these must originally have been present in the translation, since the mention of *porte colys* in l. 4168 otherwise becomes quite unintelligible.[2]) Other passages are greatly expanded, such as the description of *Wikked Tunge,* the guard of the fourth gate (ME. 4237—60, cf. Langlois 3892—904):

E si sachiez qu'as autres trois	And also to the tother three
Va souvent et vient, quand li chiet	He wente full ofte forto see
Qu'il doit par nuit faire le guet; [3])	Whanne his lotte was to wake anyght
Il monte le soir as creniaus	
Et atempre ses chalumiaus	His instrumentis wolde he dight

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[1]) Other cases of this kind are 1913—22 (Langlois 1871—6), 2825—59 (2671—90), 3543—61 (3285—94); 3686—712 (3414—28), 4641—8 (4239—42), 5033—42 (4551—4), and finally 2775—87, corresponding to Langlois 2625—39, where of course 2627 f. is rendered by ME. 2777 f. (and not by 2775 f. as indicated in Kaluza's ed. p. 160); moreover ME. 2778 *Nere hope ther shulde no louer lyue* probably renders the *Be*-reading *E fait vivre des amans maint* (cf. Langlois I. 134) instead of Kaluza's l. 2614 *Et fait que li amant vivaint.*

[2]) Cf. Langlois 3829: *portes coulans.* — Note also the separate mentioning of the four gates later on, ME. 4207 ff. (Langlois 3869 ff.)

[3]) 3893 f. is taken from Kaluza's French text (3873 f.).

Et ses buisines et ses corz:	Forto blowe and make sowne
	Ofte thanne he hath enchesoun
	And walken oft vpon the wall
	Corners and wikettis ouer all
	Full narwe serchen and espie
	Though he nought fonde yit wole he lye
Une foiz dit lais et descorz	Discordaunt euer fro armonye
	And distoned from melodie
E sons noviaus de controvaille	Controue he wolde and foule fayle
As estives de Cornoaille;	With hornepipes of Cornewaile
Autre foiz dit a la fleüste	In floytes made he discordaunce
	And in his musyk with myschaunce
	He wolde seyn with notes newe
Qu'onques ne trova fame juste:	That he fonde no womman trewe
	Ne that he saugh neuer in his lyf
	Vnto hir husbonde a trewe wyf
	Ne noon so ful of honeste
'Il n'est nule qui ne se rie,	That she nyl laughe and mery be
	Whanne that she hereth or may espie
S'ele ot parler de lecherie.'	A man speken of leccherie.

Observe that the French line 3895 is rendered *after* 3896—7 (by ME. 4242—3), while 3898 and 3902—4 are heavily expanded respectively by ME. 4244—8 and 4252—60; note especially the almost verbal repetition in ME. 4255 f. of 4253 f. In view of these clear indications of corruption it is surely significant that ME. 4247 gives an entirely wrong translation of French *descorz* (3898), which here means a special kind of *chanson.*[1]) Nor is this the only term misunderstood in this passage; in 4277

1) Cf. Marteau's ed. V. 142.

—83 (Langlois 3911—19) French *garnison* is evidently taken to mean some sort of entrenchment: [1])

Jalosie, que Deus confonde,	Eke Ielousie god confounde
A garnie la tor ronde,	That hath maad a tour so Rounde
Et si sachiez qu'ele i a mis	
Des plus privez de ses amis,	
Tant qu'il i ot grant garnison.	*And made aboute a garisoun*
E Bel-Acueil est en prison,	*To sette bealacoil in prisoun*
Amont en la tor enserrez,	The which is shette there in the tour
Dont li uis est si bien barrez	
Qu'il n'a pooir que il en isse.	Ful longe to holde there soiour There forto lyue in penaunce.

And in exactly the same way *conestablie* in Langlois 3879 ff. has evidently been understood as a kind of fortification, instead of a troup of soldiers, [2]) in ME. 4217—20:

Peor ot grant conestablie,	*Thanne drede hadde in bir baillie*
E fu a garder establie	*The kepyng of the Conestablerye*
L'autre porte, qui est assise	Toward the north I vndirstonde
A main senestre, devers bise.	That openyde vpon the lyfte honde.

Finally, compare with the first English line above ME. 4301—2 (Langlois 3937 f.):

Tot maintenant que Jalosie	And aftir this whanne Ielosie
Se fut de Bel Acueil saisie.	*Hadde Bealacoil in his baillie.*

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[1]) In 4204 *Garnysoun* may *perhaps* be taken in its correct sense of a military force, as e. g. in *C. T.* B 2527.

[2]) Cf. also the misunderstanding of *aprison* (Langlois 1954) in ME. 2028, which has necessitated the insertion of two couplets, 2029—32 (cf. Liddell in *Globe Ch.* p. 681).

In both places *baillie* has clearly been used in the sense of "custody",[1]) while elsewhere in the translation it means "bailiff".[2])

Some of these errors may of course have been committed by the original translator,[3]) but in cases where the same French word has been rendered by two English ones there may at any rate be a presumption that one of those, and most probably the least correct, is due to later interference. Such cases are rather frequent; French *printens* has for instance been taken over into the translation sometimes in the of "spring" (ME. 4747, cf. Langlois 4330), and sometimes in the sense of "beginning", as in ME. 3371—3 (Langlois 3127 ff.):

Je conois bien pieç'a Dangier:	My silf I knowe full well daunger(e)[4])
Il a apris a laidengier,	
A laidir e a menacier	And how he is feers of his cheere
Ceus qui aiment, *au commencier.*	*At prime temps* love to manace.

Among the varying translations may also be mentioned the rendering of the French phrase *à bandon.* In ME. 1163 it is reproduced as *to hir baundon* (Langlois 1141 *a son bandon),*[5]) while the translation in 4987 f. (Langlois 4515) is rather free:

E son cors a handon li livre	..... and hym to yeue Hir servise....

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1) Cf. also 7572, where characteristically enough it occurs in an impure rhyme *(worthy: baylye).*

2) 6218, 6331, 6812, 6863 (in this sense also in Chaucer, cf. Skeat VI. 22).

3) Cf. also the mistakes in 1562 & 4061 as noted by Schoch *(Phil.* 3. 341). Sometimes the translator appears to have been led astray by his French MS., as in 3668 & 4331 (ME. 3998 & 4751, cf. Liddell in *Globe Ch.* pp. 703 & 711), also in 10695 (ME. 5824), and especially in 11145, where *d'aus* must have appeared as *deus* (cf. ME. 6281 *(god)* and see Kaluza p. 61).

4) Observe the impure rhyme here and note that the other instance of *at pryme temps* also occurs in a faultily rhyming couplet, ME. 4533 f. *(bitterly: folye).*

5) Cf. 2342 *in a boundoun* (Langlois 2224 *tot a bandon).*

But in 1847 f. the translation looks like pure guessing (cf. Langlois 1808—9):

E durement m'abelissoit	And that right gretly liked me
Ce que jou veoie *a bandon.*	That I so *neer* myght it se.

Probably the English couplet is corrupt[1]) and instead of *neer* we ought to read *frely,* which corresponds better with the real sense of *à bandon,* at discretion. [2])

Another double translation is that of *l'Ostel Deu* which is rendered *maysondewe* in 5619 (Langlois 5009) but *spitel* in 6505 (Langlois 11249 f, in the B-MSS. following two interpolated lines after 11254, as in the ME. version). Far more important is, however, the twofold rendering of French *Bel Acueil* by *Bialacoil* and by *Fair-Welcomyng.* [3]) The first is an Anglo-French form, generally scanning as a three-syllabic word, [4]) but in some cases the metre requires the irregular pronunciation *Bi-al-a-coil,* which seems to suggest that this impossible form has simply replaced the regular four-syllabic translation *Fair-wel-com-yng.* [5]) This is also indicated by a number of lines where an extra metrical syllable has been obtained by inserting a superfluous one-syllabic word before *Bialacoil,* as for instance the very first time the name occurs, in ME. 2984 (Langlois 2792):

Bel Acueil se faisoit clamer	*And Bialacoil* forsothe he hight.

Instead of the two first words *Fair-Welcomyng* makes as good sense and metre in this as well as in other cases; [6]) note especially

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[1]) Note the impure rhyme in the following couplet, 1849 f. *(I: maladie).*

[2]) Skeat thinks (I. 438) that the French adverb *par amour* (Langlois 4392) was rendered as a noun; however *paramours* is surely an adverb in ME. 4831 just as in 4657 (cf. Kittredge in *Studies* I. 17).

[3]) See the references given by Kaluza p. 37.

[4]) Cf. such forms as *bealparler, bealsire,* and *bealpere* in Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme* 1253, 436, 19963.

[5]) Thus in ME. 3853, 3908, 3991; in 3945 both pronunciations scan equally badly.

[6]) ME. 3011 *(And* added), 3067 & 3131 *(For* added).

ME. 3650 where the pronouncedly northern *Tyl* has been added. In 2999 one has merely to read *To Fair-Welcomyng* instead of *Vnto Bialacoil,* and 3139 is simply too long (cf. Langlois 2925 f.):

Il [1]) s'escrie con forsenez:	He come criande as he were woode
'Bel Acueil, par quoi amenez..'	*And seide Bialacoil* telle me why —

The ME. text must originally have run like this (3138—40):

> He *cam cryinge* as he were woode:
> "*Fair-Welcomyng,* telle me why
> Thou bryngest hider so booldly —".

Another case which invites emendation is ME. 3609 f. (Langlois 3343 f.):

Bel Acueil au comencement	*Byalacoil* at the begynnyng
Me salua *mout doucement.*	Salued me in his commyng.

Here both the original and the form of the English couplet suggest the reading:

> *Ful swetely* atte begynnyng
> Salued me *Fair-Wel*comyng.

There is also other evidence of corruption in passages where the form *Bialacoil* occurs; no less than six times it is found in couplets with impure rhymes,[2]) while sometimes the context has been expanded, as in ME. 3753—7 (Langlois 3473 ff.):

Bel Acueil, qui sent flamboier [3])	Whanne the flawme of the verry bronde

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1) Taken from Langlois' notes II. 148.
2) 3113 f., 3357 f., 3567 f., 3573 f., 3605 f., 3755 f.; 3817 f. is preceded and followed by impure rhymes (3815 f. & 3819 f.).
3) From Langlois' notes II. 174.

Dou brandon, *senz plus delaier,*	That venus brought in hir right honde
	Hadde Bialacoil with hete smete
	Anoon he bade me withouten lette
M'otreia un baisier en dons,	Grauntede to me the Rose kisse.
Tant fist Venus et ses brandons.	

ME. 3755 f. has an impure rhyme, and the grammar of 3756—7 is deplorable; [1]) probably the lines must be emended like this:

Whanne the flawme of the brond
That Venus broght in hir hond
With hete *smoot Fair-Welcoming,*
Anoon *withoute tarying* [2])
He graunted me the Rose to kisse.

Accordingly the name *Bialacoil* occurs more than twenty times out of 33 under suspicious circumstances,[3]) a strong hint that this curious Anglo-French term is really due to later corruption of the text, and that the original rendering of French *Bel Acueil* was the true ME. form *Fair-Welcomyng*. This further suggests that in the similar case of French *bouton(s)* being doubly rendered by ME. *knoppe(s)* and by *botoun(s)* the former is the true translation and the latter a corruption. [4]) In fact, out of *seventeen* occurrences of *botoun(s)* in the interior of a verse it is characteristically enough followed by a consonant in no less than *sixteen* instances, and can accordingly simply be changed into *knoppe(s)*.[5])

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[1]) Thynne has *Graunt* in 3757, accepted by Skeat I. 197, but this does not help us much.

[2]) Cf. Langlois 3744.

[3]) Cf. two further occurrences in the passage 3881 ff., discussed below.

[4]) Note than *botoun* seems a northern and western dialect ME. word (cf. *Dict.* s. v. *button,* while *knop* seems to belong to the standard southern speech (see *ib.* quotations from Wyclif and Trevisa).

[5]) Cf. also the careless interchange of *rose(s)* and *roser(s)* and the varying translations of *Amors* (noticed by *Schoch* in *Phil.* 3. 343 f.). The latter is generally rendered by *love,* but sometimes by *lovyng* (2392, 4773), *lovers* (2832), and *friendship* (5251), according

In one case only it occurs in front of a vowel, ME. 1761 *But to the bothum euermo,* where we probably ought to read *But to the knoppe for euermo.* [1])

Most scholars see in these varying translations as many arguments for the double or triple authorship of the *Romance,* especial stress being laid on the fact that *knoppe(s)* and *Bialacoil* occur in part B only, [2]) *botoun(s)* in part A, and *Fair-Welcomyng* in part C.[3]) Such considerations have, however, no decisive value, seeing that there are several more variations within the single parts. In part B *Douz Parler* is once translated *Swete-Speking* (2851, in rhyme), but three times *Swete Speche* (2825, 2943 (in rhyme), & 4506), while *Douz Pensers* is once rendered *Swete Thenkyng* (2815), but four times *Swete Thought* (2793, 2799, 2942, & 4505 (in rhyme)); [4]) *Jalosie* and *Peor* are both feminines in the original (Langlois 3511 ff.), while in the translation (B) *Ielousie* is masculine (3821 ff.) and *Drede* first masculine (3960—9) and then feminine (4216—26). In the presence of these and

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to the context. There are seven instances of the rendering *god of love,* but three of these occur in couplets with faulty rhymes (3231 f., 3245 f., 5107 f.), and the others may easily be emended; for instance it is only natural to change ME. 1888 in conformity with the context (Langlois 1847 f.):

Mais Amors a mout *bien* la pointe — *The god of loue* it hadde anoynt

D'un oignement precieus ointe. — With a precious oynement.

We ought, then presumably to read: *But* loue it hadde *wel* anoynt.

1) As to these seventeen instances and their different spellings see Kaluza p. 38 (but add 4111 & 4307). There are three occurrences of *botoun(s)* in rhymes; in one case the rhymewords are taken from the original (ME. 4307 f. *glotouns: botouns),* while in the two others the translation is very free (3473 f. & 4011 f.).

2) Schoch *(Phil.* 3. 342) also tries to make out that the adverb *espoir,* "perhaps", is always confused with the noun "hope" in B, but not in C, where it is correctly translated *percas* in 6647 (though rendered by *redily* in 6942). But though *espoir* is rendered *I hope* in (B) 2118 & 4431, it is quite correctly translated *I trowe* in 4580 and especially *if so be* in 2140 (not noticed by Schoch).

3) See Lindner in *Engl. Stud.* 11. 170, and especially Kaluza p. 36 ff. (cf. Lounsbury I. 12 f.).

4) Cf. Lindner in *Engl. Stud.* 11. 169.

other differences within part B [1]) the only logical inference is, from the point of view of Kaluza and others, to split up B into two further parts, thus assuming our text of the ME. *Romance of the Rose* to represent fragments from four different translations, joined together more or less by chance — a view which is, to say the least, not very convincing.[2])

Against this the essential unity of the translation must be maintained, as pointed out above and further indicated by the fact that certain French names have the same English equivalents in the various parts. French *Douz Regarz* is both in 920 (A) and in 2896 (B) rendered by *Swete Lokyng*, and *Male Bouche* both in 3027 (B) and in 5422 (C) by *Wykked Tonge.*[3]) The differing translations, noticed above, must then be ascribed to later interference, which in view of its consistent character was almost certainly due to the same man all through. Now nearly all the instances given of double translation comprise one English and one French term, and in most cases the latter would seem to have been that introduced by the reviser, as for instance *Bialacoil* and *botoun(s)*. Of course this shows that the reviser was dependent on the French text, and that he really had access to this is also suggested by the ME. passage 3881—9 as compared with the original (Langlois 3577 ff.):

Senz faille, ce n'est pas mençonge,	Yit neuertheles I see amonge
Bel Acueil a trop longue longe;	That the loigne it is so longe
L'en li a sofert a atraire	Of *Bialacoil* hertis to lure

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[1]) All noticed by Schoch in *Phil.* 3. 343 ff.; se espec. p. 353 about the fact that more French rhymes have been taken over in the second half of B than in the first half.

[2]) This was perceived by Schoch (l. c. p. 354 f.), who nevertheless upholds the once adopted tripartition — illogically enough.

[3]) Note also the names of Cupid's five arrows in 952—64 (A), repeated in 1750—1862 (B), and observe the similar way of adapting the same French words, such as *pouste* (Fr. *poesté*) in 2095 (B) & 6484 (C; cf. 6533, 6957, 7677) and *musard* (Fr. *musart)* in 4034 (B; cf. 3256) & 7560 (C).

Teus genz don il n'avoit que faire.	In loues seruyse forto endure Drawyng such folk hym too That he hath no thyng with to doo
Mais certes je n'ai pas creance Que *il ait eüe beance*	But in sothnesse I trowe nought That *Bialacoil* hadde euer in thought
De mauvaistié ne de folie.	To do trespace or vylonye.

The French couplet 3579 f. is really rendered both by 3883 f. and by 3885 f., of which, however, the latter (though certainly translated from the original) looks like a stale replica of the first, so that it may be conjectured to have been inserted by the reviser. An emendator ought accordingly to omit 3885 f., in 3883 to replace *Bialacoil* with *Fair Welcomyng*, which suits the metre well enough, and in 3888 to read in accordance with French 3582:

That *he* hadde euer *had* in thought.

The probability that our present text of the *Romance of the Rose* has been expanded by a reviser who knew and used the French original, is further enhanced by a number of cases in which a French couplet is first rendered by one with English rhyme-words and then by one which coolly transfers the French rhyme — as in 3575—8 (Langlois 3311 f.):

Puis que Franchise s'i *acorde* De pecheor *misericorde.* [1])	For Fraunchise wole and I, Pite That mercyful to hym ye be And sith that she and I *accorde* Haue vpon hym *misericorde.*

Here the last ME. couplet is evidently quite superfluous, while there is a double case of the same kind in 4753—60 (Langlois 4333 f.):

Car ausinc bien sont *amouretes*	For also well wole love be set(te)

1) The lines are transposed here as in Kaluza's French text 3291 f.

Souz bureaus come souz *brunetes.*	Vnder Ragges as Riche Rochet(te)
	And eke as as wel b[en] [1]) *amourettes*
	In mournyng blak as bright *burnettes*
Car nus n'est de si haut lignage,	For noon is of so mochel pris
Ne nul ne treuve l'en si sage —.	Ne no man founden so wys
	Ne noon so high is of *parage*
	Ne no man founde of witt so *sage* —.

Another instance of characteristic corruption on the same lines is offered by ME. 4794—801 (Langlois 4364 ff.):

En ma leçon a tant contraire	To me so contrarie and so fer
Que je n'en puis neient aprendre,	Is euery thing that ye me lere
Si la sai je bien par cueur rendre,	*And yit I can it all by parcuere*
Qu'onc mes cueurs riens n'en oublia	Myne herte foryetith therof right nought
Veire entendre quanqu'il i a	It is so writen in my thought
	And depe greven it is so tendir
	That all by herte I can it rendre
Pour lire en tout comunement.	And rede it ouer comunely.

Evidently not only l. 4796 with its faulty rhyme *by parcuere,* but also l. 4800 render French 4366, though both versions appear so corrupt that it is hardly possible to restore the correct reading. However, the most characteristic passage showing this kind of expanded translations added from the French original, is probably ME. 4721—6 (Langlois 4305 ff.):

C'est langueur toute santeïve;	It is like hele and hool sekenesse
	A trust drowned and dronknesse
C'est santé toute maladive;	And helth full of Maladie

1) Kaluza's emendation, cf. his ed. p. 275.

	And charite full of envie
C'est fain saoule en abondance;	And anger full of habundaunce,
C'est couveiteuse soufisance;	And a gredy suffisaunce.
C'est la seif qui toujourz est ivre,	
Ivrece qui de seif s'enivre.	

Here the separate translation of French 4306 by ME. 4723 looks like a decidedly late touch, added by some person who did not see that the line had already been rendered in ME. 4721 (together with French 4305);[1]) ME. 4724 must have been inserted at the same time. The two last French couplets were probably transposed in the original translator's French MS., which explains the rendering of Fr. 4309 f. by the badly corrupt ME. 4722; we ought to read something like this:

> It is *sike* hele and hool sekenesse,
> *Thurst dronke and thursty* dronkenesse,
> An *hunger* full of habundaunce,
> And a gredy suffisaunce.[2])

It appears, accordingly, comparatively certain that shortly after the completion of the *Romance* in the standard speech of the closing XIV century a person from some North Eastern Midland county made the work pass through a process of expansion. This consisted partly in his adding several touches from the original, either because he thought them wanting — in most cases erroneously — or perhaps rather because of his predilection for Romance terms, also shown in his use of pairs of English and French synonyms, as for instance in the inserted ME. couplet 3203 f.:

> For *rounde enviroun* hir crownet
> Was full of Riche stonys frett.

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1) Note that the transposition of Fr. 4305 f. in group B (Langlois II. 213) corresponds with the order of the two predicates in ME. 4721.

2) For some of these corrections (chiefly those in the first and third lines) see the eds. by Bell VII. 161, Skeat I. 212, and Kaluza p. 273.

Exactly the same pair of adverbs are found in the inserted couplet 4163 f.,[1]) while another striking instance occurs in ME. 1993—8 (Langlois 1932 ff.):

E de tant y as tu gaaignié[2])	Thou shalt not lesen of thi speche
Que je vueil, por ton avantage,	For thy helpyng wole I *eche*
	And eke encresen that I may
	But first I wole that thou obaye
	Fully for thyn auauntage
Qu'orendroit me faces omage.	Anoon to do me heere homage.

Here the inserted couplet 1995 f. — with a characteristically impure rhyme — adds the Romance synonym *encresen* to the English verb *eche* in 1994. Such pairs of synonyms are of very frequent occurrence in Middle English literature,[3]) and must probably be explained as innocent contrivances, invented to draw attention to the writer's knowledge of the refined French language.[4]) It was of course the same tendency that made the reviser replace some English words with the corresponding French terms, such as *Bialacoil, botoun* &c; nor is such an attitude unknown in other cases. For instance, the Middle English translation of the Cato distichs, executed during the fourteenth century in some North Midland district,[5]) was corrupted in this very way. In the Bodleian MS. Rawl. 59 the text is greatly inferior to that of the MSS. at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and in the Royal Library

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[1]) Cf. also 3981 f.

[2]) This line is taken from Langlois' notes II. 100. Did the translator misunderstand the French text here?

[3]) They are very far from occurring in Chaucer only, as Lounsbury thinks (II. 153 ff.); cf. Kittredge in *Studies* 1. 61 ff. and Sieper's analysis of Lydgate's habit of *reduplication* (see his ed. of *Resoun and Sensuallyte* E. E. T. S. 1903, vol. II. 45 ff.). See also Jespersen *Growth and Structure of the English Language* § 97, and Greenough & Kittredge *Words and their Ways in English Speech* p. 115.

[4]) Thus J. F. Royster in *Phil.* 16. 501 f. For other explanations see *Notes* 8. 403 ff. and 9. 121 ff. & 423 ff.; cf. L. Keller in *Engl. Stud.* 20. 1 ff.

[5]) Cf. Wells p. 378.

of Copenhagen;[1]) among other things the native words of the latter are often replaced by Romance words in the Oxford MS., as in the following instances from the first 179 lines: 13: *preceptis (bidding(ys))* — 22: *honest (clene farand)* — 30: *discretly (gra(y)thely)* — 74: *vyce (lak)* — 77: *iouousnesse (gladnesse, blythenes)* — 160: *continualy (gretli)* — 171: *couetous (gredi)* — 179: *denyed (warned).*

The extent to which the reviser's obviously deliberate substitution of Romance terms for native ones involved him in expansion and repetition of the original text is clearly shown in ME. 4573—9 (Langlois 4180 ff.):

Car il me dist, bien m'en souvient:	Whilom I thenke how love to me
	Seide he wolde take att gree
	My seruise if vnpacience
	Caused me to done offence
'Ton servise prendrai en gré[2])	He seide in thank I shal it take
E te metrai en haut degré,	And high maister eke thee make
Se mauvaistié ne le te tost'.	If wikkednesse ne Reve it thee.

Here the French lines 4181—3 are evidently rendered twice, in indirect speech with Romance terms by ME. 4574—6, and in direct speech with native terms by ME. 4577—9. It is tolerably obvious that one of these renderings, presumably the first, was added later by a reviser, and that the whole passage as it stands now is a *rifacimento* of the original text. The same thing appears less clearly, because the changes seem to be unconscious rather than conscious, but still unmistakably enough from the numerous cases of *repetition,* characteristic of most of the expanded pas-

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1) The Cambridge and Oxford texts were printed by Max Förster in 1906 *(Engl. Stud.* 36. 1 ff.); the unpublished Copenhagen MS. (Thott fol. no. 306) is older than both the others (ab. 1400) and offers a better text.

2) This reading from Langlois' C group and certain other MSS. (cf. Kaluza's French text 4161); the standard reading is *de gré* (Langlois II. 208).

sages in the translation. [1]) Of course there is nothing inherently improbable in supposing the original translator to have sometimes inserted a couplet for the purpose of varying an idea, as in Reason's exposition of the nature of Love (ME. 4689—96, cf. Langlois 4281 ff.):

Si savras tantost senz science	Thou shalt [wite] withouten science
E quenoistras senz quenoissance	And knowe withouten experience
Ce qui ne peut estre seü	The thyng that may not knowen be
Ne demontré ne queneü	Ne wist ne shewid in no degre
Quant a ce que ja plus en sache	Thou maist the sothe of it not witen
Nus on qui son cueur i atache.	Though in thee it were writen [2])
	Thou shalt not knowe therof more
	While thou art reuled by his lore. [3])

Sometimes, however, the repetition is so absurdly superfluous as to stamp a couplet at once as a decidedly late addition; cf. ME. 5257—60 (Langlois 4729 f.):

Quant son secré dit li avra,	For whanne he woot his secre thought
Jamais li tierz ne le savra.	The thridde shal knowe therof right nought
	For tweyne of noumbre is bet than thre
	In euery counsell and secre.

On other occasions the context clearly shows certain repetitions to be late insertions, especially in the passage about the doctors

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[1]) Schoch gives a few instances only (in *Phil.* 3. 351), some of which and many more are discussed below.

[2]) See Liddell in *Globe Ch.* p. 711.

[3]) Cf. also the inserted couplets 2301 f., 5123 f., 5221 f., & 6703 f.

where the French lines 5095—7 are perfectly satisfactorily rendered by ME. 5725 f. & 5733:

Tant ont le gaaing douz e sade	Her wynnyng is of such swetnesse
Qu'il voudrait, pour un malade	That if a man falle in sikenesse
	— — — — — — —
Qu'il a, qu'il en eüst quarante.[1])	They wolde that fourty were seke atonys.

The three inserted ME. couplets 5727—32 merely bring a quite superfluous variation, very poorly expressed (note the frequent stop-gap phrases):

They are full glad for ther encrese
For by her wille withoute lees
Eueriche man shulde be seke
And though they die they sette not a leke
After whanne they the gold haue take
Full litel care for hem they make.

Here the corruption is pretty easily remedied, but this is not always the case, as shown by ME. 3918—33 (Langlois 3610 ff.):

Por ce ferai de novel mur	Therfore I wole with siker wall
Clore les rosiers e les roses;	Close bothe Roses and Roser
	I haue to longe in this maner(e)
	Left hem vnclosid wilfully
	Wherfore I am right inwardly
	Sorowfull and repente me
Nes lairai plus ensi descloses,	*But now they shall no lenger be*
	Vnclosid and yit I drede sore
	I shall repente ferthermore
	For the game goth all amys
	Counsell I must newe ywys

1) This and other readings of the passage are from Langlois MS. *Bâ* (cf. Kaluza's French text 5079); the standard text reads *seissante* (Langlois II. 244).

Qu'en vostre garde poi me fi,	I haue to longe tristed thee
	But now it shal no lenger be
Car je voi bien e sai de fi	For he may best in euery cost
Que en meillor garde pert l'en.	Disceyue that men tristen most
Je ne voudroie passer l'an [1])	
Que l'en me tendroit por musarde —.	I see wel that I am nygh shent —.

The French line 3612 is translated twice, by ME. 3920—1 [2]) and 3924—5, while 3922—3 & 3926—8 are superfluous insertions; 3930 was most likely meant to render French 3616, but has been anticipated by 3924. Accordingly the eleven lines before ME. 3929 were probably expanded from three only, corresponding to French 3610—12 and running somewhat like this:

> Therfore I wole with siker wal
> Han bothe Roses and Roser closed
> And thus no lenger left vnclosed.

That the numerous cases of double translations in the *Romance* are due to the activity of a reviser becomes still clearer from passages showing instances of *anticipation* rather than of repetition, cases where a careless and slovenly rendering of a French couplet precedes the real translation instead of repeating it. Such anticipating couplets are found e. g. in ME. 4163—6, corresponding to Langlois 3821 f.):

	And Rounde enviroun [3]) *eke were set(te)*
	Ful many a Riche and faire tourette
As quatre coignez en a quatre,	At euery corner of this wall
Qui seroient forz a abatre.	Was sette a tour full pryncipall.

[1]) This line is taken from Langlois' MS. *Da* (cf. II. 181).
[2]) Note the impure rhyme in 3919 f.; other faulty rhymes in inserted couplets are 1811 f. *(hit: flitte)* and 4825 f. *(gette: set)*.
[3]) Cf. ME. 3203; see above.

The faulty rhyme in 4163 f. is characteristic. Another instance is offered by ME. 5581—4 (Langlois 4977 f.):

	For Richesse stont in suffisaunce
	And no thyng in habundaunce
Car soufisance seulement	For suffisaunce all oonly
Fait ome vivre richement.	Makith men to lyue Richely.

Sometimes an inserted couplet anticipates the following lines by summing up the contents in a more general way, as in ME. 2763—7 (Langlois 2618—19):

	In fortune is full [his] trist
	Though he lye in strawe or dust
Trestoute autretele beance	In hoope is all his susteynyng
	And so for louers in her wenyng
A cil qu 'Amors tient en prison.	Whiche loue hath shitte in his prisoun.

Similarly in ME. 5279—84 (Langlois 4743 ff.):

	Joy and woo they shull departe
	And take euenly ech his part(e)
E de son deul la meitié porte,	Half his anoy he shal haue ay
E de quanqu'il peut le conforte;	And comfort what that he may
Et de sa joie a sa partie,	And of (t)his blisse parte shal he
Se l'amour est a dreit partie.	If loue wole [1]) departed be.

Note especially the faulty rhyme of the inserted couplet 5279 f. — Another particularly suggestive instance is found in ME. 4225—32 (Langlois 3886 ff.):

	Of euery thing that she may see
	Drede is aferd wher so she be

[1]) Read *wel,* cf. Liddell in *Globe Ch.* p. 717.

Car, quant el ot bruire le vent,	For with a puff of litell wynde
	Drede is a stonyed in hir mynde
	Therfor for stelyng of the Rose
	I Rede hir nought the yate vnclose
Ou el voit saillir deus langoutes,	A foulis flight wole make hir flee
Si l'en prent il tel eure est soutes.[1])	And eke a shadow if she it se.

Here 4225 f. needlessly anticipates 4227 f., while 4229 f. is an unusually stupid insertion. The same kind of corruption is exhibited by ME. 3973—82 (Langlois 3652 ff.):

	But sithe that it is byfall
	We may it not ageyn call
	Whanne onys sprongen is a fame
Maintes foiz est avris e mais	For many a yeer withouten blame
	We han ben and many a day
	For many an aprill and many a may
Passez qu'onques n'eüsmes blasme;	We han passed not shamed
Or nos laidenge e nos mesasme	Till Ielousie hath vs blamed
Jalosie, qui nos mescroit.	Of mystrust and suspecioun
	Causeles withoute enchesoun.

French 3652—3 has clearly been twice translated in ME. 3976—9, while 3973—5 are an insertion. Perhaps the passage originally ran:

> For many a yeer and many a day,
> Many an april and many a may

---

[1]) Note that Kaluza's reading (3838, cf. Langlois II. 194) does not suit ME. 4232 at all.

We han passed and not been blamed,
Till Ielousie hath vs shamed. [1])

Sometimes the translation of a French line has been repeated not once, but twice, as in the love comparisons in ME. 4745—8 (Langlois 4329 f.):

C'est chartre qui prisons soulage,
Printems plains de freit ivernage.

A plesaunt Gayl and esy prisoun
And full of froste somer sesoun
Pryme temps full of frostes white
And May devoide of al delit(e).

Here French 4330 has been rendered no less than three times by ME. 4746—8, of which the first line appears to be the original translation, while the two last would seem to have been added later; ME. 4747 the reviser must have rendered anew from his French MS. which apparently differed a little from the original translator's copy, probably reading *froiz ivernages* (cf. *frostes white),* a variant actually found in one authority. [2]) There is an exactly similar case in ME. 5347—50 (Langlois 4793 f.):

Cete amour est d'autel nature,
Car or est clere, or est oscure.

That love is right of sich nature
Now is faire and now obscure
Now bright now clipsi of manere
And whilom dymme and whilom clere.

But the corruption has proceeded still further in other cases, like ME. 3348—56 (Langlois 3111 ff.):

A lui m'en vin grant aleüre,
Si li ai dit l'encloeüre [3])

In haste to hym I wente anoon
And to hym all my woo I tolde

1) Even ME. 3981—2 are not improbably a late addition.
2) MS. *Bâ,* cf. Langlois II. 214; Kaluza's reading (4312: *fort yvernage*) does not correspond to any of the ME. translations.
3) This reading is from Langlois' C group (II. 156; cf. Kaluza 3092).

Don je me sentoie encloé,	*Fro hym right nought I wold witholde*
Si come Amors m'avoit loé,	*I tolde hym all withoute were*
E me plains a lui de Dangier,	And made my compleynt on daungere
	How forto see he was hidous
	And to me ward contrarious
	The which thurgh his cruelte
Qui par poi ne me vost mangier.	Was in poynt to meygned[1]) me.

Here the reviser has acted in a most extraordinary way: instead of translating French 3113 f. he has filled the gap with two entirely senseless repetitions of ME. 3349, following up with the completely superfluous insertion 3353 f. Cases of equally meaningless repetition are however not infrequent, as witnessed e. g. by ME. 1956—66 (Langlois 1908 ff.):

Ne puis vivre jusqu'a demain	I may not laste out of youre bonde
Se n'est par vostre volenté:	Pleyn at youre lyst I yelde me
J'atent par vos joie e santé;	Hopyng in herte that sumtyme ye
Que ja par autre ne l'avrai;	*Comfort and ese shull me sende*
	Or ellis shortly this is the eende
	Withouten helthe I mote ay dure
	But if ye take me to youre Cure
Se vostre main, qui m'a navré,	*Comfort or helthe how shuld I haue*
Ne me done la guerison.	Sith ye me hurt but ye me save
	The helthe of loue mut be founde
	Where as they token firste her wounde.

While French 1908—11 are rendered fairly well by ME. 1956—9, the translation goes all to pieces after this; first a typical stop-

[1]) Thynne has *meymed,* but we ought of course to read *meymen* instead of inserting *have* as the editors do (cf. the eds. by Bell, Skeat, & Liddell).

gap line, 1960, is inserted, and then the translator or the reviser or both have no less than three shots at rendering French 1912—13 in three successive ME. couplets, 1961 f., 1963 f., & 1965 f.[1]) Another and still more elaborate case of a three times varied translation occurs in ME. 4329—44 (Langlois 3959 ff.):

Que vos iroie je disant?	
Je resemble le puïsant	Certain I am ful like in deede
Qui giete en terre sa semence,	To hym that caste in erthe his seede
E a joie quant el comence	And hath ioie of the newe spryng
A estre bele e drue en erbe,	Whanne it greneth in the gynny[n]g
	And is also faire and fresh of flour
	Lusty to seen swoote of odour
Mais, avant qu'il en cueille gerbe,	But er he it in sheves shere
L'empire tel eure est e grieve	
Une male nue qui lieve	May falle a weder that shal it dere
Si fait le grain dedenz morir	*And make it to fade and falle*
Quant li espi doivent florir,[2])	*The stalke the greyne and floures alle.*
E l'esperance au vilain tost	That to the tylgers is fordone
Qu'il avoit eüe trop tost	The hope that he hadde to soone
Ge crien ausi avoir perdue	I drede certeyn that so fare I
E m'esperance e m'atendue.	For hope and travaile sikerly(e)
	Ben me byraft all with a storme
	The floure nel seeden of my corne.

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1) Observe also the peculiar way in which 1963 echoes 1959.

2) French 3967 f. are transposed (as in Langlois' MS. *Be*, cf. II. 198) in conformity with ME. 4337 f.

Here French 3967 f. are not only translated by ME. 4337 f., but are also first anticipated by the inserted couplet 4333 f. [1]) and then echoed in a second insertion 4343 f. (with a characteristic assonance rhyme).

It is not easy to see how such glaring cases of superfluous repetition could have occurred in the ordinary course of a revision of the original translation; possibly they might be explained by assuming that the reviser had used *two* translations and occasionally interpolated one with passages from the other. However, such a hypothesis is not only rather unsatisfactory and farfetched in itself; there are also several cases of corruption which cannot be explained in this way, such as the passage ME. 2831—50, where ten English couplets render 4½ French ones (Langlois 2674—82), describing the way in which *Swete Speche* comforts ladies in love —

	Thorough spekyng whanne they myght heere
	Of her louers to hem so dere
	To me it voidith all her smerte
	The which is closed in her herte
Car chascuns qui de ses amors	In herte it makith hem glad and light
Ot parler toz s'en esbaudist;	Speche whanne they mowe haue sight
Si me sovient que por ce dist	And therfore now it cometh to mynde
	In olde dawes as I fynde
	That clerkis writen that hir knewe
Une dame qui d'amer sot [2])	Ther was a lady fresh of h[e]we
En sa chançon un cortois mot:	Which of hir loue made a songe

---

[1]) Note especially the meaningless rhyme-tag of 4334.

[2]) The last half of this line is taken from Langlois' MSS. *Ba Za* (II. 136, cf. Kaluza 2661).

	On hym forto remembre amonge
'Mout sui', fait ele, 'a bonne escole	*In which she seyde whanne that I here*
Quant j'oi de mon ami parole;[1])	*Speken of hym that is so dere*
	To me it voidith alle smerte
	Iwys he sittith so nere myne herte
Se m'aist Diex, il m'a garie	To speke of hym at eve or morwe
Qui m'en parole, quoi qu'il die'.	It cureth me of all my sorwe
	To me is noon so high plesaunce
	As of his persone dalyaunce.

The most important insertion here is ME. 2831—4, *partly identical with the rendering of French 2679 f. in ME. 2843—6.* This extraordinary confusion brings us to the important question of *transposition.*

The simplest instances of this phenomenon are cases where single lines have been transposed in the translation as compared with the original. This may sometimes have been occasioned by the translator's French MS. varying from the standard text (see ME. 4337 f. above), while in other cases the shifting may have been done by the original translator himself, such as ME. 2403 f. (cf. Langlois 2283 f.), 4917 f. (4455 f.), and 5207 f. (4687 f.). But when the transposed lines exhibit faulty rhymes as in 1785 f. *(desire: nere),* 5063 f. *(worthy: drurye),* or 5479 f. *(verely: affye),* the error may be ascribed to the reviser, especially when there is other evidence of corruption in the adjoining couplets as in ME. 3873—80 (Langlois 3571 ff.):

— E maint prodome a amusé.	He hath you maad thurgh flateryng
S'il a Bel Acueil encusé,	On Bialacoil a fals lesyng
	His falsnesse is not now a newe
	It is to long that he hym knewe

1) This line is from Langlois' C group &c (II. 136); it suits the ME. text somewhat better than Kaluza's French line 2664.

Ce n'est ore pas li premiers;	This is not the first day
Male Bouche est bien costumiers	For wikkid tunge hath custome ay
De raconter fausses noveles	Yonge folkis to bewreye
De vallez e de damoiseles.	And fals lesynges on hem lye.

Note here the superfluous insertion ME. 3875 f., anticipating l. 3877, as well as the transposed lines 3879—80. A somewhat more complicated instance of the transposition of single lines occurs in ME. 7459—64 (Langlois 12135 ff.):

Se sont cordelier e barré,	So bene Augustyns and Cordylers
Tout seient il gros e carré,	
E sac e tuit li autre frere:	And Carmes and eke Sacked freers
	And al freres shodde and bare
	Though some of hem ben great and square
	Ful hooly men as I hem deme
N'i a nul qui preudon n'apere.	Eueryche of hem wolde good man seme.

In other cases couplets are transposed, such as 5381 f. & 5383 f. (cf. Langlois 4815—18) and 6841 f. & 6843 f.[1])

Such transpositions may be due to the original translator, but in a further case the circumstances are rather suspicious, ME. 4284—94 (Langlois 3920—30):

Une vielle, que Deus honisse,	And forto do hym more grevaunce
Mist[2]) avuec lui por lui gaitier,	(Which) hath ordeyned Ielousie

[1]) Corresponding respectively to the third and second couplet of the five inserted in the B-MSS. after l. 11568 of the original (see Langlois III. 322 and cf. above). The ME. couplet 6505 f. is not really transposed since its position corresponds to the arrangement in the B group of 11249—54 of the original (see Langlois III. 193 and cf. above).

[2]) From Langlois' variants (II. 196).

Qui ne fait nul autre mestier	An olde vekke forto espye
Fors espier tant solement	The maner of his gouernaunce
Qu'il ne se moine folement.	*The which devel in hir enfaunce*
Nus ne la porroit engignier	*Hadde lerned of loues arte*
Ne de signier ne de guignier,	*And of his pleyes toke hir parte*
Qu'il n'est baraz qu'el ne conoisse	She was except in his seruise
Qu'ele ot des biens e de l'angoisse,	She knewe eche wrenche and euery gise
Qu' Amors a ses sergenz depart,	Of love and euery wile
En jonece eü bien sa part.	It was harder hir to gile.

ME. 4288—89—91 correspond to French 3930—29—28, while French 3925—7 are roughly rendered by ME. 4291—4; the whole passage appears to have been badly pulled about by the reviser (note the superfluous and meaningless *which* in 4285). Later interference is still more evident, however, in ME. 2145—52 (Langlois 2051 ff.):

Amors respont: 'Tu dis mout bien.	
Or les entent e les retien.	
Li maistres pert sa poine toute	
Quant li deciples qui escoute	
Ne met son cuer ou retenir	
Si qu'il l'en puisse sovenir.'	
Li deus d'Amors lors m'encharja,	The god of loue thanne chargide me
Tot ensi con vos orroiz ja,	Anoon as ye shall here and see
Mot a mot ses comandemenz:	Worde by worde by right emprise
Bien les devise cist romanz.	So as the Romance shall devise
	The maister lesith his tyme to lere
	Whanne that the disciple wole not here
	It is but veyn on hym to swynke

	That on his lernyng wole not thenke
Qui amer viant or i entende,	Who so luste loue late hym entende
Que li romanz des or amende.	For now the the Romance bigynneth to amende.

ME. 2149—52 translate French 2053—6 but have been moved down so that they break up the author's remarks about the *Romance,* while the French couplet 2051 f. has been omitted so that it is not at all clear that the God of Love is speaking in 2149—52. Similarly in ME. 2681—94 (Langlois 2543 ff.):

Icil veners, icil alers,	Such comyng and such goyng
Icil veilliers, icil parlers	Such heuynesse and such walkyng
Fait as amanz soz leur [1]) drapiaus	Makith louers withouten ony wene
Durement amaigrir les piaus.	Vnder her clothes pale and lene
	For loue leueth colour ne cleernesse
	Who loueth trewe hath no fatnesse
Bien le savras par toi meïsmes:	Thou shalt wel by thy silf see
Il covient que tu t'essaïmes,	That thou must nedis assaid be
Car bien saches qu'amors ne laisse	
Sor fins amanz color ne graisse;	
A ce sont bien cil parissant	For men that shape hem other weye
Qui vont les dames traïssant:	Falsly her ladyes forto bitraye
Il dient, por eus losengier,	It is no wonder though they be fatt
Qu'il ont perdu boivre e mangier	With false othes her loves they gatt

[1]) This variant (for *les)* is taken from Langlois' notes (II. 130, cf. Kaluza 2531).

E je les voi, les jangleors,	For of[t] I see suche losengours
Plus gras qu'abez ne que priors.	Fatter than abbatis or priours.

ME. 2685 f. ought to follow 2687 f., as the original shows, while 2691 f. is a complete mistranslation of the corresponding French couplet (note the characteristic Northern rhyme). Besides, *ony* in ME. 2683 must of course be omitted, and in 2681 f we ought possibly to read (cf. Langlois 2543 f.):

Such comyng and such *walkyng*
Such heuynesse and such *talkyng*.

A still more intricate case of transposition is afforded by ME. 4073—90 (Langlois 3742—54):

Mout ai irié le cuer dou ventre	Myne herte for Ire goth a fere
Don nus i mist onques les piez;	That I lete ony entre heere
Miauz amasse de deus espiez	
Estre feruz par mi le cors.	
J'ai fait que fos, bien m'en recors,	I haue do folie now I see
Or l'amenderai par vos deus;	But now it shall amended bee
	Who settith foot here ony more
	Truly he shall repente it sore
	For no man moo into this place
	Of me to entre shal haue grace
	Lever I hadde with swerdis tweyne
	Thurghoute myne herte in euery veyne
	Perced to be with many a wounde
Jamais ne serai pareceus	Thanne slouthe shulde in me be founde
	From hennes forth by nyght or day
De ceste porprise defendre;	I shall defende it if I may

	Withouten ony excepcioun
	Of ech maner condicioun
Se j'i puis nului entreprendre,	
Miauz li vendroit estre a Pavie.	
Jamais a nul jor de ma vie	
Ne me tendroiz por recreant,	And if I it eny man graunte
Je le vos jur e acreant.	Holdeth me for recreaunte.

Here the corruption has proceeded so far as not to be easily unravelled; French 3744—5 is rendered together with 3748 in ME. 4081—4, possibly by the original translator,[1]) while both ME. 4079 f. and 4087 f. are more or less stupid repetitions of the couplets preceding them. Probably ME. 4077 f. originally rendered French 3750 ff., so that we ought to read the ME. couplets in the following sequence: 4073—6, 4081—6, 4077—8, 4089—90 — omitting 4079—80 & 4087—8 as spurious.[2]) But why should a reviser ever have taken the trouble to change the original order of the translation merely to insert such completely inane couplets as these?

It is not easy to answer such a question, nor is this instance of entirely aimless shifting of the text the only one. Compare e. g. the Middle English description of Chastity (3672—80) with the corresponding passage of the original, Langlois 3400—8:

Ele me siaut toz jorz defendre	For alwaye byddeth she me so
Que dou baisier congié ne doigne	To yeue no louer leaue to kysse
A nul amant qui m'en semoigne,	
Car qui au baisier puet ataindre	For who therto maye wynnen ywis(se)
A poine puet atant remaindre;	
Et sachies bien cui l'en otroie	
Le baisier, il a de la proie	He of the surplus of the pray(e)

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[1]) Cf. ME. 365—6, where French 354 is rendered in connection with 356.

[2]) Read *wel* in ME 4075 instead of *now* (caught from the following line); cp. *bien* in French 3746.

	My lyfe in hoope to gette some day(e)
	For who so kyssynge maye attayne
	Of loues payne hath sothe to sayne
Le miauz e le plus avenant,	The best and most auenaunt
Si a erres dou remenant	And ernest of the remenaunt.

The correct rendering of French 3403 is evidently ME. 3677, but this line has been moved down after the translation of French 3405 f., and the gap is filled by a poor variation of it with an impure rhyme. [1]) It is quite clear what the general tendency of an emendation ought to be, though the actual result may be a little doubtful as to details:

For alway byddeth she me so
That I yeve to noon lovere
Love to kisse for his preyere;
For who so kyssyng may attaine
Wil hardely at this remaine;
And who may kisse, knoweth wel,
Hath of the preye everydel
The best and most auenaunt,
And ernest of the remenaunt.

What is perhaps the most remarkable case of corruption in the translation is offered by the long description of the abode of Old Age in ME. 4989—5026 (Langlois 4517—44):

E Vieillece sez ou demeure?	Where Elde abit I wole thee telle
Dire le te vueil senz demeure,	Shortly and no while dwelle
Car la te couvient il aler,	For thidir byhoueth thee to goo
Se mort ne te fait avaler	If deth in youthe thee not sloo
Ou tens de Jennece en sa cave,	Of this iourney thou maist not faile
Qui mout est tenebreuse e have.	

1) The rhyme in ME 3675 f. is not quite satisfactory either, though possible (cf. Chaucer's *Tales* D 1375 f — *on a day: on his pray).*

Travauz e Douleur la herbergent;

Mais il la lient e enfergent,

E tant la batent e tourmentent

Que mort prouchaine li presentent,

E talent de sei repentir.

Tant li font de flaiaus sentir.

Adonc li vient en remembrance,

En cete tardive presence

Quant el se veit feible e chenue,

Que malement l'a deceüe

Jennece, qui tout a gité

Son preterit en vanité,

E qu'ele a sa vie perdue

Se dou futur n'est secourue,

Qui la soutiegne en penitence

With hir labour and travaile

Logged ben with sorwe and woo

That neuer out of hir court goo

Peyne and distresse syknesse and Ire

And malencoly that angry sire

Ben of hir paleys senatours

Gronyng and grucchyng hir herbeiours

The day and nyght hir to turment

With cruell deth they hir present

And tellen hir erliche and late

That deth stondith armed at hir gate

Thanne brynge they to her remembraunce

The foly dedis of hir infaunce

Whiche causen hir to mourne in woo

That youthe hath hir bigiled so

Which sodeynly awey is hasted

She weped the tyme that she hath wasted

Compleynyng of the preterit

And the present that not abit

And of hir olde vanite

That but aforn hir she may see

In the future somme socour

To leggen hir of hir dolour

To graunte hir tyme of repentaunce

Des pechiez qu'el fist en s'enfance [1])	For her synnes to do penaunce
Et par bien faire en cete peine,	And atte the laste so hir gouerne
Au souverain bien la rameine,	To wynne the Ioy that is eterne
Don Jennece la dessevrait,	Fro which go bakward youthe he[r] made
Qui des vanitez s'abevrait;	In vanite to droune and wade
Car li presenz si po li dure	For present tyme abidith nought
	It is more swift than any thought
	So litel while it doth endure
Qu'il n'i a conte ne mesure.	That ther nys compte ne mesure.

Note here especially the peculiar way in which the single French line 4523 is rendered first by ME. 4994—6, where each of the French personifications *Travauz* & *Douleur* is rendered by a pair of synonyms; next by 4997—9 which is little better than a mere repetition of the preceding lines, and finally by ME. 5000. Then French 4521 is not translated, nor are 4527 f., while 4525 f. is rendered twice, first by ME 5001 f. (with the French rhyme-words), and then by the powerful couplet 5003 f. [2]) Further ME. 5011—2 are an inserted couplet, the first line of which looks forward to the rendering of French 4534 in ME. 5013 (where *of* ought to be omitted), while l. 5112 anticipates l. 5023. Moreover at least one couplet must be wanting between 5022 and 5023, seeing that the sentence begun in 5014 is not brought to a conclusion.[3]) Finally, while ME. 5017 renders French 4537, ME. 5018 does not really translate French 4538, which is rather rendered by ME. 5006. It is difficult to understand how a reviser could spoil a passage so completely as has been done here, even on the supposi-

1) This reading is taken from Langlois' B, C, & L groups (II. 222, cf. Kaluza 4520).

2) Skeat's idea (p. 89[1], cf. *Essays on Ch.* p. 681) that l. 5004 was borrowed from Gower's *Confessio Amantis* I. 2210 *The trompe of deth was at my Gate* — is surely impossible.

3) Cf. Liddell in *Globe Ch.* p. 714. Skeat thinks (I. 438 f.) that the translator simply forgot to finish the sentence.

tion that he was confusing two translations;[1]) the violent shifting of ME. 5006 is especially hard to explain and is far from unique, a still more curious case being offered by ME. 3739—47 (Langlois 3455—67):

Il n'est dame ne chastelaine	Ther is no lady so hawteyne
Que je ne tenisse a vilaine	Duchesse ne Countesse ne chasteleyne
S'ele faisoit de lui dangier.	That I nolde holde hir vngoodly
Les cors ne fait pas a changier	Forto refuse hym outterly
Se le baisier li otreiez; [2])	
Moult iert en lui bien empleiez:	
Qu'il a, ce cuit, mout douce aleine;	His breth is also good and swete
E sa bouche n'est pas vilaine,	
Ainz semble estre faite a estuire	
Por solacier e por deduire,	
Car les levres sont vermeillettes	And eke his lippis rody and mete
	Oonly to pleyne and to kisse
	Graunte hym a kis of gentilnysse
E les denz blanches e si netes	His teth arn also white and clene.
Qu'il n'i a teigne ne ordure.	

Evidently ME. 3746 is rather out of place in its present surroundings, while it seems to have been originally intended as a translation of French 3459. A bold emendator might urge that ME. 3742 & 3745 ought to be omitted as due to the reviser, that French 3457 f. would seem to have been omitted by the original translator (or to have been wanting in his French MS.), and that accordingly the

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[1]) Note also the impure rhyme in ME. 4991 f.

[2]) French 3457—9 read differently in the L group (cf. Langlois II. 173), the readings of which are preferred by Kaluza (3437—9), though they are rather less close to the ME. text.

beginning of the Middle English passage ought to read somewhat like this:

Ther is no lady so hauteyne
Ne Duchesse ne chasteleyne
That I nolde holde it gentilesse
If she graunte hym leue to kesse.

Now it is decidedly curious that a very similar couplet should be found elsewhere in the translation, in a context rather like the present one, but without any corresponding lines in the French original; cp. ME. 2004—8 and Langlois 1939 f.:

Ainz doit estre cortois e frans	For curteis and of faire manere
	Well taught and full of gentilnesse
	He must ben that shal me kysse
	And also of full high Fraunchise
Cil que j'ensi a ome prens.	That shal atteyne to that emprise.

Is it possible that ME. 2005 f. got in here merely by accident, taking its rhyme-words and general contents from a couplet properly belonging to a passage occurring more than 1700 lines further on in the translation? This is certainly a rather extraordinary assumption; nevertheless in other cases of a similar but less doubtful nature it seems to be the only possible explanation.

Take first the attack on the seductive power of Youth in ME. 4897—904 (Langlois 4439—44):

Par Jennece s'en va li ons	It ledith man now vp now doun
En toutes dissolucions,	In mochel dissolucioun
E suit les males compaignies	*And makith hym loue yuell companye*
E les desordenees vies,	*And lede his lyf disrewlily(e)*
	And halt hym payed with noon estate
	Withynne hym silf is such debate
E mue son propos souvent;	He chaungith purpos and entente
Ou se rent en aucun couvent.	And yalte into somme couente.

The inserted ME. couplet 4901 f. merely anticipates 4903 f., while both rhyme and rhythm of ME. 4899 f. are pronouncedly Northern in character; 4899 must be read *And mas him luf ill company.*[1]) However, fifty odd lines further on the true translation of French 4441 f. appears in another insertion, ME. 4948—54 (Langlois 4484 ff.):

Don les forces leur a soutraites,	But now that eelde hath hym thourgh sought
Avec les foles volentez	They repente hem of her folye
Don il seulent estre tentez.	That youthe hem putte in lupardye
	In perell and in mych woo
	And made hem ofte amys do to
	And suen yuell companye
	Riot and avoutrie.

It is clear that the inserted lines 4953 f. translate French 4441 f. much better than the corresponding English couplet, so that instead of ME. 4897—904 we ought to read:

It ledeth man now up, now doun,
In mochel dissolucioun;
He sueth yuel companye,
Riot and avouterye.
He chaungeth purpos and entente
And *yeveth hym* into somme covente.

It is very unlikely that the two renderings of one French couplet, ME. 4899 f. & 4953 f., should have been taken from different English translations, used by the reviser to supplement each other, for why, then, was the couplet 4953 f. inserted into completely wrong surroundings?

The impossibility of such an explanation is still more evident in another extreme case of transposition, ME. 2295—304 as compared with the original, Langlois 2181—8):

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[1]) Cf. Skeat as quoted by Kaluza p. 43.

Il est ensi que li amant	
Ont par eures joie e torment;	
Amant sentent le mal d'amer	For euer of loue the sijknesse
Une eure douz e autre amer;	Is meynde with swete and bitternesse
Maus d'amer est mout orageus: [1])	The sore of loue is merveilous
Or est li amanz en ses jeus,	For now the louer [is] ioyous
Or se complaint, [2]) or se demente,	Now can he pleyne now can he grone
Une eure pleure e autre chante.	Now can he syngen now maken mone
	To day he pleyneth for heuynesse
	To morowe he pleyeth [3]) for iolynesse
	The lyf of loue is full contrarie
	Which stounde mele can ofte varie.

The first French couplet 2181 f. is rather similar to the last ME. one, 2303 f., [4]) so that this would appear to have been moved down four couplets only. But about 1500 lines further on what is clearly another rendering of the same French couplet is inserted in the ME. passage 3773—86, a heavily expanded paraphrase of Langlois 3494—8:

La mer n'iert ja si apaisie,	The see may neuer be so still(e)
Qu'el ne soit troble a poi de vent;	That with a litel wynde it will(e)

1) This variant is offered by certain B & C MSS. and by the L group (Langlois II. 112; the standard reading is *corageus*).

2) This readings is from the L group (Langlois II. 112, cf. Kaluza 2177); the standard text has *est destroiz.*

3) Skeat's emendation for *pleyneth* in Glasgow & Thynne.

4) This proves of course that the French couplet was not omitted in the translator's MS. of the original, as it is in Langlois' L group (II. 112).

	Ouerwhelme and turne also
	As it were woode in wawis goo
	Aftir the calme the trouble soune
	Mote folowe and chaunge as the moone
Amors se rechange sovent,	Right so farith love that [s]elde in oon
	Holdith his anker for right anoon
	Whanne they in ese wene beste to lyve
	they ben with tempest all fordryve
	Who serueth loue can telle of woo
	The stoundemele ioie mote ouergoo
Il oint une eure, e autre point,	Now he hurteth and now he cureth
Amors n'est guieres en un point.	For [s]elde in oo poynt love endureth.

Observe here that the inserted ME. couplet 3783 f. gives a very close translation of French 2181 f., while French 3496—7 are rather rendered by ME. 2303 f., a fact which becomes evident on comparison:

Il est ensi que li amant	Who serueth love can telle of woo
Ont par eures joie e torment.	*That*[1]) stoundemele ioye mote overgoo.
— — — — — — — —	
Amors se rechange sovent,	The lyf of loue is full contrarie

[1]) So we ought of course to read instead of *The,* which Skeat retains, considering *stoundemele* an adjective meaning *momentary* (see VI. 340) and taking *overgo* in the sense of *pass away* (cf. VI. 333).

Il oint une eure, e autre point. Which stoundemele can ofte varie.

Accordingly ME. 3783 f. ought to be moved up before 2295 f., vacating its own place to 2303 f.[1]) — but how did this and the other extraordinary shiftings noticed above become possible?

It has been shown that the traces of northern dialect, represented by faulty rhymes, are mostly found in the middle part of the translation, usually termed B, which also includes nearly all the various instances of corruption given above. This is commonly taken to indicate that this part was composed by an independent translator, a supposition which is, however, disproved on one hand by the fact that the beginning (A) and the end (C) of the translation are not quite free from similar faults, and on the other hand by the clear traces of a dual authorship of the middle part, found especially in the frequent cases of double translation. This shows that the translation was later revised by a Northerner, whose activity cannot, however, have been of quite an ordinary nature, on account of the numerous instances of superfluous repetition, anticipation, and transposition, often of a very peculiar kind. Moreover, it is worth noticing that just as the various cases of corruption are much more strongly represented in B than in A or C, so their distribution within B is very far from being an equal one. There is a pronounced difference between the two halves of B in this respect, the first being far less heavily expanded than the last. In Kaluza's list of the numbers of French verses corresponding to the 41 hundreds of English lines in this part of the translation, nearly all the high numbers come upon the first 21 hundreds, of which 17 render from 85 to 103 French verses, while of the last

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1) Introduced by two couplets like the following, translating French 3494—5 & 3498 and reconstructed from ME. 3773 f., 3776, & 3779 f. (note that the last couplet renders French 3498 much more vigorously than ME. 3786 does):

The see may never be so still
That with a litel wynd it nill
As it were wood in waves goon;
Love holdeth selde his anker in oon.

20 hundreds 15 paraphrase from 71 to 85 lines. [1]) In other words the expansions and corruptions, which are of rather rare occurrence in the first 1700 lines, greatly increase during the following 2000 lines and still more so during the next 2000 ones, while in the last 1900 lines there is a return to the comparatively good order of the first 1700. In the middle part many lines are repeated again and again to no purpose, while some are not translated at all and others are torn away from their peculiar context and inserted elsewhere in the translation. Such a very unusual state of the text surely demands an equally unusual explanation.

The lines this ought to follow are indicated by the general nature of such readings as are obvious mistakes. It has already been shown (in the preceding section) that both the Glasgow MS. and the MS. used by Thynne as well as their parents and grandparents were copied from authorities which were read by the scribes and not dictated to them. This is further borne out by a good many faulty readings that are clearly errors of the eye and not of the ear, such as *Disteyned* for *Disceyued* in 2046, *A yee* for *Aye* in 2729, end especially mistakes of *y* for *þ* or *vice versa,* as in *ye* for *thee* (3221), *that* for *yet* (2752) and *by thought* for *thy youth* (5117). At the same time, however, there is an astonishingly large number of mistakes which can only be explained as errors of the ear. To these belong preeminently such spellings in the Glasgow MS. as *wise* for *vice* (4878 & 5946),[2]) *witte* for *wight* (5633), *where* for *werre* (5699),[3]) and *two* for *to* (1758). Of course common contractions like *where* = *whether* (2624 & 5191), *this* = *this is* (3548), *bit* =*bideth* (5330), and *let* = *ledeth* (6111) do not count. When

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[1]) The results of this analysis are supported by the figures for the various separate kinds of expansion, the numbers of superfluous insertions, of central expansions, and of cross expansions being respectively in A, B^1, B^2, & C:

0 — 8 — 16 — 5
4 — 4 — 15 — 1
0 — 8 — 19 — 4

[2]) In both cases the French text has *vice(s).*

[3]) Also in Thynne, as well as *whider* for *weder* (2650).

these are wrongly expanded as in 4793 *euer* for *eer,*[1]) in 7098 *neuer* for *ner,* in 4707 *herte is* for *hertis,*[2]) or in 5883 *As my nede is* for *Al my nedis,* they are best considered as errors of the eye, but when on the other hand a contraction as heard in the common speech of that day is made to stand for a full form not usually so abbreviated, we have of course to do with errors of the ear. A clear case of this kind is found in 4935 f. (Langlois 4473 f.):

Par Jennece sa chamberiere	Oonly thurgh youthes chambre
Qui de mal faire est coustumiere	That to done yuell is custom-mere.

Here we ought of course to read *Oonly thurgh youth his chamberere.*[3]) Another instance is offered by 1728 (Langlois 1694):

Qui par mi l'ueil m'a ou cuer mise	That thorough *me nye* vnto myn hert

Instead of *me nye* we must read *myn ye;*[4]) that we have an error of hearing here is sufficiently proved by the substitution of *e* for *y.*[5]) But the most characteristic specimen of this peculiar form of corruption is perhaps 4322 (Langlois 3954):

Je cuidoie avoir achetez	*I wente aboute it* all queyntly

The beginning of this line is a purely phonetical rendering of the correct reading *I wened have bought it.*[6]) This and the other mistakes of the same character suggest as the only satisfactory explanation of the extreme corruption of the translation, heavily expanded and badly disarranged as it is, that its *present text* was

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1) Cf. Kaluza p. 46.
2) Cf. Liddell in *Globe Ch.* p. 711.
3) See Bell's ed. VII. 168, cf. Skeat and Liddell. Thynne also has the faulty reading.
4) Cf. 4532 *forto lowe* instead of *fortallowe.*
5) Cf. 4755 *by* = *ben* and 3676 *My lyfe* for *May lyve.* These two errors are also in Thynne who, however, correctly reads *myn eye* in 1728; evidently he prepared his MS. rather carefully for the press.
6) Cf. the eds. by Kaluza, Skeat, and Liddell.

not copied, directly or indirectly, from the author's MS., but was *written down from memory.*[1])

Persons of a literary bent of mind must often have learned even long compositions by heart during the Middle Ages,[2]) when it was common to recite poems aloud to audiences, a custom alluded to already in the original *Roman,* but especially in the ME. translation 2153—66 (cf. Langlois 2061—9):[3])

Qui amer viant or i entende,	Who so luste loue late hym entende
Que li romanz des or amende;	For now the Romance (bi)gynneth (to) amende
Or fait il bon escouter,	*Now is good to here in fay*
S'il est qui le sache conter,	*If ony be that can it say*
	And poynte it as the resoun is
	Set [,] for other gate ywys
	It shall nought well in all thyng
	Be brought to good vndirstondyng
	For a reder that poyntith ille
	A good sentence may ofte spille
Car la fin dou livre est mout bele	The book is good at the eendyng
E la matire en est novele;	Maad of newe and lusty thyng
Qui dou livre la fin orra,	*For who so wole the eendyng here*
Je vos di bien que il porra	

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[1]) A theory of dictation may explain the errors of hearing, but not the other peculiarities of the text; cp. Skeat's remark about the copy of *Piers Plowman* in MS. Bodl. 851 (in his ed. for E. E. T. S. III. xxx): "The first part exhibits an extremely corrupt text, mere rubbish, as it seems to me, and *written out from imperfect recollection.*"

[2]) See about Wyntoun's knowing Barbour's Bruce by heart W. Mühleisen *Textkritische ... Untersuchungen von Barbour's Bruce* Bonn 1913, p. 103.

[3]) Compare also the allusions to this habit of recitation in Chaucer's works (see ch. I. 1).

Des jeus d'Amors *assez* aprendre.[1]) The crafte of loue shall [enow][2]) lere.

In the ME. lines *poynten* evidently means to read with the proper emphasis, stopping at the right places[3]) — a thing not easily done in the present passage with its awkward pause after *Set* in l. 2158.[4])

That medieval scribes not infrequently knew their texts by heart is proved by a good many cases,[5]) and indeed the Middle English Romances must have been handed down almost exclusively in this fashion.[6]) Another instance is offered by the Cambridge and Oxford texts of the above mentioned North English *Cato* version;[7]) of the first 90 rhymes no less than 35 vary in the two versions, and while both leave out a number of stanzas, the Cambridge MS. omits only four of those contained in the Oxford MS. (nos. 49 b, 55, 56, 58), while this leaves out 12 of the 153 Cambridge stanzas.[8]) Again, the Copenhagen MS. is decidedly better

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1) Three of the French lines (2063, 2065, 2067) are printed here with readings from the L group (cf. Langlois II. 106 f.).

2) The Glasgow MS. reads *he shall mowe;* Thynne has *he shal nowe* (followed by Skeat). But the French line 2069 suggests a reading like that above.

3) Of course it does *not* mean *punctuate* (as Skeat thinks VI. 334), seeing that contemporary MSS. had hardly any punctuation at all (cf. also Skeat I. 431). Even far later *to point* seems to have had the same sense as above; cf. the scrivener's remark about the letter in *Ralph Roister Doister* act III, sc. V: *But in reading and pointyng there was made some faulte.*

4) Evidently the insertion of 2157—62 was due to the reviser; note such Northern peculiarities as *other gate* in 2158 and the rhyme of 2161 f.

5) See e. g. Miss Hammond in *Anglia* 30. 336, and cf. Koch in *Archiv* 111. 302 f. about the spurious conclusion of Chaucer's *Parlement* in the Scotch MS. Arch. Seld. 24.

6) See e. g. K. Sisam *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose* 1921, p. 266

7) See the ed. by Förster in *Engl. Stud.* 36. 1 ff.

8) Nos. CI, CX—XII, CXVI, CXXX, CXXXVI—VII, CXL, CL—LII — note the increase towards the end, and observe that the Oxford stanzas 84, 92, & 119 have only two lines out of four in Cambridge CII, CXIII, & CXXI.

than the Cambridge MS.;[1]) there are pronounced differences in 28 stanzas, but the Copenhagen readings are nearly always better than the Cambridge ones, and the differences increase considerably towards the end.[2]) All these peculiarities prove pretty conclusively that the *Cato* version was handed down orally, just like the Middle English paraphrase of *Le Roman de la Rose,* the three MSS. representing three different stages of corruption.[3])

The bibliographical facts about the *Romance of the Rose* would then appear to be as follows: originally composed in the Standard English of the late fourteenth century it has only been preserved in a version, written down in the beginning of the fifteenth century by some person from the North Midlands, who had once learned the translation by heart, and who still knew its first 1800 lines or so almost perfectly; during the next 4000 lines, however, his memory constantly kept failing him, so that at last he had to break off abruptly and start again at an episode which occurred nearly 6000 lines further on in the translation, but which he remembered better, until after some 1900 lines he had to break off finally, still almost 10000 lines from the end.[4]) While fully explaining

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1) In the first 90 rhymes it generally joins the Cambridge version (except in two cases), but in four cases it is better than both (see esp. I. 4); it omits four Cambridge stanzas (XXIV, XXXI, LIII, CXXXII), but only two from the Oxford version (55 & 56), and it has one which is wanting in both (IV. 14).

2) The list is as follows: I. 4, 33; II. 29—30; III. 8—9, 11, 22; IV. 7—8, 12, 14, 17—20, 24—27, 32, 34—35, 41, 43, 45—47.

3) Further evidence of this is offered in the Cambridge version by the six stanzas in tail rhyme (XXIV, XXXI, LXXXVII, XC, CXXX, CLI), and in the Oxford version by the frequent stop-gap phrases (122, 142 &c.).

4) That in spite of their relatively good text A and C were written down from memory as well as B is also indicated by the fact that their omissions of French lines, while not occurring so often as in B, are still fairly frequent. B leaves out 18 couplets: Langlois 1749 f., 1849 f., 1893 f., 2199 f., 2347 f., 2637 f., 2819—22, 3459 f., 3463 f., 3811 f., 3823—8, 3913 f., 3993 f., 4205 f., 4521 f. (2635 f., 3031 f., & 4207 f. are also omitted, but are left out in certain French MSS. too — respectively the L group, *Ra,* & *Be,* cf. Langlois II. 134, 152, & 209). A & C leave out 5 couplets each: Langlois 401 f., 851 f., 855 f., 933 f., 1313 f. (1515 f. is also omitted, but is left out

the mixed dialect and the faulty rhymes as well as the gradually increasing expansion, the insertions and repetitions, this interpretation also accounts for the anticipations and transpositions, and for the errors through hearing. [1])

3. *Authorship.*

When Eustace Deschamps wrote his complimentary balade to Chaucer, the English poet's fame naturally appeared to him as resting chiefly on his translations from the French; Deschamps addresses him: [2])

O *Socratès* plains de philosophie,
Seneque en meurs et *Anglus* en pratique,
Ovides grans en ta poëterie,
Briés en parler, saiges en rethorique,
Aigles treshaul, qui par ta theorique
Enlumines le regne d'Eneas,
L'Isle aux Geans, ceuls de Bruth, et *qu'i as*
Semé les fleurs et planté le rosier,

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in the L group, cf. Langlois II. 79); 10815 f., 11431 f., 11461 f., 11481 f., 11975 f.

[1]) It is not necessary to assume that the text was originally learned through the ear and not from a MS.; during the period when the translation was preserved through memory only, errors would naturally creep in through the ear and not through the eye, just as they do on a lesser scale when a compositor reads a few words of his copy at a time and then trusts to his memory (cf. Blades *Shakespere and Typography* (1872, p. 72 f.), where such errors are noted as the Second Quarto's *mistake* for *must take,* in *Hamlet* III. 2. 213). Note also in this connection the prevailling medieval practice of reading poetry aloud, not only to others but to oneself; see Froissart's testimony to the habit in *Espinette Amoureuse,* as quoted by G. G. Coulton in *Social Life in Britain* (1918) p. 86.

[2]) In his Balade CCLXXXV (*Oeuvres* II. 138 f.). Cp. Paget Toynbee's *Specimens of Old French* pp. 314 and 482 ff. (cf. *Acad.* 1891. II. 432 f.) and Jenkins in *Notes* 23. 268 ff. (cf. *ib.* 437 f.). *Anglus* (MS. *anglux*) was a well-known physician during the Middle Ages, cf. *Oeuvres* XI. 204. See also App. C.

Aux ignorans de la langue pandras,
Grant translateur, noble *Geoffrey Chaucier;*

Tu es d'Amours mondains Dieux en Albie:
Et de la Rose, en la terre Angelique,
Qui, d'Angela saxonne, est puis flourie
Angleterre, d'elle ce nom s'applique
Le derrenier en l'ethimologique,
En bon anglis le Livre translatas;
Et un vergier, où du plant demandas
De ceuls qui font pour eulx auctorisier,
A ja long temps que tu edifias,
Grand translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier.

Chaucer also refers to his own translation of *Le Roman de la Rose* through the mouth of the God of Love in the Prologue to the *Legend* (254 —7 = 328*—31*):[1])

ffor in pleyn tixt it nedyth nat to glose[2])
Thow hast translatid the romauns of the rose
That is an eresye ageyns myn lawe
And makyst wise folk fro me withdrawe.

Later the poet is defended by Alceste (344—7 = 366*—7*):

Therfore he wrot the rose & ek Crisseyde
Of innocence & nyste what he seyde
Or hym was bodyn make thilke tweye
Of sum persone & durste it not withseye.[3])

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1) Strangely enough he does not seem to have known the authors of the original (see *C. T.* E 2032: — *he that wroot the Romance of the Rose;* cf. Fansler p. 20), though he also used Jean de Meun's *Testament* (cf. Skeat V. 22 (& *Acad.* 1888, I. 237) and Koeppel in *Anglia* 14. 265 f.).

2) This phrase is a rhyme-tag from which nothing can be inferred (cf. Lowes in *Publ.* 20. 855[1]).

3) The *Romance* is not mentioned in Chaucer's *Retracciouns* (see Tyrwhitt III. 314, cf. Hertzberg p. 671), but this need not be of any particular importance (cf. Nicolas p. 85 f.).

This is a pretty plain hint that Chaucer wrote the paraphrases of the French poem and of Boccaccio's *Filostrato* at the command of some great noble [1]) — who, it is impossible to decide. [2]). The coupling of the two names also suggests that the composition of the *Romance* was not separated by any great length of time from that of *Troilus,* which almost certainly falls about 1382; [3]) probably the translation was executed a few years before 1380. [4]) Chaucer's rendering of such a popular work as *Le Roman de la Rose* would naturally be famous and is not likely to have

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1) See Tatlock p. 112 [1] (denied by Langhans *Untersuchungen zu Ch.* p. 227 f.).

2) There is really nothing in favour of John of Gaunt, as ten Brink thinks (II. 78 ff., cf. Kaluza p. 245 ff.). The French original was of course very well-known in England; a Yorkshire squire mentions in his will of 1428 *meum librum gallicum de Romanc' Ros' (North Country Wills,* ed. J. W. Clay p. 35 (The Surtees Soc. 1908); cf. *Test. Ebor.* IV. 12[1]), and Richard II bought a copy in 1379 (Fr. Devon *Issues of the Exchequer* 1837, p. 213), perhaps identical with that found during his reign in the Royal Chapel of Windsor (cf. E. A. Savage *Old English Libraries* 1911, p. 271). The XIV cent. MS. B. M. Roy. 19. B. XIII has the foll. note on a flyleaf(in a hand ab. 1400): *Ceste liure est a Thomas fiz au Roy duc de Gloucestre achates dez Executours monsieur Richard Stury;* Chaucer knew Stury *(Athen.* 1873. II. 816, cf. W. T. Waugh in *Scott. Hist. Rev.* 11. 64 ff), and the ME. paraphrase agrees with this MS. of the original in some special readings (see e. g. ME. 366 in Kaluza's ed.), though it cannot have been translated from it (note especially that the MS. lacks the interpolated lines after Langlois 11568, rendered by ME. 6841—8).

3) See Lowes in *Publ.* 23. 285 ff., cf. Carleton Brown in *Notes* 26. 208 ff. and R. K. Root & H. N. Russell, in *Publ.* 39. 48 ff.; as to the close relations between the two poems see Miss Cipriani in *Publ.* 22. 568 ff. & Fansler p. 149 ff.

4) See ten Brink in *Engl. Stud.* 17. 9 ff. (cf. Kaluza p. 1 f. and his *Chaucer Handbuch* 1919, p. 27, also H. Lange in *Anglia* 38. 477 ff.), originally opposed by Koch (see *Chronology* p. 13 ff. & *Engl. Stud.* 27. 61 ff.), but not since 1921 (cf. *Engl. Stud.* 55. 172). An early date is of course favoured by many, see Root *Poetry of Ch.* p. 56, Tatlock p. x, and Wells p. 650; cf. Vockrodt *Reimtechnik bei Ch.* 1914 p. 68 & Beschorner *Verbale Reime bei Ch.* 1920 p. 22.

been lost, nor is there any reason to think that there were other contemporary versions besides it. [1]) Unfortunately the one surviving, fragmentary MS. of the Middle English translation has not preserved the author's name, if ever it had one, and it is impossible now to decide whether Thynne, who first printed the translation as Chaucer's, had MS. authority for his ascription, or merely identified an anonymous version with the Master's. [2]) Chaucer's authorship was universally accepted, however, till Bradshaw raised the first doubts on account of the faulty rhymes,[3]) while Skeat was the first to publish a linguistic analysis of the poem, stating as his result that it must have been written in a North Midland dialect about 1350(!) [4]) Then Lindner showed in detail that the translation really consisted of two fragments, of which the first might possibly be a remnant of Chaucer's version; this was denied by Skeat, [5]) but when a few years later Kaluza divided the first fragment into two, [6]) Skeat accepted the

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1) Cf. *Athen.* 1870 II. 233 f. The existence of numerous Middle English versions of the Troy *story* is of course no parallel, as Skeat thinks *(Essays on Ch.* p. 439 f.).

2) The quotation in *The Pilgryms Tale* of six *stauis* from *the romant of the rose — whiche be chaucers awne hand work* (see Furnivall's ed. of Francis Thynne's *Animaduersions* App. I. 721 ff.), was almost certainly taken from Thynne's ed. 1532 and not from a MS. (cf. Tyrwhitt's *Preface* App. A, note e, and Lounsbury I. 465). Courthope's remarks *(Hist. of Engl. Poetry* I. 252) are really absurdly wrong.

3) Ten Brink p. 14 ff. still thought the *Romance* Chaucer's (but see *Anglia* I. 532[2]), and so did Furnivall p. 107 ff. (his remarks here are repr. in Morris' ed. of Ch. 1870; cf. *Athen.* 1869. I. 606 f.). But from ab 1870 Furnivall seems to have accepted Bradshaw's results; see *Trial-Forewords* p. 7 and espec. *Acad.* 1878. I. 365 *(ib.* 489 & II. 66 f. T. Arnold still defends Chaucer's authorship).

4) *Essays on Ch.* p. 437 ff., also printed in the 3. issue of his ed. of *The Prioresses Tale* &c, Oxford 1880, p. lxxxiii ff. (cf. Koch in *Anglia, Beiblatt* 8. 154 ff., and see Skeat's earlier remarks in his reissue of Bell's ed. of Ch. 1878 I. 8 f.; cp. *Acad.* 1878 I. 512 & II. 143 f.). Skeat's *Vocabulary Test* was submitted to a searching criticism by A. S. Cook in *Notes* 2. 143 ff.

5) See *Acad.* 1888 II. 153 f.;cf. Lindner in *Engl. Stud.* 11. 172.

6) Kaluza claimed both the first and the last of his three fragments

former of these (A) as Chaucer's.[1]) The one scholar of any importance since the days of Bradshaw to uphold the Chaucerian authorship of the translation as a whole was the late Prof. Lounsbury whose attitude has, however, been very severely criticized.[2])

In the preceding section it has been shown that the *Romance* is not, as commonly supposed, made up from fragments of the work of several translators, but that the original version was rather handed down through failing memory. Still it is not quite impossible to find at any rate *some* external evidence to help us in identifying the original translator, seeing that fifteenth century poets sometimes borrowed from the preserved Middle English version, and especially that Lydgate did so in his *Complaint of a Lover's Life*[3]) and in *The Temple of Glass.*[4]) Considering Lydgate's great admiration for the master and the fact that he certainly knew about Chaucer's *Romaynt of the Rose,* to which he refers under this title in the Prologue to his *Fall*

(A, B, C) for Chaucer, and this view was accepted by Lindner in *Engl. Stud.* 18. 104 f. and by Schick in *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 1893, col. 680 ff.

1) *Acad.* 1890 II. 11 f., 51 f., 137; cf. *Essays on Ch.* p. 675 ff. and the Ch. Soc. *Ryme Index to the Min. P.* p. x ff. Kaluza's results as modified by Skeat have been generally, though not universally accepted (see Kittredge in *Studies* I. 11; cf. the N. Y. *Nation* 1900 I. 443 and Liddell in the *Gl. Ch.* p. liv f.); Koch has often argued against the genuineness of any part of the *Romance* (cf. *Engl. Stud.* 17. 61 ff., 30. 450 ff., 46. 104 ff., 55. 161 ff., & *Anglia* 46. 36)

2) See espec. Kittredge in *Studies* I. 1 ff. & the N. Y. *Nation* 1892 I. 215; cf. Skeat in *Acad.* 1892. I. 206 f., Mc Clumpha in *Notes* 7. 166 f., and Garnett in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 19. 440. Cp. also *The Manchester Guardian* Feb. 27, Nov. 5 & 7, & Apr. 18, 1894, and Kaluza in *Engl. Stud.* 20. 338 ff.

3) See Skeat p. 72 ff. & VII. xliv f., 504 ff.; cf. *Athen.* 1896 I. 747 & *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1895—8 p. 223 f. (see also E. Krausser in *Anglia* 19. 245). Lydgate drew chiefly on the beginning of the *Romance* here; cp. espec. 1. 79 f. & *Rom.* 1419 f. Originally Koch rejected the parallels *(Engl. Stud.* 27. 228 ff.), but later he accepted them *(ib.* 30. 454).

4) In 1. 153 ff. there are references to *Wikkid Tungis* and *Daunger* (cf. Schick p. 83), but there is no evidence that Lydgate used the corrupt text.

of Princes, it is pretty safe to infer that when he was going to make use of an English version of *Le Roman de la Rose* this would be Chaucer's [1]); accordingly there is some foundation for the view that the Middle English *Romance* was really written by Chaucer. [2])

When Lydgate quoted the *Romance* he probably did so from memory as he seems to have done in the case of a good many Chaucerian passages; note for instance his reference in *The Serpent of Division* to

my maistere Chaucer whiche compendiously wrote the dethe of þis myȝte Emperour seyinge in þis wise

with boidekyns was Cesar Julius
mordered at Rome of *Brutus Cassius*

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1) This argument does not apply to part A only, since Lydgate also uses other parts of the translation in *The Temple of Glass.* When he mentions *Malebouche* in *The Lover's Life* 260 (cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 232 f.) this shows simply that he knew the original too, but *not* that Chaucer's translation preserved the French names and accordingly cannot be identified with the existing ME. version (thus Schick in *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 1893 col. 683 f., cf. *Anglia, Beiblatt* 8. 134 ff.). Compare *The Court of Love,* where 496—7 are quoted from *Rom.* 2819 f. (cf. Skeat VII. 545), while the names sometimes correspond with the *Romance* (e. g. *Dred* in 1034), sometimes not *(Shamefastness* in 1198, *Prevy Thought* in 1268); similarly in *The Kingis Quair* (ed. Lawson 1910 p. 140).

2) On the other hand the author of *Reson and Sensuallyte* (who certainly was not Lydgate, cf. ch. IV. 1) knew and used the present text of the *Romance,* since he borrows from it such expressions as *boton* (instead of *knoppe,* 1. 5639) and *Bialacoil* (instead of *Fair-Welcomyng,* 1. 5650), the latter in the characteristic quadrisyllabic form 1. 6725; it is trisyllabic in 6757), though his French original *Les Echecs Amoureux* has *Belacueil* (ed. Sieper, Weimar 1898, p. 44 (cf. *Archiv* 104. 399 f. & *Engl. Stud.* 27. 437 ff.); *ib.* p. 240 ff. Sieper notes numerous parallels with the *Romance* A, cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 30. 454); Sieper has many further parallels in his notes, some of which are also noticed by Lange in *Engl. Stud.* 31. 159 ff. — The author of the *Compleynt,* added to Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* in some MSS. (cf. Schick p. L), also seems to have known the corrupt text of the *Romance;* at any rate he uses a phrase (1. 477), which is identical with an inserted line here, *Without feynyng or feyntise* (1. 1971, cf. Schick p. 125).

whan many land and regne he had broight full lowe
loo who may triste fortune any throwe.[1])

This quotation is a badly remembered recapitulation of Chaucer's tragedy *De Julio Cesare* in the *Canterbury Tales;* here, too, Cæsar is killed *with boydekins* (B 3892) and Brutus and Cassius are rolled into one (B 3887). It is especially characteristic that Lydgate's final line is taken from another tragedy, that of Hercules, occurring some 500 lines earlier in the *Tales* (B 3326):

Lo, who may truste on fortune any throwe?

In these circumstances it is curious to notice another instance of Lydgate's use of *Le Roman de la Rose,* though here it is impossible to compare his quotations with the *Romance* since they refer to a part of the poem not preserved in the ME. version. In Lydgate's *desgwysinge --- of dame fortune, dame prudence, dame rightwysnesse, and dame ffortitudo*[2]) the description of *Dame Fortune* is taken from *Le Roman de la Rose:*

	Lyche as the romaynes of the rose
— — — — — — [5921 ff.:]	descryueth hur / with outen glose
Une roche est en mer seianz,	and telleth pleynly / how that she
Bien parfont, ou mileu laienz,	hath hur dwellynge in the see
Qui seur la mer en haut se lance	Joyninge to a baryn roche
Contre cui la mer grouce e tence.	and on that on syde doth approche
— — — — — — [5937 ff.:]	a lytell mountayn lyke an yle
Car, quant ainsinc apert par air,	vpon whyche land somwhyle

1) Ed. MacCracken p. 65, cf. p. 39 f.

2) Found in Shirley's MS. Trin. R. 3. 20 p. 55 ff. (printed in Brotanek *Die Englischen Maskenspiele* 1902, p. 309 ff.) and in Stowe's copy of a Shirley MS., B. M. Ad. 29729 f. 140 ff., from which the present extract is taken (lines 9—37).

Les floretes i fait pareir	ther growen freshe floures newe
E come esteles flambeier —	wonder lusty of ther hue
— — — — — — [5950:]	
L'autre en fruit porter se deporte	dyuers tres with frute elade
— — — — — — —	and byrdes with ther notes glade
	than singen / and maken melodye
[5973:]	In ther heuynly hermo[n]ye
Li roussigneus a tart i chante.	Some singe on hye and som lowe
— — — — — — [5940 f.:]	
E les erbetes verdeier	and *zepherus* ther doth eke blow
Zephirus, quant seur mer chevauche.	with his smothe / attempre ayre
— — — — — — —	hee maketh the weder / cler and fayr
	And the sesoun full of grace
	but sodenly in lytell space
[5942 f.:]	vpon this place most royall
E quant Bise resoufle, il fauche	ther cometh a wawe and for dereth all
Les floretes e la verdure	ffirst the freshe floures glad
A l'espee de sa freidure	on ther stalkes / he dothe fade
— — — — — —[5953 ff.:]	to ther bewty / he doth wronge
E quant l'une en sa verdeur dure,	and than farewell the byrdes songe
Les pluseurs i sont senz verdure;	braunche and boughe of euery tre
E quant se prent l'une a flourir,	she robbethe them of ther beutye
Aus pluseurs vont les fleurs mourir.	leffe and blosomes doune they fall.

Further there is a general similarity between lines 38—63 and

Langlois 6079—174, while 83—90 would seem mainly to render a much later passage, Langlois 6813—24:

Jupiter en toute saison	
A seur le sueil de sa maison,	
Ce dit Homers, deus pleins toneaus;	she hath two tunys in her seller
— — — — — [6821 ff.:]	
C'est une taverne pleniere,	
Don *Fortune* la taverniere	
Trait aluisne e piment en coupes	that on is full of pyment cler
Pour faire a toue le monde soupes;	confeit with sugar and spyces swete
[6816 ff:]	
Si n'est veauz ou ne garçoneaus,	and manny(s) delectabell rote [1])
N'il n'est dame ne dameisele,	but this is yet the worste of all
Seit vieille ou jeune, laide ou bele	that other tune is full of gall
Qui vie en cet monde receive,	who tasteth one / ther is non other
Qui de ses deus toneaus ne beive. [2])	he moste taste eke of the other.

The way in which the chief points of the French text are recapitulated here, with many omissions, insertions, misunderstandings (especially of the French passage 5947 ff., cp. line 19 & 34—7), and violent transpositions, exactly reminds one of the textual conditions of the *Romance;* evidently the peculiarities of both texts are due to failing memory, with the important difference, however, that in one case the scribe did not remember his "copy", while in the other Lydgate had half forgotten his authority, which was almost certainly another fragment of the partially preserved ME. version. Now Lydgate has been seriously proposed as the author

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1) MS. *rate!*

2) Cp. also Langlois 10631—4 (cf. Fansler p. 96), and see *Reson and Sensuallyte* 1. 47 ff., cf. Sieper's notes II. 78 & Schick p. 123 f.

of the B-part,[1]) and it might accordingly be tempting to identify him with the transmitter of the translation; however, such an attempt breaks down at once on account of the unmistakable traces of conscious revision in the translation (the introduction of Romance terms &c), for Lydgate was a too pious admirer of Chaucer's work to introduce intentional changes into his text,[2]) and as has been shown above we must reckon with the possibility of Chaucer's original authorship.

This possibility is further strengthened by the many verbal similarities between the *Romance* and the text of Chaucer's recognized works.[3]) Among the poet's frequent borrowings from the

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1) See Lange in *Engl. Stud.* 29. 397 ff. and Koch *ib.* 30. 455 f. (cf. Schick pp. lxii & cxxxviii, and Royster in *Phil.* 12. 455 f., but see MacCracken p. xlix); in *Anglia* 35. 338 Lange gives up this view, and in *Engl. Stud.* 46. 108 f. & 55. 165 & 174 Koch thinks that the translation was executed ab. 1400 by a circle of Chaucerians, perhaps under the superintendence of Lydgate, at Bury St. Edmunds. — Skeat once thought James I of Scotland the author of B (p. 78 ff., cf. *Athen.* 1899. II. 66 f. & 129 f.; but see his revised ed. of *The Kingis Quair,* Scott. Text Soc. 1911 p. xxii). Others have set up a theory that the *Romance* B, *The Court of Love, The Kingis Quair, The Quare of Jelusy,* and *Lancelot of the Laik* were all written by a group of XV cent. poets in a purely artificial language, a Northern dialect mixed with Midland forms, with a dash of Chaucer thrown in (see esp. J. T. T. Brown *The Authorship of the Kingis Quair* Glasgow 1896 pp. 29 ff. & 67, cf. *Scott. Hist. Rev.* 8 1 ff & 321 ff); this is of course quite impossible on account of the marked dialectal and chronological differences (cf. Al. Lawson's ed. of *The Kingis Quair* 1910 p. lxxxviii).

2) Cp. his exclamation in *The Fall of Princes* when narrating the tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra

> Thyng onys seid be labour of Chaucere
> Were presumpcion me to make ageyn

— repeated in connection with the tragedies of Philomene and of Lucrece (Spurgeon I. 40 ff, cf. Hammond in *Anglia* 38. 121 & 135 and Lounsbury II. 159). Note also his reference to Chaucer's *Troilus* in his *Troy Book* (see W. M. Rossetti's parallel ed. of *Troilus* p. x f.).

3) Cf. E. G. Sandras *Étude sur G. Chaucer considéré comme imitateur des trouvères* (Paris 1859) p. 31 ff.

famous allegory [1]) we must, however, carefully distinguish between passages which show such a pronounced similarity to the preserved ME. version that they cannot be independent of it, and others the resemblance of which to the ME. translation may be accidental, because both versions may have made use of the same common expressions, or because the French original may have suggested the independent use of similar terms. [2]) None of those who have tried to prove Chaucer's authorship of the *Romance* by means of the existing literary parallels between it and his accredited work, have kept clear of these errors. [3]) The use of the expression *Farewel feldefare* in the *Romance* (1. 5510) and in *Troilus* (III. 861) is of course neither evidence of common authorship, [4]) nor a loan, [5]) but simply shows the independent use of a contemporary proverbial saying. [6]) And when Chaucer often speaks of people fully versed in love affairs as those that *knowen wel the olde daunce,* [7]) and the *Romance* does the same in 1. 4300, the source is in both cases 1. 3936 of the original:

Qu'el set toute la vieille dance	For she knewe all the olde daunce.

1) See Fansler (cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 49. 431 ff.), cp. E. Koeppel in *Anglia* 14. 238 ff. (cf. *Beiblatt* 25. 203 ff.) and Lisi Cipriani in *Publ.* 22. 552 ff. — H. Lange's *Rosenromanstudien,* announced in *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 1915 col. 1702, have apparently not been published as yet.

2) Cp. e. g. *Roman* 1034, *Romance* 1050, Chaucer's *Legend* 328 (352*), and the *Tales* B 4516 (made into an important parallel by Kaluza p. 172).

3) See about Fick *(Engl. Stud.* 9. 161 ff.) Kaluza p. 7 f, about Lounsbury (II. 82 ff.) Kittredge in *Studies* I. 25 ff., and about Kaluza (p. 143 ff). Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 70 f. and espec. Schick in *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 1893, col. 683 f.; "Man sage nicht, dass auch solche Parallelen durch ihre Masse wirken; 100 Nullen sind wieder Null."

4) Thus Fick in *Engl. Stud.* 9. 166 and Lounsbury II. 116.

5) So Skeat II. 479 & *Essays on Ch.* p. 680, and Kaluza p. 51.

6) Cf. Kittredge in *Studies* I. 18; see *ib.* p. 21 f. as to *Rom.* 624 and *C. T.* C 722 (cp. Lounsbury II. 119).

7) *C. T.* C 79 & A 476, and *Troilus* III. 694 f.; cf. Fick in *Engl. Stud.* 9. 165.

In the same way it is impossible to determine the source of the comparison in the *Canterbury Tales* B 4459 f.:

— and Chauntecler so free
Soong murier than *the mermayde in the see.*

This may as well have been borrowed from the French *Roman* (Langlois 669—74) as from the ME. translation (677—84): [1])

Tant estoit cil chanz douz et biaus,	Sich swete song was hem amonge
Qu'il ne sembloit pas chant d'oisiaus,	That me thought it no briddis songe
Ainz le peüst l'en aesmer	But it was wondir lyk to be
A chant de *sereines de mer,*	Song of *Meremaydens of the see* [2])
Qui, por lor voiz qu'eles ont saines	That for her syngyng is so clere
	Though we mermaydins clepe hem here
	In English as is oure vsaunce
E series, ont non sereines.	Men clepe hem sereyns in Fraunce.

Or indeed the likeness may very well be a purely casual one, as is also possible in the case of ME. 333—5 (Langlois 325 ff.):

Nus tant durs coeurs ne la veïst	In worlde nys wyght so harde of herte
A cui grant pitié n'en preïst.	That had sene her sorowes smerte
	That nolde haue had of her pyte.

Some have thought this a striking parallel to two passages in Chaucer's *Troilus,* IV. 1140 f. & V. 722—4: [3])

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[1]) Though Fick thinks this parallel an important one (1. c.).

[2]) Cf. Lange in *Anglia* 38. 488 f. See also *Reson and Sensuallyte* l. 3641 *Sirenes in the see* — & l. 6732 *A Meremayden of the se* — and observe Shirley's note to a line from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* in Ashm. 59, f. 59 b:

Lych Syrynes with voyces malodyous .i. mirmaydens

[3]) Cf. Lounsbury II. 140 & Kaluza p. 244.

That in this world ther nis so hard an herte
That nolde han rewed on hir peynes smerte.
— — — — — —
In al this world ther nis so cruel herte
That her hadde herd compleynen in her sorwe
That nolde han wopen for her peynes smerte.

But as a matter of fact the resemblances here are limited to quite common phrases, so that any connection either with the ME. *Romance* or with the French original remains unproven.[1]) In other cases it seems fairly certain that Chaucer made some direct or indirect use of *Le Roman de la Rose,* as in the words of the Host in the *Tales,* B 20—4:

Lordinges, the tyme wasteth night and day,
And steleth from us, what prively slepinge,
And what thurgh necligence in our wakinge,
As dooth the streem, that turneth never agayn,
Descending fro the montaigne in-to playn.

Compare with this ME. 369—74 & 381—4 (Langlois 361—6 & 373—6):

Li Tens qui s'en va nuit e jor,	The tyme that passeth nyght and daye
Senz repos prendre et senz sejor,	And restlesse trauayleth aye
E qui de nos se part e emble	And steleth from vs so priuely
Si celeement qu'il nos semble	That to vs semeth sykerly
Qu'il s'arest adès en un point,	That it in one poynt dwelleth euer
Et il ne s'i areste point,	And certes it ne resteth neuer
— — — — — —	— — — — — —
Li tens qui ne puet sejorner,	The tyme that may not soiourne
Ainz vait toz jorz senz retorner,	But goth and may neuer Retourne
Con l'eve qui s'avale toute,	As watir that doun renneth ay
N'il n'en retorne arriere goute.	But neuer drope Retourne may.

1) See Kittredge in *Studies* I. 35.

It is pretty clear that Chaucer was thinking of this passage when penning the lines quoted from the Man of Law's Prologue;[1] however, even if we argue that Chaucer would naturally use his own translation, we cannot with absolute certainty identify this with the preserved ME. version, seeing that two independent translations might very well agree in offering rather close renderings of a passage like the present.[2] Only when important agreements are found between Chaucer's undisputed works and characteristically rendered lines in the *Romance* we can begin to be sure that this really exhibits his workmanship. And even such agreements must be carefully considered before we admit them as conclusive evidence; parallels must be weighed and not counted.

Differences between the *Romance* and corresponding passages in Chaucer also exist, but characteristically enough in one work only, the very early poem on the *Death of Blanche,* which must have preceded the translation by several years.[3] Some passages here resemble the *Romance,* but the similarity is not so pronounced that it cannot be explained through the common French source, as in l. 341 f.:

> Blew, bright, clere was the air
> And ful attempre, for sothe, hit was.

Compare *Rom.* 130 f. (Langlois 124 f.):[4]

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1) Cf. Kaluza p. 155 & Skeat V. 134.

2) The same objection applies to Fansler's comparison between *Fame* 112—4 and *Rom.* 23—5 (p. 139 f.).

3) Such a difference as that between *C. T.* B 211:

> Diverse men diverse thinges seyden

and *Rom.* 5814 (cf. Langlois 10 684; the Glasgow MS has *tille* and Thynne *wyll,* accepted by all editors, but read *fille):*

Divers diverses choses distrent And dyuersely they seide hir [f]ille — is of no importance (despite Lindner's remarks in *Engl. Stud.* 11. 172) in view of the numerous variations of this line elsewhere in Chaucer (A 3857, F 202, E 4469; cf. Kaluza p. 138 f.).

4) See Fansler p. 129[3] (cf. H. Lange in *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 1915 col. 1701 ff. and Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 55. 166). Among other parallels (mostly insignificant) are *Blanche* 291 & 304 f. and *Rom.* 49 & 717; cp. also Fansler p. 124 f., Max Lange's *Untersuchungen über Chaucer's Boke of the Duchesse* (diss. Halle 1883) p. 26 ff, and Fick in *Engl. Stud.* 9. 166.

Clere e serie e bele estoit	Ful clere was than the morow-tyde
La matinee e atempree	And ful attempre out of drede.

Other passages differ decidedly from the renderings in the translation, such as *Blanche* 419—22: [1])

> And every tree stood by him-selve
> *Fro other wel ten foot or twelve.*
> So grete trees, so huge of strengthe,
> *Of fourty or fifty fadme lengthe.*

Cp. *Rom.* 1391—4 (Langlois 1365—9):

Mais li arbres, ce sachiez, furent	These trees were sette that I deuyse
Si loing a loing com estre durent:	
Li uns fu loing de l'autre assis	One from another in assyse
Plus de cinc toises ou de sis;	*Fyue fadome or sixe I trowe so*
mais li rain furent lonc e haut.	*But they were hye and great also.*

This passage is curious as showing that when writing *Blanche* Chaucer did not know the correct meaning of *toise* and did not quote the ME. translation. [2]) Another passage of the *Romance* is alluded to both in an earlier and in a later work, with a characteristic difference, lines 55—8 (Langlois 55 ff.):

La terre meïsmes s'orgueille	And the erth wexith proude withall
Por la rosee qui la mueille	For swote dewes that on it fall
E oblie *la povreté*	And *the pore estat* forgette

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1) See also Skeat I. 19 & 474 f. In his separate ed. of the *Legend* (1889, p. 140) he notes seven passages in *Blanche,* "which differ from the existing E. version of the Rom. of the Rose" (6 from A & 1 from B); in the *Oxford Ch.* (1894, III. 301) he notes the same parallels, simply changing *differ* in the sentence above into *resemble!*

2) Fansler has a different, rather far-fetched explanation (p. 131). Cp. also Snell in *The Age of Chaucer* p. 139.

Ou ele a tot l'iver esté.	In which that wynter had it sette.

Cp. *Blanche* 410—12 & *Legend* 113 f. (125* f.):[1])

Hyr had forgete *the povertee*	Forgetyn hadde the erthe his *pore estat*
That wynter, through his colde morwes	Of wyntyr, that hym nakede made and mat.
Had maad hit suffre —	

Here *Blanche* 410 renders French *povreté* by the same word, while the translation prefers a more characteristic phrase *pore estat, also employed in the Legend.*[2]) This certainly seems to show that Chaucer made use of the *Romance* in his later poems, and this is also suggested by another parallel, between the Knight's Tale and *Rom.* 6028—30 (Langlois 10898 ff.):

Dames leur breieront tel peivre,	Ladies shull hem such pepir brewe
S'il peuent en leur laz choeir,	If that they fall into her laas
Qu'il leur en devra meschoeir.	*That they for woo mowe seyn allas.*

Compare the remark about Venus in the *Tales* A 1951 f.:

> Lo, alle thise folk so caught were in hir las
> *Til they for wo ful ofte seyde allas.*

It is true that the italicized expression has a proverbial ring;[3]) still it is sufficiently characteristic to make its employment in two evidently connected passages rather remarkable, while also suggesting that the connection was direct rather than indirect.[4]) Far more important is, however, another parallel, offered by *Rom.* 5121—4 (Langlois 4623 f.):

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[1]) See Lounsbury II. 124 & Kaluza p. 141; cf. A. S. Cook in *Trans. Connecticut Acad.* 23. 1 ff.

[2]) This characteristic difference is completely overlooked by Kittredge in *Studies* I. 25[2].

[3]) Cf. Kittredge l. c. pp. 46 f. & 54.

[4]) See also Lounsbury II. 151 & Kaluza p. 244.

Le tens qu'avras perdu plorras, Thy tyme thou shalt biwepe sore
The whiche neuer thou maist restore
For tyme lost as men may see
Mes recovrer ne le porras. For no thyng may recured be.

The last ME. couplet reappears in Chaucer's *House of Fame*, l. 1257 f.:

For tyme y-lost, this knowen ye
By no way may recovered be.

The correspondence is so remarkable that any idea of accidental similarity must be dropped at once;[1] nor can the lines be considered a loan from Chaucer, inserted later,[2] seeing that they translate a part of the French couplet. Fansler admits that Chaucer must have used the preserved ME. paraphrase here and in some other places as well, but he maintains that this does not prove it to be identical with Chaucer's own version (p. 192). It is, however, hardly possible to believe that the poet would have used another's translation when he had made one himself;[3] thus there can be no doubt that the present parallel offers strong evidence in favour of Chaucer's authorship of the *Romance*.[4]

Chaucer's translation was no doubt a complete one,[5] which goes very well with the fact that it seems possible to trace some parts, now lost, of the ME. version outside the two long fragments already discussed. We have seen that Lydgate appears in his *Disguysing of Fortune* to have quoted from one of the lost portions of the translation; moreover, a small fragment, properly occurring towards the end, has been preserved imbedded in fragment I. In the French original we find nothing corresponding

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1) In spite of Kittredge l. c. p. 54 f.
2) As done by Skeat I. 439 & Kaluza p. 51.
3) Cf. Fick in *Engl. Stud.* 9. 167.
4) See Lounsbury II. 151 f.
5) Note that the attacks on women, to which he refers in the *Legend*, chiefly occur in the gap between the two preserved fragments (cf. espec. Langlois 8257 ff).

to ME. 2185—202, till more than 12000 lines later we come on a passage, Marteau 19309—28, which proves to be the source of the ME. insertion: [1])

Ge respons que nus n'est gentis	But vndirstonde in thyn entent
S'il n'est as vertu ententis,	That this is not myn entendement
Ne n'est vilains, fors par ses vices	
Dont il pert outrageus et nices.	
Noblece vient de bon corage,	To clepe no wight in noo ages
Car gentillece de lignage	Oonly gentill for his lynages
N'est pas gentillece qui vaille,	But who so is vertuous
Por quoi bonté de cuer i faille,	And in his port nought outrageous
Per quoi doit estre en li parans	Whanne sich oon thou seest thee biforn
La proece de ses parens	Though he be not gentill born
Qui la gentillece conquistrent	
Por les travaux que grans i mistrent,	
Et quant des siecle trespasserent,	
Toutes lor vertus emporterent,	
Et lessierent as tiers d'avoir;	
Que plus ne porent d'aus avoir.	
L'avoir ont, plus riens n'i a lor	Thou maist well seyn this (is) in soth
Ne gentillece, ne valor.	That he is gentil by cause he doth
Se tant ne font que gentil soient	As longeth to a gentilman
Par sens ou par vertu qu'il aient.	Of hem noon other deme I can
	For certeynly withouten drede
	A cherle is demed by his dede
	Of hie or lowe as ye may see
	Or of what kynrede that he bee.

[1]) Already pointed out by F. J. Child in *Athen* 1870. II. 721; cf. *ib.* 1871. I. 90.

Of the last four lines ME. 2200 appears to render the otherwise untranslated French line 19311; oddly enough it is anticipated in the preceding l. 2182, which does *not* translate the corresponding French line 2084 — compare ME. 2179—86 and Langlois 2081—6:

Si maudi e escomenie	I curse and blame generaly
Toz ceus qui aiment vilanie:	All hem that louen vilanye
Vilanie fait li [1]) vilains,	For vilanye makith vilayn
Por ce n'est pas droiz que je l'ains.	*And by his dedis a cherle is seyn*
Vilains est fel e senz pitié,	Thise vilayns arn withouten pitee
Senz servise e senz amitié.	Frendshipe loue and alle bounte I nyl resseyue vnto my seruise Hem that ben vilayns of emprise.

This passage states Guillaume de Lorris' aristocratic view of society, and when the transmitter had got as far as this he was evidently reminded of Jean de Meun's later statement of his democratic views [2]) and inserted an imperfectly remembered version of it, probably to counterbalance the preceding doctrine — in other words: we have here a third small fragment of the originally complete translation.

The undoubted parallel between *Rom.* 2181 f. above and the Wife of Bath's remark *ffor vileyns synful dedes make a cherl* (D 1158) cannot very well be explained as a loan by the *Romance* from the Wife, [3]) seeing that the couplet does *not* occur in the inserted passage. On the other hand there *is* a parallel between some of the inserted lines, *Rom.* 2191—7, and D 1113—16:

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1) This variant from Langlois' group L (II. 107. cf. Kaluza 2073).

2) These ideas were deeply rooted in the medieval mind; see W. H. Schofield *Chivalry in Engl. Lit.* pp. 67 & 283, and cf. A. G. H. Spiers in *Publ.* 25. 666 f.

3) Thus Skeat V. 320 & I. 431 f. (cf. *Essays on Ch.* p. 680) and Kaluza p. 51 f; cp. also Lowes in *Publ.* 30. 348 [25] (the evidence promised here has not yet been published, as far as I know).

Loke who that is moost vertuous alway
Pryvee and apert and moost entendeth ay
To do the gentil dedes that he kan
Taak hym for the grettest gentil man.

And this similarity cannot be explained by assuming that the *Romance* lines were borrowed from Chaucer, for the entire passage in the Wife of Bath's Tale (D 1109 ff.) was evidently influenced not only by Dante but also by *Le Roman de la Rose,*[1]) which Chaucer would by this time naturally have used in his own translation: accordingly the resemblance to the preserved ME. version suggests that the latter was done by him.

Nor is further proof of this wanting. The detailed way in which the long speech of *Fals Semblant* was used by Chaucer as the model for the famous confession in the Pardoner's Prologue[2]) indicates that the poet made his borrowings from the ME. *Romance,* 6832—48, and not from the original (Langlois 11560 ff.):[3])

Car ne vueil autre vie mais,	I wole no lyf but ese and pees
Recreist mes argenz e mes ors;	And wynne gold to spende also
Car, ainz que seit vuiz mes tresors,	For whanne the gret bagge is go
Denier me vienent a resours.	*It cometh right with my Iapes*
Ne faz je bien tomber mes ours?	*Make I not wel tumble myn apes*
En aquerre est toute m'entente,	*To wynnen is alwey myn entent*
Meauz vaut mes pourchaz que ma rente.	*My purchace is bettir than my rent*

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1) Cf. Fansler p. 221 f. and Lowes in *Phil.* 13. 20 & 25[5]. J. W. Hales is wrong in thinking the *Romance* passage influenced by Dante (*Folia Litteraria* p. 69).

2) Cf. Fansler p. 163 ff. There are touches from the same source in the descriptions of the Friar and the Pardoner in the Prologue to the *Cant. Tales* (cf. Skeat V. 25).

3) Ll. 11560—8 plus the ten lines added in Langlois' B group (III. 206 & 322).

S'en me devait tuer ou batre,	For though I shulde beten be
Si me vueil je par tout embatre;	Ouer al I entremete me
Tu sembles sainz ou. — Certes voire.	
Ordener me fis a prouvoire,	
S'oi la cure[1]) *de tout le monde,*	Without me may no wight dure
Tant come il dure a la reonde;	I walke soules forto cure
Par tout vois les ames curer,	*Of al the world cure haue I*
Nus ne peut mais sanz moi durer	*In brede and lengthe boldly*
Et preeschier et conseillier,	*I wole bothe preche and eke counceilen*
Senz jamais des mains traveillier.	*With hondis wille I not traueilen*
De l'apostole en ai la bule,	*For of the Pope I haue the bull*
Qui ne me tient pas pour entule.	I ne holde not my wittes dull.

Note first the rather free rendering of French 11563 f. by ME. 6835 f., which is echoed with surprising faithfulness in Chaucer's description of the Pardoner (A 705 f.):[2])

> And thus / with feyned flaterye and *Iapes*
> He made the person and the peple *his Apes.*

That this touch was taken from the speech quoted above cannot be doubted; note especially the remarkable correspondence in both English versions between the rhymewords which are totally independent of the French original. — Of the next ME. couplet 6837 f. Chaucer uses the first line to characterize his Pardoner (C 403) and the second to describe the Friar (A 256):[3])

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1) This variant from Kaluza (11719); Langlois reads *suite.*

2) Kaluza notes this parallel p. 217, but without calling attention to its importance.

3) See Fansler p. 164, cf. Fick in *Engl. Stud.* 9. 166; cp. also Skeat V. 28, opposed by Flügel in *Anglia* 23. 233 ff., but see *Notes* 23. 142 ff. & 200, and 34. 118 f.

ffor myn entente is nat but for to wynne
— — — — — —
His purchas was wel bettre than his rente.

In both cases the correspondence is so close that the versions must certainly be directly connected. — Finally, with ME. 6843 ff. compare the statement of Chaucer's Pardoner in C 443 f.: [1])

ffor I wol preche and begge in sondry landes
I wol nat do no labour with myne handes.

Observe especially that the first line sums up not only ME. 6845, a close rendering of the corresponding French line, [2]) but also 6844 which precedes it in the English version only, not in the French original. This seems to show pretty conclusively that when composing his Pardoner's Confession Chaucer made use of the *Romance,* and that the borrowing was not the other way about. This is also indicated by a further loan from the *Romance* in the Pardoner's Prologue, ME. 5763 f. (Langlois 5113 f.):

Car bone predicacion	For *ofte* goode predicacioun
Vient bien de male entencion	Cometh of evel entencioun.

These lines are practically repeated by C 407 f.:

For certes many a predicacioun
Comth *ofte tyme* of yuel entencioun.

The parallel between *ofte* and *ofte tyme,* to which nothing corresponding is found in the French text, shows of course that here Chaucer once more followed the *Romance,* which must accordingly be identified with his translation. [3])

Still more suggestive evidence of this is offered by the striking verbal parallels between some lines in the first and second of Chaucer's *Balades de Visage sans Peinture* and three passages in

[1]) With ME. 6847 compare also C 342—3:
Bulles of popes and of Cardynales,
Of Patriarkes and bishoppes I shewe.

[2]) Cf. Fansler p. 164.

[3]) Though Fansler points out the parallel p. 197 he declines to accept this conclusion.

the *Romance*,[1]) the first of which is ME. 5543—55 (Langlois 4949—56):

E Fortune la mescheanz	And fortune myshappyng
Quant sus les omes est cheanz,	Whanne vpon men she is fa-blyng
	Thurgh mysturnyng of hir chaunce
	And caste hem oute of balaunce
Si les fait par son meschoeir,	She makith thurgh hir aduersite
Trestouz si clerement voeir	Men full clerly forto se
	Hym that is freend in existence
	From hym that is by apparence
	For yn fortune makith anoon
Qu'el leur fait leur amis trouver,	*To knowe thy freendis fro thy foon*
Et par esperiment prouver	By experience right as it is
Qu'el valent meauz que nul aveir	The which is more to preise ywis
Qu'il peüssent ou monde aveir.	Than i[s] myche Richesse and tresour.

Evidently the ME. couplets 5545 f. & 5549 f. [2]) were inserted later, as is especially clear from the way in which the latter anti-

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1) The parallels are noted by Skeat (I. 543 ff., cf. Fansler p. 209), but their peculiar character has not been pointed out.

2) With the latter couplet Lounsbury (II. 150 f.) compares *Fame* 265 f.:

Allas! what harm doth apparence,
Whan hit is fals in existence!

But the real source of this is another passage (see Kittredge in *Studies* I. 54, cf. Skeat III. 250), *Rom.* 7465—8, cp. Langlois 12139 ff.:

Mais ja ne verreiz d'aparence	But shalte thou neuer of apparence
Conclure bone consequence	Sene conclude good consequence
En nul argument que l'en face,	In none argument ywis
Se defauz existence efface.	If existens al fayled is.

It is, however, impossible to decide from the texts whether Chaucer used the original or the translation here.

cipates 5551 f.,[1]) the second line of which closely corresponds to the bitter remark of the plaintiff in Chaucer's first *balade* (1. 9):

> Yit is me left the light of my resoun
> *To knowen frend fro fo* in thy mirour.

Such a characteristic resemblance could hardly exist between two independent renderings of the French line 4953,[2]) and this observation is further strengthened by the perhaps still more remarkable parallel afforded by *Rom.* 5671 f. (Langlois 5045 f.):

Car, si con dient nostre[3]) mestre,	A wise man seide as we may seen[e]
Nus n'est chaitis s'il nou cuide estre.	*Is no man wreched but he it wene.*

Compare the Goddess's reply to the complainant in Chaucer's second *balade* (1. 25):

> *No man is wrecched, but him-self hit wene.*[4])

However, the most pronounced similarity between any two passages in Chaucer's recognized work and in the *Romance* is probably exhibited by lines 5483—6 (Langlois 4905 ff.):

Cete fait quenoistre e saveir,	Thus kan she maken high and lowe
Des qu'il ont perdu leur aveir,	Whanne they from Richesse arn throwe
De quel amour cil les amaient	Fully to knowen without were
Qui leur ami devant estaient.	*Freend of affect and freend of chere.*

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[1]) Note also the clumsy jointure between 5548 & 5549.

[2]) Skeat also compares ME. 5551 f. and *C. T.* D. 1203 f. (V. 322), but the latter lines were rather influenced by *Boece* II. pr. 8.

[3]) The correct reading appears to be *vostre* (Langlois II. 242).

[4]) Skeat (I. 545) compares this line with *Boece* II. pr. 4 (II. 430. 79): *forthy nothing [is] wrecched but whan thou wenest it (adeo nihil est miserum, nisi cum putes)* — but the resemblance to *Rom.* 5672 is clearly far stronger.

Compare Fortune's words in Chaucer (1. 33 f.):

> I have thee taught divisioun bi-twene
> *Frend of effect, and frend of countenaunce.*[1])

Here the last line practically repeats *Rom.* 5486, merely changing *chere* into *countenaunce* — the correspondence could hardly be closer.[2])

Altogether it must surely be admitted that this dozen weighty parallels between Chaucer's Works and the *Romance* go very far towards identifying it with the master's own translation. It is hardly possible to maintain that all the correspondences must be explained in exactly the opposite way, as results of a Chaucerian influence on the anonymous *Romance,* for the extreme unlikeliness of such a view will be seen at once from the following list of the more important parallels:

Rom. 55—8	(A)	—	*Legend* 113.
— 2181 f.	(B)	—	*C. T.* D 1158.
— 2191—7	—	—	— D 1113—16.
— 5121—4	—	—	*Fame* 1257 f.
— 5486	—	—	*Visage* 34.
— 5552	—	—	— 10.
— 5672	—	—	— 25.
— 5763	—	—	*C. T.* C 407 f.
— 6028—30	(C)	—	— A 1951 f.
— 6835 f.	—	—	— A 705 f.
— 6837 f.	—	—	— C 402 & A 256.
— 6845 f.	—	—	— C 443 f.

It appears from this list that the parallels are drawn from all parts of the *Romance*[3]) and from a fairly wide selection of Chau-

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1) In *Boece* II, pr. 8 (to which Skeat refers, I. 545) the same idea is found, but not the close verbal parallels: "— this aspre and horrible Fortune hath discovered to thee the thoughtes of *thy trewe freendes* --- that is to seyn, *the knowinge of thy verray freendes* —".

2) Cf. Lounsbury II. 150 and Fick in *Engl. Stud.* 9. 165 (where of course he is wrong in thinking that Fortune's expression in 1. 33 *I have thee taught* — is a direct reference to the *Romance).*

3) The bulk of the important parallels (7) are from the most suspect part (B); Koch maintains *(Engl. Stud.* 55. 167) that the very fact

cer's recognized works, *The House of Fame, The Legend, Visage Sans Peinture,* and three separate fragments of *The Canterbury Tales.* [1]) This makes it absolutely impossible to assert that the *Romance* is due to an anonymous translator who inserted almost every bit Chaucer borrowed from the original in the right place in his paraphrase, which leaves us with two alternatives only: *either* Chaucer himself wrote the present MS. version or this is largely based on Chaucer's translation — which is in fact the very result we have arrived at: Chaucer executed the translation, which was, however, handed down by a transmitter whose failing memory has left us two badly mutilated fragments only.

Among the numerous literary parallels which may be drawn between the *Romance* and Chaucer's work I have in the above only dwelt on those which are really characteristic, since they are the sole important ones. [2]) Common turns of diction and prosody are alike unimportant, whether they speak *for* Chaucer's authorship [3]) or *against* it; [4]) no quasi-statistical enumeration of such technical tricks has been attempted, as being essentially futile. [5])

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of their existence makes all correspondence valueless, but note that not a single faulty rhyme nor any other irregularities are to be found among these parallels. They occur mostly in the latter part of B (and in C) on account of Chaucer's very outspoken preference for certain parts of Jean de Meun's work (see Fansler p. 231 ff.).

1) All of which are later than 1380, before which year Chaucer's translation must have been finished.

2) Once the identification has been proved it is easily possible to support it by a good many parallels unconvincing in themselves; cp. e. g. *Rom.* 1367—70 & *C. T.* B 1950—3; 6489—91 & A 245—7; 7083 f. & A 223 f. (cf. Kaluza pp. 181, 208, 223 &c). Moreover, a lot of parallels have of course been lost through the fragmentary state of the text of the *Romance* (see the list in Skeat VI. 388).

3) See Miss Pound's investigations into the subject of sentence-length in *Notes* 11. 192 ff., but cf. Hammond p. 453.

4) Cp. Miss Whiton's diss. on *The Coordinate and Subordinate Conjunctions* Columbia Univ. 1897, espec. p. 91 ff.

5) Some observations of this kind seem, however, to have induced Prof. A. S. Cook to doubt the spuriousness of part B; see *Trans. Connecticut Acad.* 23. 22 ff. (cf. *ib.* 20. 181 [4]). — Skeat's inferences from the number of verse-paragraphs in the translation are of course absolutely inconclusive on account of the unsatisfactory

On the other hand there is one kind of evidence, traces of the author's literary personality, which is rather more conclusive, but very difficult to discover in a translation.[1]) However, there are a few passages of this kind in the *Romance,* which are additions to the text of the original, but do not seem to be due to the activity of the reviser. Some of them are not very valuable, such as the mention of Boethius in ME. 5659—66 (Langlois 5035—40):

N'est pas nostre[2]) païs en terre,	In erthe is not oure Countre
Ce peut l'en bien des clers enquerre	That may these clerkis seyn and see
Qui, Boece, de Confort, lisent,	*In Boice of consolacioun*
E les sentences qui la gisent;	*Where it is maked mencioun*
	Of oure countre pleyn at the Eye
	By teching of philosophie
Dont granz biens aus genz lais ferait	Where lewid men myght lere wit(te)
Qui bien le leur translaterait.	Who so wolde translaten it.

The inserted ME. couplet 5963 f. contains a reference to the first metre in the fourth book of Boethius' great philosophical work, a poem Chaucer alludes to in *Fame* 972 ff.[3]) But Boethius was such a popular author in fourteenth century England that this passage might easily have been independently referred to by one of Chaucer's contemporaries.[4]) However, this hardly applies to another quotation from Boethius, in lines 4136—40, expanded from one French line, Langlois 3793:

Car je sui en enfer cheoiz.	For I am fallen into helle
	From paradys and welthe the more

nature of the material (*Queries* 1874. I. 185 f., wrongly referred to by Hammond p. 55).

1) See about such *absolute internal evidence* ch. I. 3.

2) The correct reading appears to be *vostre* (Langlois II. 242).

3) Cf. Lounsbury II. 120.

4) See Kittredge in *Studies* I. 23.

My turment greveth more and more
Anoieth now the bittirnesse
That I to forn haue felt swetnesse.

ME. 4139 f. evidently renders the familiar passage from Boethius (II. 4): *Nam in omni aduersitate fortunae infelicissimum est genus infortunii fuisse felicem* — translated by Chaucer: *For in alle adversites of fortune the most unseely kynde of contrarious fortune is to han ben weleful* — and again referred to in *Troilus* III. 1625—8:

For of fortunes sharp adversite
The worste kinde of infortune is this:
A man to han ben in prosperite,
And it remembren whan it passed is.

This was no common aphorism during the Middle Ages; the phrase did not become famous till Dante recast it in a firmer mould (*Inferno* V. 121—3): [1])

Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria.

It is true that the reference in the *Romance* looks like being derived from Boethius alone, while the *Troilus* quotation was probably taken from Dante's text; [2]) still the occurrence of such an unfamiliar maxim in the translation seems to suggest Chaucer as the author, who would appear to have been rather struck with the phrase. Finally, some support of Chaucerian authorship may perhaps be found in the threat against Wicked Tongue in l. 7577 f. (Langlois 12048): [3])

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[1]) See Edw. Moore *Studies in Dante* I. 283, and especially F. X. Kraus *Essays Zweite Sammlung* 1901, p. 337 ff. The reference in Gower's *Vox Clamantis* l. 67 f. (cf. Paget Toynbee *Dante in Engl. Lit.* I. 17[2]) was probably due to Chaucer.

[2]) Cp. the correspondence *remembren-ricordarsi* (see also Kraus l. c. p. 356).

[3]) Cf. Lounsbury II. 119.

	For thou shalt for this sinne dwelle
Vous en ireiz ou *cul d'enfer*	*Right in the devils ers of helle.*

Instead of *cul* some French MSS. read *puis,* but while both these terms simply mean "pit",[1]) the translator elaborated *Fayr Welcoming's* fulmination from his knowledge of some such story as that launched by the Summoner against the Friar in the *Canterbury Tales,* about *the nest of freres* (D 1665 ff.).[2]) Both passages allude to this unsavoury punishment as one specially intended for religious hypocrites, and this fact may be an additional argument in favour of Chaucer's authorship of the *Romance,* though the story is probably pretty nearly as old and as wide-spread as the Church it satirizes.[3])

Such independent additions to the text of the original may of course be due to the original translator, and need not have been inserted by the reviser;[4]) a few others also go very well with the

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1) See Schoch in *Phil.* 3. 340, cf. Skeat I. 450, Langlois III. 234, and Kaluza's French text 1. 12422.

2) This may, however, have been suggested by the double meaning of the French *cul;* there is no reason to suppose that the translator misunderstood the original (as imagined by Schoch l. c. p. 341 and Lindner in *Engl. Stud.* 9. 171). The origin suggested by W. C. Curry in *Notes* 38. 253 is not very likely, while various further parallels given by Kaluza (p. 237), Kittredge *(Studies* I. 21), and Fansler (p. 165[18]) are equally without interest.

3) Definite instances of it are curiously rare, though; cp., however, the description of the clerical throng in hell in *Le Salut d'Enfer* (Jubinal *Jongleurs et Trouvères* p. 44 f.) and in Wright's *Latin Stories* no. CXXXIII (p. 124; cf. John Bromyard's *Summa Praedicantium (Luxuria)).* The story about the Cistercians' resting-place in the bosom of Our Lady (Caesarius of Heisterbach *Dialogus Miraculorum* VII. 59, cf. Ward's *Cat. of Romances* II. 635) is of course a pious set-off to this vulgar jape and not the origin of it, as Tatlock thinks *(Notes* 29. 143).

4) See the prec. sect. — A. W. Ward's remarks (in the *English Men of Letters* volume p. 62) on Chaucer's additions in the *Romance* are unsatisfactory owing to too careless collation with the original; cp. Tyrwhitt's note (III. 314) on *The Lordes sonne of Wyndesore* (1. 1250, cf. Hales *Folia Litteraria* p. 81), though already Francis

assupmtion of Chaucer's authorship, such as lines 2325—8 which are in complete agreement with the general spirit of his undoubted love complaints:

Among eke for thy lady sake
Songes and complayntes (that) thou make
For that wole meue(n) [hem] in hir herte
Whanne they reden of thy smerte.

In other cases it may even be possible to distinguish between an addition by Chaucer himself and a later insertion from the hand of the reviser, as in ME. 5234—46 (Langlois 4712—20):

Car bonté faite par priere	For goode deede done thurgh praiere
Est trop malement chier vendue	Is sold and bought to deere Iwys
A cueurs qui sont de grant value.	To hert that of grete valour is
	For hert fulfilled of gentilnesse
	Can yvel demene his distresse
Mout a vaillanz ont grant vergoigne	And man that worthy is of name
Quant il requiert que l'en li doigne,	To asken oft hath gret shame
Mout i pense, mout se soussie,	A good man brenneth in his thought
Mout a mesaise anceis qu'il prie,	For shame whanne he axeth ought
Tel honte a dedire son dit,	
	He hath gret thought and dredeth ay
	For his disese whanne he shal pray[e]
Pour ce qu'il doute l'escondit. [1])	His freend lest that he warned be
	Til that he preve his stabilte.

Thynne *(Animaduersions* ed. Furnivall p. 65 f.) had fully elucidated this point (cf. Skeat I. 427).

[1]) This reading is from group B (Langlois II. 229).

Here two ME. couplets 5237 f. & 5243 f. have been inserted, but while the former is technically perfect and quite agrees with the view of gentility as stated in several of Chaucer's recognized works, the latter is an entirely superfluous repetition of the preceding couplet and is moreover disfigured by an impure rhyme; no doubt it was added by the reviser. A much more remarkable contrast, in spirit as well as in form, appears however in lines 4261—76, where the first four couplets give a brilliant and pointed rendering of Wicked Tongue's slander of women (Langlois 3905—10), while the four last add an independent series of dull moral comments, artistically impossible because of their heavy obviousness:

"Ceste est pute, ceste se farde,
E ceste folement regarde,
Ceste est vilaine, ceste est fole,
E ceste si a trop parole."
Male Bouche, qui riens n'esperne
Trueve a chascune quelque herne.

Eueriche of hem hath somme vice
Oon is dishonest another is nyce
If oon be full of vylanye
Another hath a likerous [y]e
If oon be full of wantonesse
Another is a chideresse
Thus wikked tunge god yeue h[i]m shame
Can putt hem euerychone in blame,
Withoute disseit and causeles
He lieth though they ben giltles
I have pite to sene the sorwe
That walketh bothe eve and morwe
To innocentis doith such grevaunce
I pray god yeve h[i]m evel chaunce
That he euer so bisie is
Of ony womman to seyn amys.

The same heavy moral note is sounded by various other insertions, e. g. by the defence of the clergy in ME. 6192—4 (Langlois 11058):[1])

La robe ne fait pas le moine	Abit ne makith (neithir) monk ne frere
	But clene lyf and deuocioun
	Makith gode men of Religioun.

Compare also the attack on sensuality in ME. 4879 f.:

For of ech synne it is the rote
Vnlefull lust though it be sote.

Another and still more curious expression of this point of view is found in lines 3240—3 (Langlois 3016—7):

E quant juenes on fait folie	And though a yong man in ony wise
L'en ne s'en doit pas merveillier	Trespace amonge and do foly Late hym not tarye but hastily Late hym amende what so be mys.

Observe especially the peculiar way in which the easy wordly temper of the French line 3017 is contorted into the severe Puritan attitude of the corresponding English couplet.[2])

Such additions and the general corruption of the text spoil of course the translation to some extent; still it remains a decidedly creditable, in parts even a brilliant piece of work, well worthy of Chaucer as a whole,[3]) while the detailed evidence

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[1]) The only couplet considered a later addition by Kaluza (p. 59).

[2]) Possibly it may also have some bearing upon this point that in the parts of the *Romance* showing most traces of the reviser's activity, there is a decided disinclination to translate French *diex,* which is always rendered in A (10 times), but often omitted in B (22 times out of 42) and in C (15 times out of 38); cf. Schoch in *Phil.* III. 344 f.

[3]) When Furnivall thinks it too good for Chaucer *(Trial-Forewords* p. 7) this praise is probably too strong (but cf. Kittredge in *Studies* I. 1). Warton thought it one of Chaucer's most characteristic perfor-

given above seems to me to put his ultimate authorship practically beyond any doubt. The garbled state of the text is mainly due to its having been handed down by a younger contemporary of Chaucer, who had to rely on his memory in doing so and who introduced several conscious as well as many unconscious changes. When his memory failed him he reproduced the text as best he might, sometimes with the assistance of the French poem,[1]) from which he also borrowed numerous Romance terms, substituting them for the native idioms of the original translation. While it is impossible to give this reviser a name, his local habitation must have been the North Midlands; on the whole he appears to have been a person of a rather Puritan turn of mind.[2]) In this way two long fragments of Chaucer's *Romance of the Rose* have been preserved to us, representing ab. 5800 lines of the beginning and ab. 1900 lines from the middle of the poem; the first and the last fourths offer an almost perfect text, while the two intermediary fourths are badly garbled, especially towards the end, owing to the steadily failing memory of the transmitter.

The text is consequently extremely corrupt, so much so that the otherwise somewhat doubtful process of emendation

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mances *(Hist. of Engl. Poetry* 1775 I. 368 ff); cp. ten Brink p. 32, Lounsbury II. 15 f. & 79 f., and Legouis (Engl. transl. p. 52 ff.). Saintsbury praises it greatly; when he thinks the metrical technique different from that of Chaucer *(Hist. of Engl. Prosody* I. 145 f.) this is only true when the translation is contrasted with *Fame,* not when it is compared with *Blanche* (in spite of Saintsbury *anacrusis* is rather frequent in the *Romance;* cp. e. g. lines 37, 61, 72; 2006, 2017, 2022 (?), 2031, 2066; 7002, 7013, 7075, 7082).

1) There are no certain indications as to the type of MS. he had access to, though very likely this was a different one from that used by Chaucer.

2) He must have belonged to that Chaucerian tradition in the North of England during the first half of the fifteenth century, which is chiefly represented by the anonymous author of *The Ile of Ladies* (ed. Jane B. Sherzer, Berlin 193, cf. *Archiv* 112. 197 f.), a poem probably written in the winter of 1420—1 (see A. Brandl in *Engl. Stud.* 12. 175, cf. W. Hagedorn *Ueber die Sprache einiger nördlicher Chaucerschüler* diss. Göttingen 1892 p. 20 ff.).

ceases to be a mere make-shift remedy and becomes a plain necessity.[1]) Already the number of purely clerical errors is very great, as proved by the numerous emendations of Skeat, Liddell, and Kaluza;[2]) I choose at random a case like 4021 f.:

> Art thow now late Rise vp an high
> And stoppe sone and delyuerly.

Here we certainly ought to read:

> Art thou now late? Rise up *and hy*[3])
> *To* stoppe sone and delyuerly.

Often a simple comparison with the French text will show the way to emend the corruption, as in ME. 4148 (Langlois 3800):

Ou païs ne remest *maçon* *Aboute hym* lefte he no masoun.

The French line shows that we must read *In londe* instead of *Aboute hym,* which was evidently caught from the opening words of l. 4152: *Aboute hem.*[4])

Faulty rhymes may frequently be emended with almost complete certainty by comparing the ME. text with that of the original,[5]) as in l. 2239 f. (Langlois 2125 f.):

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[1]) Cp. Lounsbury II. 59 ff. and Fick in *Engl. Stud.* 9. 163 f.

[2]) See e. g. the *Globe Ch.* p. 711 (l. 4693 f.) and cf. *Engl. Stud.* 13. 528 f.

[3]) In Imp. sing. weak verbs of the 2. conj. often omit the final *-e;* cf. Kittredge *Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus* (Ch. Soc. 1891) p. 275 f. Skeat and Kaluza are wrong in emending *in hye,* thus getting an impure rhyme.

[4]) Cp. ten Brink's correction in l. 1282 (p. 30) of the meaningless *And she* into *Youthe* (Fr. 12601 *Jonece),* and note especially the badly corrupted passage ME. 4703—64 (Langlois 4293 ff.), emended through the accumulated labours of Tyrwhitt (see his *Glossary* s. v. *fret),* Bell (VII. 160 ff.), Skeat, Kaluza, and Liddell; cf. also Liddell's notes on ll. 4527, 5638—9, 6041 f., & 6355 in the *Globe Ch.* pp. 709, 721, 726, & 730. Skeat's correction (I. 428) of *greyn de Parys* in ME. 1369 into *greyn de Paradys* (cf. Fr. 1343 *Graine de parevis)* is not correct; see H. Schöffler in *Anglia, Beiblatt* 29. 46 ff.

[5]) Cp. Kaluza on l. 6302 (p. 137).

Après tot ce d'orgueil te garde, Car, qui bien [1]) *entent et esgarde* —

Loke fro pride thou kepe thee wel(e)
For thou maist bothe *perceyue and fele.*

Read instead:

Loke fro pride thou kepe thee
For thou maist bothe *here and see.* [2])

Similarly l. 2453 f. (Langlois 2331 f.):

Ton cuer ne *porras apaier,*
Ainz iras encore essaier

No thyng thyn herte *appesen may*
That ofte thou wolt goon and assay[e].

Read instead of ME. 2453:

No thyng thyn herte *may apaye.*

Further ME. 3219 f. (Langlois 2998—9):

Biaus amis, folie e enfance
T'ont mis en poine e en esmai.

She seide alhayle my swete freend(e)
Foly and childhoode *wole thee sheende.*

The second half of the French couplet decisively shows that in the last ME. line we ought to read *have thee shend,* thus improving the rhyme. Compare with this also 3375 f. (Langlois 3132—3):

Se vos *l'avez* felon *trové,*
Il iert autres au derrenier.

A feloun firste *though that he be*
Aftir thou shalt hym souple se[n].

Read in the first ME. line: — *though he have ben.*

Most of these cases are very simple, but a rather more complicated instance of corruption occurs in ME. 2321—4 (Langlois 2207 ff.):

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1) This is the reading of several subgroups; the standard reading differs slightly (Langlois II. 109).

2) Cf. e. g. l. 2146:
Anoon as ye shall *here and see.*

Si avient bien a bacheler	Also to you it longith ay
Que il sache de vieler,	To harpe and gitterne daunce and play[e]
De fleüter e de dancier:	For if he can wel foote and daunce
Ce te pourra [1]) mout avancier.	It may hym greetly do auaunce.

The rhyme of ME. 2321 f. is faulty and *daunce* in 2322 has evidently got in from the following line, while *foote* is a tautology, which Kaluza is certainly right in replacing with *floute* [2]) — or perhaps rather *floyte.* [3]) Finally the use of the third person in 2323 f. must be wrong, since the second person is employed throughout the rest of the passage, both in English and French. Read, then:

> Also to you it longith ay
> *With* harpe and gittern *to make* play,
> For if *ye* can wel *floyte* and daunce
> It may *you* gretly do avaunce.

Such corrections as these are, on the whole, rather obvious, while some of the following instances may be a little more complicated. Take first a case like 2263 f. (Langlois 2147 f.):

E face bien seanz les pointes	Poyntis and sleues be well *sittande*
E les manches vestanz e jointes. [4])	Right and streght *on the hande.*

Here we probably ought to read:

> Poyntes and sleves be *sitting wel*
> Right and streght *every del.*

The passage ME. 3909—14 (Langlois 3601 ff.) offers a very characteristic case of corruption:

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[1]) This is an L-variant (cf. Langlois II. 113, cp. Kaluza 1. 2200).
[2]) Cf. Kaluza's ed. p. 135.
[3]) Cp. *C. T.* A 91, where of course it means to *whistle* (cf. Flügel in *Journ.* 1. 125 f.).
[4]) The couplet is printed here with certain L-variants; cf. Langlois II. 110.

"Honte, Honte", fait Jalosie,	Shame shame seyde Ielousie
"Grant peor ai d'estre traïe,	To be bytrasshed gret drede haue I
Car Lecherie est tant montee	Leccherie hath clombe so hye
Que tost porroie estre assotee. [1])	That almost blered is myn yhe
N'est merveille se je me dot,	No wonder is if that drede haue I
Car Luxure reine par tot."	Ouer all regnyth lecchery.

Here are three rhymes in *-ye,* the first and last of which are impure; 3913 repeats 3910, and *lecchery* in 3914 is almost certainly a corruption of *luxure.*[2]) The correct reading must be:

"Shame, shame!" Ielousie saide,
"Gret drede I have that we ben traide;
For Leccherie hath clomb so hye
That almost blered is myn ye.
No wonder is if I me doute:
Luxure regneth al aboute."

Several insertions with faulty rhymes may also be removed after a comparison with the French original, as in ME. 3705—10 (Langlois 3424 ff.):

Ele *tint* un brandon flamant	This lady *brought* in hir right honde
En sa main destre, don la flame	Of brennyng fyre a blasyng bronde
	Wherof the flawme and hoote fire
A eschaufee mainte dame.	Hath many a lady in desire
	Of loue *brought* and sore hette
	And in hir seruise her herte is set(te).

Here the couplet 3709 f. may simply be omitted, when 3708 is corrected into:

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1) This is a reading from Langlois' variants (II. 180; cf. Kaluza 1. 3584).
2) Cf. *Boece* III. pr. 7 (l. 7).

Hath many a lady broght in desire. [1])

An especially neat instance of emendation through removing a single spurious insertion which spoils a whole passage, is found in ME. 4765—76 (Langlois 4341—50):

Touz li mondes va cele veie;	All the world holdith this wey
C'est li deus qui touz les desveie,	Loue makith all to goon myswey
Se ne sont cil de male vie	But it be they of yuel lyf
Que Genius escomenie	Whom Genius cursith man and wyf
Pour ce qu'il font tort a Nature;	That wrongly werke ageyn nature
Ne pour ce, se je n'ai d'aus cure,	*Noon such I loue ne* haue no cure
	Of sich as loves seruauntes bene
	And wole not by my counsel flene
Ne vueil je, pas que les genz aiment	*For I ne preise that* lovyng
De cele amour don il se claiment	Wherthurgh men at the laste eendyng
En la fin las, chaitif, dolent,	Shall calle hem wrecchis full of woo
Tant les vait Amours afolant.	Loue greveth hem and shendith soo.

The inserted couplet 4771 f. is entirely superfluous and even meaningless; it must be excised and the lines 4770 and 4773 remodelled like this:

Of swich as this haue I no cure
Ne preyse I never that lovyng

This completely restores the passage to its original power, and the similar corruption of ME. 1895—1902 may be emended in the same way (cp. Langlois 1857—61):

[1]) At the same time *brought* in ME. 3705 ought to be replaced with *held*.

Il a cele floiche a moi traite,	But yit this arwe without more
Si m'a ou cuer grant plaie faite;	Made in myn herte a large sore
	That in full grete peyne I abod(e)
Mais li oignemenz s'espandi	*But ay the oynement wente abrode*
Par mes[1]) *plaies, si me rendi*	*Thourgh oute my woundes large and wide*
	It spredde aboute in euery side
	Thorough whos vertu and whos myght
Le cuer qui m'estoit toz failliz.	Myn herte ioyfull was and light.

Insert here a single couplet instead of the circular expansion in ME. 1897—1900, from which the terms best agreeing with French 1859 f. have been selected in the following lines:

But ay the oynement spredde wide
Thurghout my woundes in every side.

In other cases where the insertions, though not marked by faulty rhymes, are equally suspicious, the method of emendation must be similar, as in ME. 2039—42 (Langlois 1957 f.):

Quant[2]) sa bouche baisa la moie;	The ioye wente to myn herte rote
	Whanne I hadde kissed his mouth so swote
	I hadde sich myrthe and sich likyng
Ce fu ce dont j'oi graignor joie.	It cured me of langwisshing.

The two first ME. lines have simply been transposed; if they are put in the same order as in the French original the sense will become perfect without needing the later added couplet 2041 f.

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1) From Langlois' variants (II. 96; cf. Kaluza l. 1850).
2) From Langlois' variants (II. 101, cf. Kaluza l. 1948).

Another instance is offered by the central expansion in ME. 3525—8 (Langlois 3271 f.):

Mais, biaus sire, que vos avance	*Now swete sir* it is youre ese
	Hym forto angre or disese
	Allas *what may it you avaunce*
De li faire enui e grevance?	*To done to hym so gret grevaunce.*

Insert here instead of ME. 3525—7 a single line, corresponding to French 3271:

Now, swete sir, what may you avaunce —.

Similarly in ME. 5750—4 (Langlois 5106 ff.):

Mais seur touz especiaument	But abouen all specialy
Cil qui pour vaine gloire tracent	*Sich as* prechen *veynglorie*
	And toward god haue no memorie
	But forth *as* ypocrites *trace*
La mort de leur ames pourchacent.	And to her coules deth purchace.

Insert instead of ME. 5751—3 the single line:

Swich as *veyne glorie* trace.[1])

There is a heavily expanded rendering of five French lines[2]) by twelve Middle English ones, in 3055—64:

Anoon Resoun to chastite
Is fully assented that it be

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[1]) Cp. ME. 447 *glorie veine* (Fr. 439 *gloire vaine*).

[2]) In Chaucer's MS. they must have occupied the place of ll. 2857—67 in the standard text (see Langlois II. 145 and cf. Kaluza, ll. 2841—5). — In ME. 3023 ff. (see about the French text Langlois II. 143 f. and cf. the prec. sect.) we ought possibly to omit ll. 3025 & 3028—30 and change one expression in 3026—7:

That oon was clepid by his name
Wykked Tonge, God yeue him *shame!*

E li preta, a sa requeste,	And grauntide hir at hir request
Honte, qui est simple e honeste;	That shame by cause she honest
	Shall keper of the Roser be
Or sont as rosiers garder troi.	And thus to kepe it ther were three
Pour ce nus senz leur otroi	That noon shulde hardy be ne bolde
	Were he yong or were he olde
	Ageyn hir will awey to bere
Ne rose ne bouton n'emport.	Bothoms ne Roses that ther were.

It is possible with reasonable certainty to reduce these six ME. couplets to the original three, as follows:

Resoun hir grauntid at hir requestis
Shame bycause she honest is;[1])
To kepe the roser ther were three,
That noon ne shulde so hardy be
Ageyn hir wil awey to bere
Knoppes ne roses that ther were.

The above emendations are all practically certain or at least highly probable, since the changes made all bring the text closer to the French original; in some other instances, where it is not possible to do so, the text may still be emended after a fashion, but only by introducing rather arbitrary changes, e. g. in ME. 2743—50 (Langlois 2603—7):

Il est voirs que nus maus n'ataint	Certis no wo ne may atteyne
A celui qui les amanz teint;	Vnto the sore of loves peyne
	Noon yuel therto ne may amounte
	Nomore than a man counte
	The dropes that of the water be

[1]) Cp. l. 5287 f., see Kaluza p. 50 (& 64 f.).

Ne qu'en puet espuisier la mer	For drye as well the greet see
Ne porroit nus les maus d'amer	Thou myghtist as the harmes telle
Conter en romanz ne en livre.	Of hem that with loue dwelle.

ME. 2745 is a superfluous repetition of 2743, and instead of 2746—8 one might read somewhat like this:

For drye as wel the grete se
And counte the dropes that in it be —.

This may not unlikely be right, but other passages can only be emended through still more violent changes, such as ME. 3549—55 (Langlois 3289 ff.):

Por ce, Dangiers, vos vueil requerre	Wherfore I pray you sir daungere
Que vos ne mainteniez plus guerre	Forto mayntene no lenger heere
	Such cruel werre agayn youre man
	As hoolly youres as euer ye can
	Nor that ye worchen no more woo
Vers cel chaitif qui languist la,	Vpon this caytif that langwis-shith soo
Qui d'Amors onques ne guila.	Which wole no more to you trespasse.

Here we may instead of the three lines 3551—3 simply read:

Such werre and werche no more woo.

This is, however, not a safe way of removing corruptions and must not be seriously reckoned with;[1]) after all we shall have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that though the text of the

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1) The faulty rhyme of 3137 f. *say(e): may* might be corrected by changing 3138 *And I shall kepe hem if I may* (Fr. 2046 *Je sui dou faire encoragiez)* into *And I shal werche hem to obeye* — but this is a rather arbitrary kind of emendation and had no doubt better be avoided.

Romance of the Rose may certainly be emended in many places, it will in view of its extremely corrupt state hardly ever become quite satisfactory. There is some comfort in the thought that even from the two badly garbled fragments, which are all we have left of Chaucer's translation, we may get an idea of the trenchant quickness and power of the original rendering; it is better to have them, partly spoiled as they are, than to have nothing at all.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION.

1. *The Lost Works.*

AMONG the items in Chaucer's lists of his own works are three pieces which have not been preserved. In the original draft of the Prologue to the *Legend* (427* f., cf. 417 f.) he makes Alceste say:

> He made also goon ys a grette while
> *Origenes vpon the Maudeleyne.* [1])

The ultimate reference here is almost certainly to the *Homilia Origenis de Maria Magdalena,* which begins:

In presenti solemnitate locuturi auribus vestræ charitatis dilectissimi, amor venit ad memoriam, quomodo beata Maria Magdalena dominum nostrum super omnia diligendo, discipulis fugientibus, eum ad mortem euntem sequebatur, ac veri amoris igne succensa, nimio ardens desiderio indesinenter plorans a monumento non recedebat. [2])

It is probable that Chaucer's treatment of the subject took somewhat the same line as that pursued in his *Lyf of Seint*

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1) Lydgate refers to this work in the Prologue to his *Fall of Princes,* probably merely repeating Chaucer's own information; cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 227 f.

2) Origenis *Opera* Parisiis 1522, vol. III, fol. CXXIX (ab. 4000 words in all). The homily is not really Origen's but was commonly attributed to him during the Middle Ages, cf. Hammond p. 100.

Cecile, the mention of which in the *Legend* immediately precedes the *Maudeleyne;* [1]) but the text has completely disappeared. [2])

Another lost work of Chaucer's is mentioned only in the final redaction of the Prologue to the *Legend* (413 ff.): [3])

> *He hath in prose translatid* Boece;
> And *of the wrechede engendrynge of mankynde*
> *As man may in pope innocent I-fynde.*

This prose paraphrase of Pope Innocent II's famous treatise *De Contemptu Mundi sive De Miseria Humanae Conditionis Libri Tres* [4]) was, however, probably not completed, since the terms in which Chaucer refers to the work would seem to show that he had not translated more than the first seven chapters of the work, which alone treat "of *the Wreched Engendring* of Mankynde". [5]) There is absolutely no proof of the theory that Chaucer continued his work a good deal further, then broke off and used his translation for the poetical paraphrases of bits of the papal treatise in

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1) *The Lamentatyon of Mary Magdaleyne* in 102 stanzas, printed by Pynson and Thynne, is quite independent of the homily; cf. Bertha M. Skeat's diss. Zürich 1897, espec. p. 30 ff. Another XV cent. treatment of the subject was printed by Zupitza in *Archiv* 91. 207 ff.

2) Should a MS. ever be discovered it might be found to begin like this:

> Wel oughten we to han in remembraunce
> How that the woful Mary Maudeleyne
> That loved ay our lord in his meschaunce
> Folwed him to his deeth and cruel peyne
> For verray love hir wolde so susteyne
> That at his sepulcre she stood allone
> Withoute-forth to crye and make hir mone.

3) This seems to prove that the translation was begun later than the first draft of the *Prologue,* cf. ten Brink in *Engl. Stud.* 17. 21 and Lowes in *Publ.* 20 790 ff.; the latter's further inferences from the remark of the Man of Law *(I speke in prose* (B 96), cf. Wells p. 700 f.) are hardly justified (cp. E. C. Knowlton in *Journ.* 23. 85 ff.)

4) Ed. J. H. Achterfeldt Bonn 1855. Cp. Koeppel in *Archiv* 84. 405 ff. & 85. 48, and see about Lounsbury Hammond p. 92.

5) Cp. the heading of I. 3 *De vitio conceptionis.* See also Koeppel in *Engl. Stud.* 17. 200.

the Man of Law's Prologue and Tale.[1]) Anyhow, these stanzas are all we have left of Chaucer's occupation with Innocent's work, parts of which they render with an artistic power far superior to that evinced by Deschamp's version of the same sections in his *Double Lay de la fragilité humaine.*[2]) Take for instance the latter's rendering of I. 16:[3])

De Povrete.

Mais povres homs est digiteus
Vilz tenues et si maleureus
Que tousjours languist en doubtance;
Il est de tous biens langoreus
Tristes, chetis et faincilleus;
Chascun le hit et desavance;
Mieulx lui vault mort que mendience,
Car de truander est honteus;
Povres homs est d'amis trop seuls
Chascuns le met en oubliance.

And read then Chaucer's ringing lines (B 99 ff.):

O hateful harm! condicion of poverte!
With thurst, with cold, with hunger so confounded!
To asken help thee shameth in thyn herte;

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[1]) *C. T.* B 99—121 (I. 16), 421—7 (I. 23), 771—7 (II. 19), 1134—41 (I. 22). Thus Koeppel in *Archiv* 84. 406, Lounsbury I. 426 f. & II. 329, Skeat III. 407 f., and Lowes in *Publ.* 20. 796. But note the long marginal extracts from Innocent's Latin text in Ellesmere and many other MSS., which certainly emanated from Chaucer himself (cf. ch. II. 3) and which he would hardly have quoted, if he had used his own translation here. See also ten Brink in *Engl. Stud.* 17. 22 f., Tatlock pp. 181[2] & 183, and Kittredge in the N. Y. *Nation* 1895 I. 239 f.

[2]) See Raynaud *Oeuvres* XI. 39 & 145 f.; cf. Lowes in *Publ.* 20. 795[1], and Grace W. Landrum *ib.* 39. 80 f.

[3]) *Oeuvres* II. 268 f. The original runs: "Pauperes enim premuntur inedia, cruciantur aerumna, fame, siti, frigore, nuditate; vilescunt, tabescunt, spernuntur, et confunduntur. O miserabilis mendicantis conditio; et si petit, pudore confunditur, et si non petit, egestate consumitur, sed ut mendicet, necessitate compellitur!"

If thou noon aske, with nede artow so wounded,
That verray nede unwrappeth al thy wounde hid!
Maugre thyn heed, thou most for indigence
Or stele, or begge, or borwe thy despence!

Finally Chaucer enumerates among his sinful books in his *Retraccioun*s one he does not mention in his other lists and which must presumably, then, be later even than the revised draft of the Prologue to the *Legend,* the *Book of the Leoun.*[1]) Accordingly this can hardly be a translation of Machaut's symbolic love-poem *Le Dit dou Lyon,* as generally supposed since Tyrwhitt,[2]) but is much more likely to have been a paraphrase of such a work as this by Deschamps:[3])

Traictié
Du mauvais gouvernement de ce royaume selon ceste fiction que l'acteur adresce au lyon en condescendant aux autres bestes par maniere morale.

Je treuve en une fiction
Que sire Noble le lion
Fut jadis si sires des bestes
&c.

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1) Mentioned by Lydgate in his Prologue to the *Fall of Princes,* where, however, he probably does not speak from independent knowledge of the work; see Skeat V. 475 and Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 227 f., cf. *Archiv* 86. 69.

2) Cf. e. g. Kaluza's *Chaucer-Handbuch* p. 9 (1919), but see Ekwall in *Anglia, Beiblatt* 31. 52. — Machaut's poem was once mistakenly supposed to be the source of the so-called *Chaucer's Dreme,* cf. *Athen.* 1868 I. 214 & 732; it was used by Chaucer in *Blanche,* cp. e. g. the opening description of the song of the birds in *Lyon* and *Blanche* 291—320 (and cf. Kittredge in *Publ.* 30. 1 ff. & *Phil.* 7. 471 ff.)

3) *Oeuvres* VIII. 247 ff. (no. MCCCCXCV — a fragment of 2954 lines). The title *La Fiction du Lyon* is modern; the poem used to be called *Le Dict du Lyon* (cf. A. Sarradin *Eustache des Champs* Paris 1879, p. 250 ff.). — A third contemporary *Dis Dou Lyon* (see *Gedichte von Jehan de Condet nach der Casanatensischen Handschrift herausgegeben von Adolf Tobler* Stuttgart 1860, p. 9 ff.) is too moral and too short to have been Chaucer's original.

This is a satire directed against the political situation in France about 1380—2, and Chaucer may have adapted it to suit the disorderly state of affairs in England about 1397—9; several features of the poem must have been of especial interest to him, such as the long passage on Free Will (l. 1048 ff.) and the narrative of Coronis (l. 2751 ff., cp. Manciple's Tale). At any rate it is far more probable that Chaucer modelled a work of his old age on a satirical piece by Deschamps than on a specimen of Machaut's love poetry, the taste for which he had outgrown long ago.[1])

It is often assumed that we have some evidence as to a fourth lost work of Chaucer in the remark of the Man of Law (B 57):

In youthe he made of *Ceys and Alcion.*[2])

This is, however, an allusion not to a separate poem by Chaucer, but to two of the lovers he had wasted his time in writing about — as it appeared to the legal mind — so that we have here simply a reference to *Blanche.*[3])

Towards the end of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* the elderly poet describes how the goddess Venus appeared to him and told him that now in his old age he must give up all thoughts of her. Then she adds (VIII. 2941*—57*):

And gret wel Chaucer whan ye mete,
As mi disciple and mi poete:
For in the floures of his youthe
In sondri wise, as he wel couthe,

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[1]) Since Deschamps' poem undoubtedly deals with events ab. 1380 there is no reason to date it later than 1400, as Raynaud is inclined to do *(Oeuvres* XI. 159 ff.)

[2]) Cf. Furnivall *Trial-Forewords* p. 36, Skeat I. 63, Legouis (Engl. transl. p. 72), Wells p. 619.

[3]) Lydgate refers vaguely to *The piteous storye of Ceis and Alcion* (cf. Lounsbury I. 424, Hammond p. 365, and Langhans in *Anglia* 44. 231). But Stowe's title in the ed. of 1561 — *The dream of Chaucer otherwise called the book of the Duchesse or Seys and Alcione* — shows that he interpreted the expression correctly; cf. Moore in *Anglia* 37. 6[2].

Of Ditees and of songes glade,
The whiche he for mi sake made,
The lond fulfild is overal:
Where of to him in special
Above alle othre I am most holde.
For thi now in hise daies olde
Thow schalt him telle this message,
That he upon his latere age,
To sette an ende of alle his werk,
As he which is myn owne clerk
Do make *his testament of love,*
As thou hast do *thi schrifte above,*
So that mi Court it mai recorde.

From the concluding lines the inference has sometimes been drawn that Chaucer's *Testament* really existed and might perhaps be identified with his *Legend*;[1]) it is, however, clear that Gower merely wished to give Chaucer a gentle hint that he might do worse than follow his example and compose a great work treating of Love — a hint which Chaucer seems very properly to have resented in spite of the pretty compliment immediately preceding the lesser poet's too officious suggestion.[2])

When Venus begins her message to Chaucer by referring to his youthful songs in honour of Love, this may be compared with the similar allusion of Alceste in the poet's own *Legend* (402 ff., cf. 413* ff.): —

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1) See Lounsbury III. 336 and Skeat VII. xxviii, but cf. Macaulay III. 548. Thomas Usk's *Testament of Love* was long ascribed to Chaucer on the strength of this passage (cf. Hammond p. 458 and Wells pp. 370 and 442; see espec. H. Bradley in *Engl. Stud.* 23. 457), but here *Testament* is used in its scriptural sense.

2) Note Chaucer's sneer at *othere olde folys* in the revised Prol. of his *Legend (*l. 315, too kindly interpreted by Lowes in *Publ.* 20. 789 [2]; cf. also the Man of Law's Tale B 1086 ff.), in return for which it seems that Gower left out the compliment in the later editions of his poem (quite inadequately explained by Macaulay II. xxvi ff., cf. Spies in *Engl. Stud.* 35. 108 ff.). This is, however, a much debated point (cf. Hammond p. 278 f. and Wells pp. 591 and 699), which I must leave for future treatment.

But wel I wot, with that he can endyte
He hath makid lewede folk to delyte
To seruyn zow, in preysynge of zoure name
— — — —
And manye an ympne for [y]our halydayis
That hightyn baladis roundelys & vyrelayes
— — — —
He hath mad manye a lay & manye a thyng. [1])

It is accordingly often maintained that Chaucer's output of love poetry was extraordinarily great, while the proportion of lost minor poems is thought correspondingly high. [2]) It must, however, be remembered that such expressions as those just quoted do not seem to have been much more than stock-phrases, as appears already from the use Chaucer himself makes of them in connection with the love-sick squire Aurelius in the Franklin's Tale (F 947 f.):

Of swich matere made he *manye layes,*
Songes, compleintes, roundels, virelayes.

Similar statements are common in contemporary French poetry; cp. Machaut *Remède de Fortune* 401 ff.: [3])

Et pour ce que n'estoie mie
Toudis en un point, m'estudie
Mis en faire chansons et lais,
Balades, rondiaus, virelais,
Et chans, selonc mon sentement
Amoureus et non autrement.

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[1]) Cf. his mention in the *Retraccioun*s of *many a song and many a leccherous lay,* and cp. Lydgate's statement in his *Fall of Princes:*

This sayd Poete my maister, in his dayes
Made and compiled ful many a fresh dite
Complaintes, ballades, roundles, virelaies.

[2]) See especially Lounsbury I. 357 ff.

[3]) *Oeuvres* ed. Hoepffner II. 15. Cf. also *Livre des faits de Jean Bouciquaut* ch. VIII (Froissart's *Chroniques* ed. Buchon III. 574): "*si point à faire balades, rondeaux, virelais, lais, et complaintes d'amoureux sentiment*".

And note especially Froissart's well-known list of his works in *Le Joli Buisson de Jonece* 443 ff.:[1])

Voirs est q'un livret fis jadis
Qu'on dist l'Amourous Paradys,
Et aussi celi de l'Orloge,
Ou grand part de l'art d'amours loge;
Apres, l'Espinette Amoureuse,
Qui n'est pas a l'oïr ireuse;
Et puis l'Amoureuse Prison,
Qu'en pluisours places bien prise on;
Rondeaus, balades, virelais,
Grant foison de dis et de lays.

Here we have evidently the direct source of Chaucer's own list of his works, and this fact shows conclusively that no certain inferences as to the extent of Chaucer's love poetry and the losses we have no doubt suffered here, can be drawn from his statements in the *Legend.*

2. *Spurious Poems.*

As has been repeatedly pointed out, most of the fifteenth century scribes are very careful about the attribution of poems to Chaucer; only one MS. of any importance is completely arbitrary in this respect, Arch. Selden B. 24 at the Bodleian. This is a folio MS. of 231 paper leaves, written by two scribes of the late XV cent., the first 209 leaves in a somewhat loose and sloping hand, while the rest of the volume is mostly written in one square, upright hand.[2]) Only the work of the first scribe concerns us here, seeing that all the Chaucerian contents of the MS. are due to him:[3])

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1) *Poésies* ed. Scheler II. 4.

2) The hands are probably contemporary; when the second looks somewhat later this is possibly because it is that of a younger man.

3) For the contents of the whole MS. see the description in J. T. T. Brown *The Authorship of the Kingis Quair* p. 70 ff. (by Miss A. T. Parker, cf. *Athen.* 1896. II. 225).

1. Fol. 1: Chaucer's Troilus (no title); ends f. 118 b: *Here endeth the book of Troylus of double sorowe in lovyng of Crise . . .* [1])
2. Fol. 119: Chaucer's Bon Conseil (no title); ends *ib: Explicit Chaucer counsaling.*
3. Fol. 119: One stanza beg. *Richt as pouert causith sobirnes;* ends *Qd Chaucer.*
4. Fol. 119 b: A poem of 7 stanzas beg. *Deuise prowes and eke humylitee* (no title); ends f. 120: *Qd Chaucere quhan he was ry^{t} auisit.*
5. Fol. 120. Lydgate's Complaint of a Lover's Life (no title); ends f. 129 b: *Here endith the maying and disport of Chaucere.* [2])
6. Fol. 130: A poem of 20 stanzas beg. *Moder of god* (no title); ends f. 131 b: *Explicit oratio Galfridi Chaucere.*
7. Fol. 132: Chaucer's Brooch of Thebes (the two complaints headed *The compleynt of Mars* (f. 134) & *The compleynt of Venus folowith* (f. 136 b); ends f. 137 b: *Qd. Galfridus Chaucere.*
8. Fol. 137 b: A poem of six stanzas beg. *O hie Emperesse and quene celestial* (no title); ends f 138: *Qd Chaucere.*
9. Fol. 138: One stanza beg. *This warldly Ioy Is onely fantasye;* ends: *Leaulte vault richess.*
10. Fol. 138 b: Sir Thomas Clanvowe's Book of Cupid (no title).
11. A leaf is wanting between ff. 141 & 142 with the end of the preceding poem and the beginning of the next, Chaucer's Parlement, which has a spurious conclusion of eleven

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[1]) Below is a small coat of arms, apparently one adopted in 1488 by the Scotch family Sinclair (the names *Elizabeth Synclar* & *Henry*[?] *Sinclair* are scribbled in a XVI cent. hand on f. 231; cf. A. H. Millar in *Athen.* 1896 II. 66 & 1899. II. 898).

[2]) The poem was printed with a similar title and colophon (but with another poem added) at Edinburgh in 1508 by Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar (cf. *Pieces from the Makculloch and the Gray MSS.* Scott. Text Soc. 1918, pp. xviii f., & 302).

stanzas added after st. 86;[1]) ends f. 152: *Here endis the parliament of foulis Qd Galfride Chaucere.*

12. Fol. 152 b: *Here begynnis the legendis of ladyes* (Chaucer's Legend with separate colophons to each legend; the prologue ends on f. 161: *Here endis the prolog of the legende of good wommen);* ends f. 191 b: *And thus ended Chaucere The legendis of ladyis.*
13. Fol. 192: The Kingis Quair (no title). The handwriting changes on f. 209 b, and the second scribe writes the rest of the volume, except f. 229, written in the first hand.[2])

The two scribes probably wrote the MS. in collaboration, towards the end of the fifteenth century, at any rate after James IV's succession in 1488, as proved by the note of the first scribe on f. 120, beginning: *Natiuitatis principis nostri Jacobi quarti anno domini M^mo^ iiii^c^ lxxii° xvii die mensis martij* —.[3])

This scribe may have been the Scotchman James Gray, who does not seem to have been very scrupulous about the purity of his texts nor about his attribution of them.[4]) Of the thirteen items he copied he ascribed ten to Chaucer, though in no less than five cases his ascriptions are practically unsupported. Nos. 4 & 8 do not occur elsewhere as far as I know; they have not the slightest resemblance to Chaucer's recognized work in any respect, and the very late attribution here is not sufficient evidence to admit them into the Canon. The single stanza listed as no. 3 and usually termed *Prosperity*[5]) is taken from the prologue to John Walton's metrical paraphrase of Boethius'

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1) Cf. Furnivall *Trial-Forewords* p. 53 and Koch in *Archiv* 111. 302 f.
2) I cannot recognize the existence of *three* hands in the volume, as maintained by W. A. Craigie (cf. *Athen.* 1899. II. 898).
3) See Liddell in *Athen.* 1895 II. 902 (cf. Flügel in *Anglia* 22. 524 ff.) and note the supporting evidence of the Sinclair arms (cf. above).
4) See Geo. Neilson in *Athen.* 1899 II. 835 f.; cf. Hammond p. 341 ff.
5) It was first printed as Chaucer's in Morris' Aldine ed. together with no. 9 above (cf. *Athen.* 1867 I. 246), but both stanzas were rejected by Bradshaw and Skeat (se his ed. of the *Minor Poems* p. xxxv, also I. 47 f. & VII. 449; cf. Hammond pp. 434 & 448 f.).

Consolatio Philosophiae (1410);[1]) it has been written out twice by Shirley on flyleaves of other MSS. and is copied here from B. M. Roy. 20. B. XV, f. 1. b:[2])

ffor as þat pouert can seþe soburnesse
And feobulnesse enforceþe contynence
Right so prosparite and sikurnesse
þe moder is of vyce and necgligence
And richesse causeþe . also . insolence
And offt honnour / it chaungeþe gode thewis
þere is namore . parayllous pestilence
þane hye estate / given vn. to. shrewys.
μ Boicius de consolacione 7 c

As to the poems listed as nos. 5 and 6 above we have much better authority for attributing them respectively to Lydgate and Hoccleve than to Chaucer,[3]) though the latter is also ascribed to him in a theological treatise from 1490 by John of Ireland, preserved in a MS. at the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh (18. 2. 28). Here we read on f. 112 (book II):

And sene I haue spokin sa mekle of this noble and haly virgin / I will in the end of þis buk writ ane orisoune þat galfryde chaucer maid and prayit to þis lady — — — — —

Incipit oratio galfridi chauncer
Moder af god and virgin wndefould
— — — — — — —

The same twenty stanzas as above follow, concluding on f. 115 with *Explicit oracio galfridi chauceir.*[4]) However, this copy is

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[1]) See Liddell in *Athen.* 1895. II. 902 f. (cp. Skeat p. 147 & VII. lxxx f.); cf Hammond p. 448.

[2]) See about the second Shirleian copy of this stanza *Notes* 25. 126. As to other MSS. see Carleton Brown's *Register of ME. Religious Verse* II. 148 f.

[3]) Cf. Hammond pp. 413 f. & 438 f.

[4]) The poem was printed from this MS. in *Queries* 1855. II. 140 f., and from all three MSS. in the Ch. Society's *Parallel Texts* p. 137 ff. Here Furnivall accepted it unconditionally, but he is more sceptical about it in *Trial Forewords* p. 8 3; Koch doubted the authenticity in *Anglia* III. 183 f. & IV. 101 *(Anzeiger;* cf. *Acad.*

possibly a mere transcript of the Selden MS., while the poem also occurs in the authoritative Phillipps MS. of Hoccleve's Minor Poems, so that the external evidence of authorship is decisively in favour of the younger poet. [1])

None of the five poems which the Selden scribe is practically alone in ascribing to Chaucer can accordingly be his. A few other minor pieces have been claimed for the poet by most modern editors, but on rather insufficient evidence, as for instance the two poems printed in 1888 by Skeat as Chaucer's, though they have really no claim at all to be considered his. [2]) One is copied by Shirley in his Ad. 16165 and termed *Balade of Compleynt,* [3]) the other occurs in the Shirleian Harl. 7333 with the enigmatic title *And next folowyng begynnith an amerowse compleynte made at wyndesore in the laste may to fore nouembre*; [4])

1880. II. 221) and finally pronounced it Hoccleve's *ib.* VI. 104 f. This result was accepted by Furnivall in *More Odd Texts* p. 6 f. (cf. *Acad.* 1888. II. 371 f.) and by ten Brink II. 624.

1) See Furnivall's ed. of Hoccleve's *Works* I. xxxix f., cf. Kern in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen,* Afd. Letterkunde, 5. R. D. 1, p. 361 (Amsterdam 1915), and espec. Ch. H. Ross in *Notes* 6. 193 ff.

2) *Acad.* 1888. I. 292 & 307; they are rejected by Pollard *ib.* 1889. I. 178 f. (cf. pp. 205 & 222) and in *Ch. Primer* p. 140 f. (cp. Furnivall in *More O. T.* p. 6), while doubtfully accepted by Root *Poetry of Ch.* p. 78 f. and by Wells pp. 629 & 631.

3) Rejected by Hammond p. 410, by Lounsbury I. 453, by Koch *Chronology* p. 21 (cf. p. 87), and by Skeat himself p. 63 f. (though still considered genuine I. 90 and printed I. 415).

4) It is also found in Fairf. 16 & Bodl. 638 with the title *Complaynt damours* (cp. Granson's *Complainte amoureuse de saint Valentin;* no. XXXVI in Schirer's ed. of Granson's poems, diss. Strasbourg 1904); Skeat is doubtful about the piece (p. 63), though he had retained it I. 89 f. (cf. 411 f. & 566 f.), while Koch, who began by doubting it *(Engl. Stud.* 15. 418), finally accepted it (*ib.* 27. 60 & *Chronology* p. 21). It is a Valentine poem, strongly influenced by Chaucer (cf. Lounsbury I. 452 f.), like the two other pieces, rashly publ. by Skeat as Chaucer's own compositions (IV. xxvii ff., cf. *Athen.* 1894 II. 98 & 162),*Complaint to my mortal foe* & *Complaint to my Lodesterre* (both rejected by Kittredge in the N. Y. *Nation* 1895 II. 240 and given up by Skeat p. 64). They occur in Harl. 7578 only, without any heading or author's name;

neither of them is marked as Chaucer's in any MS.[1])

Among the poems that have at one time or another been ascribed to Chaucer there are some interesting contemporary pieces, which it may prove possible to attribute to certain disciples of Chaucer rather than to the Master himself.[2]) Among these poems the earliest is probably the curious effusion copied by Shirley in (the original of) Harl. 7333 f. 30 b, headed *Here next folowith a litell Tretys by wey of compleint ageins ffortune.*[3]) It is a dialogue between *The playntif* and *ffortune* in 21 seven-line stanzas, strongly reminiscent on one hand of Thomas Usk's *Testament of Love* and on the other hand of Chaucer's *Balades*

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in the case of the second Skeat omitted the two last stanzas, which really read like a sort of prologue (f. 16):

Whenne that the yere beginneth recomforte
Seint Valentyne vpon youre holy eue
And euery trewe man ought to resorte
To his seruise alle though him soore greue
Alle thoo that wol on loues lawe leeue
And seruen him whether hem falle Ioye or payne
In stedfaste trought and thinketh neuer to fayne.

They that be free theire hertes wolle they sette
In swiche seruyce their as hem liste endure
But that me betydde withoute lette
I wolle you tellen alle myne aduenture
I wente a lone and of [no] thinge tooke cure
Right so harde I a maan pitously grone
And to him selfe right thus he made his mone.

1) Note also the Chaucerian balades in MS. Tanner 346 (cf. MacCracken in *Archiv* 127. 323 ff.).

2) An interesting tradition of court poetry may be traced back directly to Chaucer through such names as Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and especially through William de la Pole, the Duke of Suffolk, who married the poet's granddaughter Alice and wrote a good deal of Chaucerian poetry (see MacCracken in *Publ.* 22. 597 ff. & 26. 142 ff.).

3) It begins *Fortune alas. alas what haue I gylt* and occurs also in the Shirleian MSS. Harl. 2251 f. 298 & Ad. 34360 f. 19, in immediate continuation of Chaucer's *Purse* (see Miss Hammond in *Anglia* 28. 3 f. and cf. Speght's remarks on the *Test. of Love* in his eds. 1598 & 1602, based on information received from Stowe).

de Visage Sans Peinture. If, as Miss Hammond suggests, [1]) the *Complaint* was written by Usk, it must be earlier than March 4, 1388, when he was executed, and may then have served as one of the models for Chaucer's *Balades de Visage Sans Peinture,* written about 1393—4.

In 1891 Skeat printed a *balade* to *Rosemounde* as Chaucer's, an attribution which has been accepted by practically all scholars. [2]) This poem is found in one MS. only, Rawl. Poet. 163 at the Bodleian; here Chaucer's *Troilus* ends on the verso of the last leaf but one (f. 113) with the following colophon:

Tregentyll { heer endith the book of / Troylus and of Cresseyde } Chauncer

On the recto opposite (f. 114) the *balade* in question is copied in the same hand (of the last third of the fifteenth century) and followed by a colophon written in a somewhat similar, but still decidedly different hand of a distinctly later look (ab. 1500 or so): [3])

tregentil — « — chaucer

This inscription was probably written in imitation of the *Troilus* colophon, and does not offer the least guarantee for the Chaucerian authorship of the balade. [4]) Nor is there any internal evidence of value; the poem is usually supposed to be an extremely characteristic specimen of Chaucerian humour, [5]) but in reality its rather dry and caustic irony reminds one not so

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1) *Anglia* 32. 401 ff., where the poem is printed.

2) See *Athen.* 1891. I. 440, 473, & 667; cf. Koch *Chronology* p. 41, Wells p. 646, and Lowes in *Rom. Rev.* 2. 128. Even Miss Hammond, who puts it among the Pseudo-Chaucerian poems (p. 460 f), admits that the evidence for it seems fairly strong (p. 68).

3) The difference is clearly seen on plate XII of Skeat's *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English MSS.* Oxford 1892.

4) By *Tregentil* the scribe probably wished to convey some sort of compliment to the poet (see MacCracken in *Athen.* 1908 I. 258, cf. *ib.* 1909 I. 556) and not to sign his own name (thus Skeat I. 81[2] and McCormick in *An English Miscellany* p. 299).

5) See e. g. Lounsbury III. 449 f., Root *Poetry of Ch.* p. 73, and W. G. Dodd *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower* p. 102 f.

much of Chaucer's ripe comic power as of the more primitive forms of humour employed by lesser men. [1])

This objection also applies to the three roundels, usually called *Merciles Beaute,* of which the two first possess the light lyrical touch that Chaucer seems to have taught some of his contemporaries pretty efficiently, while the third shows the same grotesque imagery as the preceding poem. The external evidence is very weak too. The poem is found in one MS. only, Pepys 2006 (II), together with a number of genuine Chaucerian pieces, but that is of course no reason for making it Chaucer's. [2]) Internal evidence has been adduced, though not of sufficient weight; one of the lines is cited in the Valentine poem *To my Soverain Lady,* but even if this was written by Lydgate (which is far from certain) the Monk might surely have quoted other authors besides Chaucer. [3]) In the same way some — not very striking — parallels between the roundels and Deschamps really prove nothing about Chaucer's authorship. [4])

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[1]) Compare for instance the grotesque expression in l. 17 f.

Nas never pyk walwed in galauntyne
As I in love am walwed and y-wounde

and such coarse exaggerations as those used by Hoccleve in his roundel quoted in Furnivall's ed. I. xxxviii:

Hir comely body shape as a foot-bal
And she syngith ful lyke a Pape Iay.

Note that the name *Rosemounde* seems to have been proverbial; cf. the use Lydgate makes of it (see Skeat VII. 293 & 515).

[2]) A transcript from the MS. is found among the collections for Urry's ed. of Ch. (B. M. Ad. 38179), but it was first printed in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry.* Skeat praised it highly (p. 61 f., cf. his ed. of the *Minor Poems* p. lxvii f.), and it is accepted by most critics (see Furnivall *More Odd Texts* p. 6, Root *Poetry of Ch.* p. 72, Dodd *Courtly Love* p. 101 f, Wells p. 642 f.; but note the dubious attitude of Lounsbury I. 449, Pollard *Ch. Primer* p. 140 f., and Hammond p. 436 f.

[3]) See Skeat I. 80 and VII. xlviii & 281 ff.; but cf. MacCracken p. xlviii.

[4]) See Lowes in *Rev.* 5. 33 ff., cf. Koch in *Anglia, Beiblatt* 22. 278 and Wells p. 642 f. See for a really striking French parallel *Rev.* 16. 322 f.

A third poem of a similar character is often grouped with the two preceding ones, the so-called *New-Fangelnesse;* the resemblance in subject and treatment cannot be denied, but the evidence of Chaucerian authorship is even slighter in this case. [1]) It occurs in the Tyrwhitt and Bradshaw groups of authorities, [2]) but without any author's name, and it shows some knowledge of Machaut's poetry; [3]) such circumstances are, however, not evidence. [4])

The last three pieces are undeniably similar both in spirit and execution; this may suggest — even if it does not prove — that they were written by the same author, undoubtedly a contemporary of Chaucer and a man possessing real lyrical power, in spite of his rather cynical pose. If one might venture on a piece of pure guesswork, it is just possible that these poems may have been among the compositions challenging the power of Love, for which John Scogan was blamed by his friend Chaucer in the latter's well-known *Envoy,* probably written in the late summer of 1391. [5])

One of the most delightful pseudo-Chaucerian pieces is the little love-allegory commonly known as *The Cuckoo and the*

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1) At first Koch was doubtful about the two last pieces *(Chronology* p. 40 ff. and *Engl. Stud.* 15. 408 & 417), but later he accepted them *(Engl. Stud.* 27. 60 & 53. 161 ff.).

2) Represented respectively by Fairfax 16 (II) & Harl. 7578 and by Cotton Cleop. D. VII; the poem was printed from the last MS. by Stowe 1561 (cf. Skeat I. 409) with the concocted title *A balade which Chaucer made agaynst women vnconstaunt* and repr. (with corr.) by Skeat in his ed. of *The Prioresses Tale* &c (1880) p. lxxxii f.

3) Cf. Balade CCXLVIII (ed. Chichmaref p. 218 f.) and see Skeat p. 62 f., I. 88 f., VI. lix f.

4) See Furnivall *Odd Texts* p. xiii and *More O. T.* p. 6, cf. Lounsbury I. 504, Hammond p. 440, and Wells p. 629; it is however still accepted by Root *Poetry of Ch.* (1906) p. 78, and by Dodd *Courtly Love* (1913) p. 98.

5) See ch. IV. 3 about the difference between the brothers *John* and *Henry* Scogan. — Brandl's strange hypothesis *(Grundriss* II. 684) about Henry Scogan's authorship of *The Court of Love* has been decisively refuted by Kittredge in *Studies* I. 109 ff. (cf. *Archiv* 106. 390 ff. & 110. 104); this much debated poem is evidently a XVI cent. Chaucerian pastiche, cf. Lounsbury I. 496 ff., Skeat 127 ff. & VII. lxxii ff., and Gosse *Mod. Engl. Lit.* (1898) p. 65.

Nightingale. Though the setting and motif are conventional enough, the whole thing is well planned and proportioned, and the metrical scheme is extremely pleasing; moreover, even if it does not contain any specially striking passages, the style is certainly never vapid or dull. To the philologist it has the real, though somewhat faded and dusty charm of offering a truly Chaucerian grammar and prosody; there is no doubt that the author must have been a contemporary of the master, though probably somewhat younger than he. Several attempts have been made to identify him and to fix the date of the poem, but none can be said to have been quite successful; the question still remains undecided. [1])

The poem is found in four MSS., besides in the late Selden B. 24: Fairfax 16 & Bodley 638, which entitle it *The boke of cupid god of loue,* Tanner 346, and Cambr. Univ. Ff. 1. 6, where it occurs on a special inset, written in a somewhat earlier hand than the rest of the volume (second half of the fifteenth century), concluding *Explicit Clanvowe.* [2]) Skeat correctly took this colophon to indicate the name of the author, identifying him with Sir Thomas Clanvowe, whose death occurred in 1410; [3]) on the other hand Prof. Kittredge thinks the poem written by the father of Sir Thomas, Sir John Clanvowe, who died on Oct. 17, 1391. [4]) The only hint of any definite date within the poem itself is the allu-

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1) Cf. Hammond p. 420 f. and Wells p. 423 f.

2) The poem was ed. from this MS. by Skeat VII. 347 ff., and from Fairf. 16 by E. Vollmer *(Berliner Beiträge zur germanischen und romanischen Philologie* XVI, 1898; cf. *Anglia, Beiblatt* 21. 267 & *Archiv* 103. 179 f.).

3) VII. lviii, cf. *Acad.* 1894 II. 67 f. & 1896 I. 365 f.; earlier he had suggested Hoccleve as the author *(Minor Poems of Ch.* p. xxviii, cf. I. 39 f.). See about Sir Thomas *Cal. Pat. Rolls* Rich. II, IV. 496; V. 477; VI. 203, 227, 237, 436, 487, 520, 553; Henr. IV, I. 53, 517, 520; II. 128, 170, 392, 471; III. 52, 94, 114, 382; VI. 59; cf. Wylie *Henry IV,* III. 297, 333; IV. 248 f.

4) Not on March 4, 1392, as Wells says p. 424; see Malverne's continuation of Higden's *Polychronicon,* IX. 261 (& *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* Rich. II, V. 15), cf. Kittredge in *Phil.* I. 13 ff. and see H. O. Coxe *Cat. Codd. MSS. in Coll. Oxon.* I. 28 f. — The two Clanvowes are mixed up by Wylie *(Henry IV,* III. 297, IV. 410; *Henry V,* I. 72[3]).

sion to the Queen at Woodstock (l. 281 ff.), taken by Skeat to refer to Henry IV's queen, Joan of Navarre, who held the manor of Woodstock since 1403, as part of her dower; accordingly he dated the poem about this year. However, the manor also formed a part of the dower of Richard II's queen, Anne of Bohemia;[1]) moreover the reference to the healing power of the daisy (l. 241 ff.) would certainly have been peculiarly apt in the case of Queen Anne, who must have had some connection with the courtly cult of *la marguerite.*[2]) Still we cannot safely connect the poem with her, unless some special link between her and one of the Clanvowes is discovered.

Now, there exists a grant dated Oct. 2, 1392, at *Woodstock Manor,* of £ 10 annually *for their lives in survivorship to the king's servants Thomas Clanvowe and Perrin, his wife, on their marriage,* this Perrin being the same as the Perrine Whetteneye who on May 26, 1390 was granted £ 10 yearly *for good service to the queen,* as is proved by the cancelling of this gift when the king granted the same sum to Thomas Clannevowe and the said Perrine, Oct. 2, 1392.[3]) Here, then, we have a Clanvowe who some time about Oct. 2, 1392, married one of Queen Anne's ladies and got her pension of £ 10 a year settled upon both of them by a grant, dated at Woodstock Manor, one of the residences of the

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[1]) Cf. Kittredge *l. c.,* and see the documents of March 22 & Dec. 22, 1384, in *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* Rich. I, II. 391 & 528.

[2]) Of course this allusion does not prove any connection between the poem and the prologue of Chaucer's *Legend.* The two undoubted references to works by Chaucer, the borrowing of a couplet from the Knights's Tale (A 1285 f.) in the opening lines and the allusion to the *Parlement* in l. 275 ff., have no decisive chronological importance. Nor do the numerous alleged parallels with Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid* (cf. Vollmer's ed. p. 59 ff.) prove anything, since, even if the parallels were more significant than they are, Hoccleve might as well have been the borrower as Clanvowe.

[3]) *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* Rich. II, IV. 183 & 250. See further about the couple *ib.* V. 496 & 583; VI. 92. Lady Peryne Clanvowe survived her husband (cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* Henry V, I. 229), dying in 1422; see her will, dated London, April 3, 1422, proved Nov. 18, 1422,, and written in English (Furnivall *Fifty Earliest English Wills,* E. E. T. S. 1882, p. 49 ff.).

Queen. What could better fit these circumstances than a contemporary poem called *The Bok of Cupid God of Love,* whose author represents himself as siding against the cuckoo and with the nightingale, the advocate of true love, who in return promises him a fortunate result of his love affair before a twelvemonth has passed (1. 234 f.):

> For, if I live, it shal amended be
> The nexte May, if I be not affrayed.

Then she refers him to *the fresshe dayesye* for assistance and summons all the birds, accusing the cuckoo before them, whereupon a bird proposes to hold a *parlement* (1. 271 ff.):

> And this shal be, withouten any nay,
> The morow of seynt Valentynes day,
> Under a maple that is fayr and grene,
> Before the chambre-window of the quene
> At Wodestock, upon the grene lay.

When, moreover, scribal tradition within the next couple of generations ascribes the composition to a Clanvowe, it is surely pretty clear that it is a wooing poem by Thomas Clanvowe, written to his lady-love Perrine Whetteneye, in Queen Anne's service at Woodstock, during the year preceding their marriage, perhaps in May 1392.[1]) It is very likely that the poet was a personal pupil of Chaucer;[2]) at any rate his *Bok of Cupid* shows him as one of the understanding few who already in Chaucer's own lifetime perceived the possibilities of the new style the master had introduced, and tried to develop it through independent work.

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[1]) When the author says (1. 36 ff.) that *old and unlusty* as he is, he yet feels the power of love in May, this is evidently rather a poetical exaggeration than a sober statement of a fact, so that it does not militate against the view taken here.

[2]) His father, Sir John Clanvowe, must have known Chaucer, as he was a witness to Cecilia Chaumpaigne's deed of release to him in 1380 *(Life Records* no. 134); see also about his friendship with Sir Lewis Clifford, who presumably knew Chaucer, Kittredge in *Phil.* I. 6 ff. Sir Thomas Clanvowe was mentioned both in the will of Sir Lewis (1404) and in that of his friend Sir Philip de la Vache (1408); cf. Miss E. Rickert in *Phil.* 11. 22 ff.

3. *Bibliographical Results.*

From the detailed examination of the bibliographical evidence in this and the four preceding chapters certain results stand out clearly. First it is now possible to draw up the final Canon of Chaucer's Works in accordance with the information preserved by the scribes. Dividing the poems roughly according to their length in certain natural groups we get the following list:[1])

A. Collections of Stories:

1. *The Canterbury Tales* (unfinished).
2. *The Legend of Cupid's Saints* (The Legend of Good Women, unfinished; first draft of the Prologue (the *versio vulgata)* still preserved).

B. Translations:

3. *The Romance of the Rose* (verse; only two mutilated fragments preserved, comprising about a third of the whole work).
4. *Boece* (prose).
5. *The Astrolabe* (prose; unfinished).

C. Narrative Poems:

6. *Troilus and Criseyde.*
7. *The House of Fame* (conclusion lost?).
8. *The Death of Blanche the Duchess.*
9. *The Parlement of Foules.*

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[1]) According to Furnivall *(Parallel Texts* p. 407[1] & *Trial Forewords* p. 94 f.) Bradshaw divided the Poems besides the *Canterbury Tales* into *Narrative Poems* (Blanche, Troilus, Parlement, Fame, Legend), *Stories* with *Complaints* (Pity, Mars, Anelida), and *Minor Poems* (13 in all, including Hoccleve's *Mother of God,* but excluding the *Three Complaints,* the *Envoy to a Lady,* and the *Balade of a Reeve).* Kittredge (p. 33 ff.) has drawn attention to the distinct group formed by Chaucer's "personal epistles to friends and patrons". — In the present list titles, for which we have not the evidence of early scribes or of Chaucer himself, are put in []; where the titles differ from those commonly used the latter are added in parentheses.

D. Love Complaints:

10. *The Brooch of Thebes* (Mars).
11. *The Complaint of Venus.*
12. *The Complaint of faire Anelida and false Arcite.*
13. *The Complaint of Pity.*
14. [Three *Complaints*] (Complaint to his Lady; drafts).

E. Envoys:

15. *L'Envoy de Chaucer à Scogan.*
16. *L'Envoy de Chaucer à Bukton.*
17. *Envoy to Adam.*
18. *Envoy to King Richard* (Lack of Stedfastness).
19. *Le Complaint de Chaucer à sa bourse voide.*
20. *[Envoy to a Lady]* (Womanly Noblesse).

F. Balades:

21. *Balades de Visage Sans Peinture* (Fortune).
22. *Balade [of Gentilesse].*
23. *Le Bon Conseil de Chaucer* (Truth; no envoy).
24. *Balade [of a Reeve].*

G. Various Poems:

25. *Prière à Nôtre Dame.*
26. *[The First Stock]* (draft).
27. *Proverbs.*

From this list it will appear that Chaucer did not so often break off in the middle of a work as is commonly supposed;[1] only two works he left unfinished, the *Legend* and the *Astrolabe* —probably for the very good reason that they bored him — besides the *Canterbury Tales,* where death forestalled him. Nor was he given to revise his work so frequently as some scholars have imagined.[2] Only in one instance, the Prologue to the *Legend,* can we be sure of having a real revision of his work; in

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[1] See Lounsbury III. 430 ff., Jespersen p. 34 f., and Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 50. 367 f.

[2] Cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27. 4 ff.

other cases, especially *Troilus* and *Bon Conseil,* the varying readings of our MSS. are simply due to their being derived from Chaucer's own drafts with numerous deletions, corrections, and additions. *Unfinished* drafts of this kind are our sole foundation for the text of the three *Complaints* and of *The First Stock.*

The body of Chaucer's work has suffered greatly during the process of transmission; not only are his paraphrases of *Origen upon the Maudeleyne* and Pope Innocent's *Wrecched Engendring of Mankynde* as well as the *Book of the Leoun* mere names to us, while numerous minor poems must have disappeared, but what is perhaps still worse, the text is generally poor.[1]) Pronounced instances of this are *Blanche* and *The House of Fame* — the conclusion of which we have good reason to suspect is lost — and especially *The Romance of the Rose,* where an extremely fragmentary and badly garbled version is all the failing memory of a scribe has left us of the Master's translation. This unsatisfactory state of Chaucer's text seems to be chiefly due to the fact that all the preserved MSS. are ultimately derived from hastily executed publishers' transcripts of the poet's uncorrected drafts, further corrupted through careless copying and contamination. The only MSS. that had been carefully prepared for publication by the author himself, were sent to his patrons as presentation copies and have disappeared without leaving any descendants.

That Chaucer's patrons were very important factors not only in the publication, but also in the original composition of his works cannot very well be doubted.[2]) We know with as great certainty as it is possible to know these things that already in 1369 or a little later John of Gaunt ordered the Complaint for his dead Duchess Blanche from him, while the writing of *The Brooch of Thebes* — probably during the eighties — also seems to have been instigated by him. No doubt the closeness of the re-

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1) It compares very unfavourably with Gower's, see Macaulay II. clxvii.

2) Though this has been rather the fashion lately; see various publications by Prof. Manly and his pupils and by V. Langhans, but cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 50. 359 ff., and *Literaturblatt* 1919, col. 90 ff.

lations between the poet and the duke is often exaggerated; [1]) still they went surely far beyond the mere payment of pensions, etc. [2]) It is a noteworthy fact that while the numerous contemporary documents mentioning Chaucer throw absolutely no light on his literary activity but simply refer to him in his capacity of a servant of the King, the poet's family appear to have treasured a good deal of information concerning his connections with his literary patrons; this knowledge they would seem to have handed on to their friends, among whom men like Lydgate and Shirley took the trouble to preserve at any rate some fragments of the tradition for posterity.

In this way we learn that both King Richard II and his Queen befriended the poet; while *The House of Fame* and *The Parlement of Foules* appear to have been written to celebrate respectively the royal engagement and the wedding, the composition of the *Legend* must have been largely due to Queen Anne. [3]) Several

[1]) See e. g. Armitage-Smith's monograph pp. 10 ff. and 409 ff., Legouis (Engl. transl. p. 33 ff.), and J. L. Hotson in *Studies* 18. 429 ff.

[2]) As asserted by Hulbert *Chaucer's Official Life* p. 56 ff.; see, however, Moore in *Notes* 28. 189 ff., and Koch in *Anglia, Beiblatt* 25. 79 ff. Note also the detailed account of Pedro the Cruel's death in the *Tragedies (C. T.* B 3555 ff.), possibly due to his daughter, Constance of Castile, John of Gaunt's second wife (see Furnivall in *Queries* 1871. II. 449 and J. H. Ramsay *The Genesis of Lancaster* II. 482[1]).

[3]) That Chaucer portrayed Richard II as the God of Love is not unlikely (cf. Bilderbech *Chaucer's Legend* p. 93 ff.), though denied by Tatlock p. 120[1] and Lowes in *Publ.* 20. 773 ff., for as Fansler has shown (pp. 60—72) this personage "is essentially a new individual in literature". Note especially 1. 230* f.: *his gilt hair was corowned with a sonne I-stede of golde* — and observe that one of Richard's chief badges was the *Sun in Splendour* (cf. *Archaelogia* 29. 47), characteristically pictured on the sail of his ship in one of the illustrations to Créton's Metrical Chronicle (see *Archaeol.* 20. pl. VII); cp. also Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* (on Richard's downfall) 1. 57: *Qui solem gessit tenebrosus lumina nescit* — with the author's marginal note: *Qualiter rex, cuius Signum Sol erat* — etc. See on the whole subject H. Lange in *Anglia* 39. 347 ff. and 42. 142 ff.; also *ib.* 44. 72 ff., 213 ff., 373 ff., 49. 173 ff. (cf. *Beiblatt* 29. 357 ff.), polemizing against Langhans *Untersuchungen zu Ch.* pp. 75 ff. and 306 ff. (cf. *Anglia* 43. 69 ff. and 44. 337 ff.).

minor poems like the *Envoy to King Richard* and the three balades, entitled *Visage Sans Fortune* and addressed to his powerful uncles, also testify to the poet's intimate connection with the Court, which he seems to have amused by the recitation of his own poems, e. g. the *Romance of the Rose* and *Troilus;* these may even have been composed at the express wish of some great noble. No doubt Chaucer possessed his fair share of the perfectibility naturally required in such circumstances and apparently betrayed by his adapting the poem on his empty purse, originally addressed to Richard II, to suit the taste of the usurper Henry IV. Still we must remember that the new king was the son of Chaucer's old protector John of Gaunt; and anyhow, if the patron of poets has changed from the medieval noble into the modern man in the street, this fact is no more a discredit to Chaucer than it is a credit to his successor of to-day.

APPENDICES

Tutiuillus.

Mi name is tutiuillus,
my horne is blawen;
ffragmina verborum / tutiuillus colligit horum,
Belzabub algorum / belial belium doliorum.
Secundus Demon.
What, I se thou can of gramory / and som what of arte.

The Towneley Plays.

A.

LYDGATE AND SHIRLEY.

JUST as many of the elaborate headings composed by Shirley are really nothing but advertisements for his transcripts,[1]) so the only two specimens of original composition he has left us were executed by him in his capacity of owner and manager of a circulating library: the two versified lists of contents in his own MS. Ad. 16165 and in Stowe's copy of one of his lost MSS. in Ad. 29729. The two lists are printed here exactly as they stand in the MSS., except that a few contractions have been expanded and the strokes in the middle and the end of the lines are omitted.

I. Ad. 16165, ff. 2—3:[2])

þe prologe of þe Kalundare
of þis litell booke

If þat you list for to entende
Of þis booke to here legende
Suche as is right vertuous
Of maner of mirthe nought vicious
As wryten haue þees olde clerkis

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1) See e. g. the heading of Anelida on f. 241 of Ad. 16165 (reprod. among the Ch. Soc. *Autotype Specimens* 1876); note how well the exuberant flourishes of the writing goes with the turgid phrasing of the title. Cf. the comparison between him and Furnivall by Hammond in *Notes* 36. 185.

2) Also pr. in Gaertner's diss. on Shirley, Halle 1904, p. 63 ff.

þat been appreued in alle hir werkis
By oure eldris here to fore
Remembraunce ellys were forlore
Ther fore dere sire I you beseche
þat ye disdeyne not with my speche
ffor affter þe symplesse of my wit
So as feblesse wolde suffice hit
þis litell booke with myn hande
Wryten I haue ye shal vnderstande
And sought þe copie in many a place
To haue þe more thank of youre grace
And doon hit bynde In þis volume
þat boþe þe gret and þe comune
May þer on looke and eke hit reede
þeyres beo þe thanke and þe meede
þat first hit studyed and owt founde
Nowe beon þey dolven deep in þe grounde
Beseche I god he gyf hem grace
In hevens blisse to haue a place
And for to þut hit in youre mynde
ffirst þus by ordre shul ȝe fynde
Of Boece þe hole translacyoun
And phylosofyes consolacyoun
Laboured by *Geffrey Chaucier*
whiche in oure wolgare hade neuer his pere
Of eloquencyale Retorryke
In Englisshe was neuer noon him lyke
Gyff him þe prys and seyþe þer hoo
for neuer knewe ye suche na moo
þe passyoun þanne of Nichodeme
fful wel translated shul ye seen
þe whiche of Berkeley lord Thomas
Whome god assoyle for his grace
Lete oute of latyn hit translate
By *Johan Trevysa* þat hit made
A maystre in Theologye
Approued clerk for þe maistrye

Thankeþe þe lord and þe clerk
þat caused first þat holy werk
þanne filoweþe nexst as in wryting
þe notablest story of huntyng
þat euer was made to fore þis day
Redeþe and proue hit by assaye
Maystre of þe game men hit calle
I prey to god feyre mot him falle
Duk of york þe last *Edwarde*
þat dyed in þe vauntwarde
Of þe bataylle In picardye
At Agincourt þis is no lye
ffor as of huntyng here to fore
Was neuer taught so truwe lore
To alle þat beon gentyl of kynde
Beon bounde to haue his soule in mynde
And namelych of þis oure Regyoun
Whiche was cleped Albyoun
þat now is cleped Engeland
þanne shul ye wit and vnderstand
Of an Abstrait made in latyne
Al in proose eke lyne by lyne
Grounded vpon holy writte
Regula sacerdotalis men clepen hit
God helpe me so as þat I not
Who first hit made ne hit wrot
þer fore noon Auctour I allegge
Drynkeþe to my lady and I hir plegge
Lest some folk wolde me mysse construwe
þanne and ye wol þe wryting suwe
Shul ye fynde wryten of a knyght
þat serued his soueraine lady bright
As done þees loueres amerous
Whos lyff is offt seen parillous
Askeþe of hem þat haue hit vsed
A dieux Ioenesse I am refused
Whos complaynt is al in balade

80 þat daun *Johan* of Bury made
Lydegate þe Munk cloþed in blacke
In his makyng þer is no lacke
And thankeþe daun Johan for his peyne
þat to plese gentyles is right feyne
85 Boþe with his laboure and his goode
God wolde of nobles he hade ful his hoode
And oþer balades moo þer beon
Right godely looke and ye may seon
And whane ye haue þis booke ouerloked
90 þe right kynde with þe crooked
And þe sentence vnderstonden
With Inne youre mynde hit fast ebounden
Thankeþe þAuctoures þat þees storyes
Renoueld haue to youre memoryes
95 And þe wryter for his distresse
Whiche besechiþe youre gentylesse
þat ye sende þis booke ageyne
Hoome to *Shirley* þat is right feyne
If hit haþe beon to yowe plesaunce
100 As in þe Reedyng of þe Romaunce
And alle þat beon in þis companye
God sende hem Ioye of hir ladye
And euery womman of hir loue
Prey I to god þat sitteþe aboue

Explicit

Non homo leteris tibi copiam si fluateris [1])
Hic non semper eris memor esto quod morieris
Cras evanebit quod habes alterque habebit
Corpus putrebit quod agis tecum remanebit
} nota per Shirley

II. Ad. 29729, ff. 177 b—179:
kalundare of John Shirley

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1) *Sic MS.!*

which he sett in the beginninge of his booke

O ye my lordes whan ye be holde
this boke or list it to vnfould
or ye y^e^ leues turne to rede
looke this calender and than proced
for ther is titled compendyously
all y^e^ storyes hole by and by
eche after other in ther chapytles
as yt sheweth pleyne by ther tytles
and for I haue but shorte space
i must y^e^ lyttler ouer pase i John shirley
besechynge you be not to wroth
ffor as I could w^t^ outen ooth
and as my febles would suffyse
in my rude vplandishe wise
thus haue I them in ordre sete
y^t^ fere were est[1]) now here ben mette
I meane y^e^ copyes ne douteth noughte
In sondry place haue I them soughte
on this hallfe and beyonde y^e^ see
as fortune hathe them brought to me
ffirst y^e^ humayne pilgrymage
Sayd all by proose in fayre langage
and many a roundell and balade
w^ch^ y^e^ munke of bury hath made i dane John lidgate
and sayd them w^t^ hys sugred mouthe
in straunge metre so vnkouthe
of morall mater and holynesse
of salmes and of ympnes expresse
of loue and lawe and of pleyinges
of lordes of ladyes of qwenes of kynges
his rymyng so moralysed
that hym aught well be solempnysed

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1) *Sic MS.*

of all oure engelishe nacion
ffor his famus translacyon
of this booke and of other mo
suche as he is haue we no mo i daune John
yet for all his much konnynge
wch were gret tresore to a kynge
I meane this lidgate munke dame [1]) John
his nobles bene spent I leue ychon
and eke his shylinges nyghe by
his thred bare coule woll not ly
ellas ye lordes why nill ye se
and reward his pouerte
ye liff also of sainte margarete
yt holy virgine so fayre and swete
daune John hath it to translate
at ye request now but late
of my lady of huntyngeton
wch here fast by nere to london
lythe ente[r]red at sainte kateryn
ye contysse of ye marche in hur tyme
almightye god so graunte hur grace
In heuen blysse to haue a place
ther bene also deuocyons
and dyuers medytacions
sayde bothe by lordes and by clerkes
wch bene accostomed to suche werkes
In frenche in engelishe and latine
yt I haue wryt in this margyn
rede and psayne [1]) it by assaye
beseche I god yt to your paye
and to your plesaunce it mought be
whan yt ye rede ther on or se
ffor than my trauayle is wel be sett
I aske of you no other dett
bot wher defaute is or ye blame

---

1) *Sic MS.!*

yt it nenpayr ye auctors name
as for fayllinge of ye scripture
of ye meter or ortagrafyure
wouch saue it to correcte
elles of ye defaunte am I suspecte
yt thorugh your supportacion
yow list to make correction
sith to such craffte I am not vsed
of your grac hath me excused
so whan ye had[1]) thes storyes rede
be ye fastyng or be ye fede
as yt I dare I you beseche
yt ye disdayne not wt my speche
but sendeth this boke to me agayne
Shirley I meane wch is right feyne
if ye ther of haue had plesaunce
as in ye weddinge of ye romance
than am I glad by god onlyue
as I were lorde of tonnes fyue
and so at your commaundement
It shall bene eft when you list send
wt all ye saruice yt I can
as he yt is your oune man
and all yt in this company
ben knight squyer or lady
or other estat what euer they be
ye god of loue wher so yt he
be in heuen or here in yearth
he brynge them to the heuen forthe
if they in loue be founden true
wt stedfast hert and nought renew
nether in ernest nor in game
but kepe ther worshipe and ther name
he send them lord such guerdonynge
as they desserue in ther menynge

Sic MS.; 1. haþ.

be hit female be it male
now seche and rede some other talle

Explicit

All this is very poor poetry, no doubt, but it sheds an interesting light on Shirley and his business as owner of a circulating library; note especially the way in which he addresses his noble patrons at the beginning and end of both lists, placing particular stress on the trouble he has taken to collect his material from many sources not easily accessible (expressed in almost similar terms in I. 9—24 & II. 9—20). The first piece also shows his admiration for Chaucer (I. 25—34), while both lists are full of complimentary references to Lydgate (I. 71—76, II. 21—54). The Monk repaid Shirley for his good wishes by composing what is really a kind of poetical equivalent to the notices to subscribers, found in modern circulating library copies. In two of Shirley's MSS. this stanza is inserted among the texts:

Ashm. 59, f. 59 b:[1])

Yee þat desyre in herte and have plesaunce
Olde stories in bokis for to rede
Gode matiers putt hem in remembrance
And of þe oþer take yee neue[r] hede
Byseching yowe of your godelyhede
Whane ye þis boke haue over redde and seyne
To Johan Shirley restore yee it ageine
Lenvoye . by . Lidegate

The intimate character of Lydgate's and Shirley's acquaintance is shown by the minute knowledge of personal details, which the

1) Also printed in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* II. 163 and in Gaertner's diss. p. 23[5]. The conditions in the MS. clearly show that Hammond's doubts (*Anglia* 30. 329) whether the subscription really belongs to the stanza are quite unfounded. — There is another copy in Trin. R. 3. 20 p. 361 (printed in James' Cat. II. 81 f.), but probably the stanza was originally intended to be put either at the beginning or at the end of a volume.

latter's headings often display; see for instance Trin. R. 3. 20, p. 53: *Beholdeþe nowe filowyng nexst here þe translacyoune of Gaude virgo mater christi . made by Daun Johan þe Munke Lydegate by night as he lay in his bedde at London.*[1]) That the two were close friends also appears pretty clearly from Shirley's bantering references to the Monk's poverty in the lists above, repeated by the note to A 297 f. in the copy of the *Canterbury Tales* in Harl. 7333, f. 38 b:

> But al by þ[t] he was a philosopher
> Yette had he but a litill golde in coffre
> nota per Shirle quia sic [?] de daun Johan

Other notes are still more outspoken as in the case of the poem headed *Complaynt Lydegate* in Ad. 16165, f. 255 (MacCracken's Lydgate Canon no. 136), which concludes as follows:

> Lenvoye
> To all wymmen þis compleynt
> With amased hert I nowe direct
> Whos courage is euer emeynt
> With doubulnesse suche is þe sect
> Which sopely no man may correct
> Youre nature hape so double a face
> Whos galle ay newe doth infect
> þe sugre of men in euery place

Here Shirley adds in the margin:

> be stille daun Johan . suche is youre fortune.

The series of extracts from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* in Harl. 2251 ff. 82—150 is accompanied by a running commentary in

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1) Printed by MacCracken p. 288; cf. the headings *ib.* pp. 35, 127, 145, 315. Lydgate's *Fables* are often stated to have been written while he studied at Oxford, on the authority of Shirley's heading in Ashm. 59 (see Schick p. xcix, cf. M. Plessow *Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England,* Palaestra 52. xl ff.), but this is a quite unjustifiable inference from Shirley's plain statement on f. 24 b: *Here begynneþe a notable proverbe of ysopus Ethiopyen in balad by Daun Johan Liedegate made in Oxenford.*

the same vein, no doubt due to Shirley as proved by such spellings as *neode* and *triew*, and especially by the note on f. 103 b, where the stanza beginning *Disceyte disceyvith . and eke shalbe disceyved* is accompanied by this comment: *Nota per Shirley ffallere ffallentem non est fraus per philosofos.* This is, of course, merely a note on the source, so that Gaertner is quite mistaken in following the Catalogue of the Harleian MSS. in regarding it as damning proof of jesuitical tendencies in Shirley's otherwise simple mind. The whole commentary is continued in the same quiet and sober strain, most of the notes being grave exhortations like the following: *Consydre this ye wise* (f. 85) — *Beware ye conquerours* (f. 85 b) — *Take hede ye rewlers of princis* (f. 87) — *Thynk theron seyth pe wise* (f. 139) — *Take heede ye prynces* (f. 140 b) — *Take pis in mynde ye that ben juges* (ib.) — etc. But when the Monk begins his warnings against women the old scribe pretends to get angry, making humorously severe remarks: *Ye be shent* — *Ye leese your thank* (f. 142) — *So shul ye be pese* (f. 142 b). And on ff. 143—4 we find a number of especially characteristic passages with some very racy comments by Shirley:

Fol. 143. Myn auctor Bochas . rejoysed in his lyve — holdith your pees

I dar nat seyne . wher it was commendable
Of these wymmen . the malice to discryve

— — — — —

They can aforce hem . alday men may see — ye have no cause to sey so

By singular fredom . and domynacioun
Ouer the men . to have the soueraynte
And kepe hem lowe . vndir subieccioun

— — — — —

Fol. 143 b. Stomachiers . and fressh confecciouns
ffor to represse . false exalacioun — Ye wil be shent

— — — — —

Fol. 144. Theyre slak skynne . by crafte abrode is streyned — Be pees I bidde yow
Liche an orange . from the galey brought
With riche coloure . aboute theyr nekke echeyned

— — — — —

Of oone devise . they holde hem nat apayed — Ye have no cause to say so
They must eche day . have a straunge wede

— — — — —

With constraynt wepyng . and forged flaterye — Lat hem compleyne that neode have
Subtile speche . fulfarced with plesaunce

In this way the scribe carries on: *I pray yow to be pees* (f. 145 b) — *Yit holdith your pees or ye wilbe shent* — *Ye gete yow no thank* — *Ye leese your thank* (f. 146 a).

Fol. 146 b. But wymmen . have this condicioun
Of secret thynges . whan they have knowlachyng
They boyleng inward . theyr hertis ay fretyng
Other they muste desire . or ellis discure — Ye had better be pees for ye have
So Brutel is of custom . theyr nature no thank

— — — — —

Fol. 147. Of myghti Sampson

She liche a serpent . daryng vnder flowris
Or liche the worme . that gnawith on the tree
Or liche anadder . of many folde coloures
Right fressh apperyng . and feyre vn to see
ffor frowardis . was hir mutabilite
Wyth lowlyhede . and a fayre pretence
Of triewe menyng . vnder false apparence
He meynt ay trowth . and she was variable
he was right feythful . and she was untriewe
he was ful stidefast . and she was vnstable
his trust ay oone . but she loved thynges newe
She wered colours . of many a dyuers hewe
In stide of bliew . whiche stidefast is and clene
She wered colours . of many a dyuerse grene

be my trowth ye wilbe shent

Be pees or I wil rende this leef out of your booke

— — — — —

Fol. 148.

Ye wymmen alle . that shalbe holde and see
This chapitle . and althis processe rede
ye that been goode . stondith in your degre
And vertuous beth both . in thought and dede

There is no goode woman that wilbe wroth/no[r] take no quarrell agenst this booke as I suppose

What Bochas seyth . take therof none heede
ffor his writyng . if it be discerned
Is nat ageynst wymmen . that ben wele gouerned

This closes the extracts from *The Fall of Princes*, and the only other poem in the volume, annotated in a similar spirit by Shirley, is that beginning on f. 155: *After this story. tellith also*, the last stanza of which is listed together with the two Halsham stanzas as no. 45 in MacCracken's *Lydgate Canon* (cf. Hammond in *Anglia* 28. 21); it runs (f. 156 b): [1])

Worship wymmen . wyne . and vnweldy age
Make men fonde . for lak in theyr reason

Elde causith dulnes and dotage
Worship causith . chaunge of condiciouns
Excesse of wyne . blyndith discreciouns
And bookes that poetis wrote and radde
Say women most . make men to be madde

Note wele this ffoure thynges ther been that make a man to falle from reasoun Quatuor infatuunt . honor. Etas. femina ⁊ vinum

Ye wilbe shent dane John lydegate for your triew seyeng

Finally, in Trin. R. 3. 20 p. 71 ff. Shirley copies a poem by Lydgate (no. 80 in MacCracken's Lydgate Canon, pr. in Brotanek's *Die Englischen Maskenspiele* p. 317 ff.), where he glosses lines 47—9 as follows (similarly in Ad. 29729, f. 145):

What euer she spake acordant was þe deed
I mene it þus þat worde and werke were oon
It is no wonder for wymmen soo beon echon

A daun Johan est yvray

[1]) There is another copy in Shirley's Ashm. 59, f. 72, while two different versions are found in Trin. R. 3. 20 pp. 8—9, headed respectively *A seying of Daun Johan & Proverbe — yit of the same.*

Brotanek translates the note *Lieber Freund Johan, ist das auch wahr?* — regretting that Shirley missed Lydgate's irony *(l. c.* p. 318n); but *yvray* is the old French synonym for *ivrogne* (cf. Godefroy), so that the scribe's gloss is fully as humorous as the poet's expression: "Oh, Dan John must have been in his cups when he wrote that!"

However, Shirley also annotated the poetry of *þat philosofre Lidegate daun Johan*[1]) in a more serious spirit; the most striking instance of this is his copy of the *Desgysing made to Estfelde . þane Mayre of London . made by Lidegate* (running title in Trin. R. 3. 20 pp. 172—4; Lydgate Canon no. 81), where all the learned allusions are carefully explained (also in Stowe's copy in Ad. 29729, ff. 132—4). The poem has been printed by Brotanek *(l. c.* p. 320 ff.), who did not think it worth while to reproduce Shirley's glosses; as they are rather curious and exhibit no inconsiderable knowledge of classical mythology and of the great Italian poets they follow here:

Line 1. — Jubiter i. omnia iubens.
— 3. — phebus i. sol.
— 5. — Eufrates is oon of þe foure floodes of paradys.
— 8. — Mars is god of batayle.
— 10. — Venus is called þe goddesse of love ⁊ she is called *Cytherea* affter Cytheron þe hill wher she is worsheped.
— 12. — Perseus is a knight which þat roode vpon an hors þat was called *pegase.*
— 15. — þe nyen Muses dwelle bysyde Ellycon þe welle wheeche beon þe nyen susters of musyk and of eloquence / and Calyope is oone of hem.
— 22. — Bacus is cleped god of wyne Thagus is a Ryver of which þe Gravelles and þe sandes beon of golde.
— 22. — Tulius a poete and a Rethorisbyen of Rome Macrobye an olde phylosofre / Ovyde and Virgilius weren olde poetes þat oon of Rome þat oþer of Naples . a fore þe tyme of cryst // ffraunceys petrark was a poet of

[1]) So he terms him in the heading of *Amor Vincit Omnia, Mentiris Quod Pecunia* (Lydgate Canon no. 2) in Ashm. 59 f. 41.

florence . so were Bochas and Dante . with Inne þis hundreþe yeere / and þey were called laureat . for þey were coroned with laurers in token þat þey excelled oþers in poetrye.

Line 36. — poetes feyen þat þe gret god Jubiter came doone from heven for to rauisshe a kynges doughter cleped Europa affter whome alle þe cuntreys of Europe bereþe þe name.

— 47. — In baculo isto . transiui Jordanem istum.

— 51. — Phebus in aquario . is als muche to seyne . as þanne þe sonne is in þat figure.

— 55. — Cyrsee is a godesse . of þe see / which turnepe men in to liknesse of bestis / And Nymphis ben goddesses of smale Ryvers.

— 88. — Neptunus is also a goddesse of þe see.

There is a further similar gloss to *A desguysing to þe Mayre by þe Goldsmithes* (Trin. R. 3. 20, pp. 175—8, cf. Ad. 29729, ff. 134—5; pr. by Brotanek p. 323 ff.):

Line 39. — palladyone was a relyk and an ymage sent by þe godes in to þe cytee of Troye þe which kept hem in longe prosperite ageyn alle hir enemys.

Probably on more than one occasion the monk presented the scribe with autograph copies for insertion in his collections; more than thirty items in Prof. Mac Cracken's Lydgate Canon are found in Shirleian copies only (Nos. 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 19, 28, 38, 46—8, 50, 54, 67, 76—83, 85—87, 95, 100, 108, 111, 115, 134, 136, 150), while about a dozen other pieces are attributed to Lydgate by Shirley alone, among them such an important work as *The Temple of Glass.* I do not see how we can refuse to accept the evidence of Shirley's Ashm. 59 in ascribing the poem *Quia amore langueo* to Lydgate, when the authority of the same MS. is recognized in the case of no less than nine items of the Canon (6, 19, 46, 54, 59, 67, 76, 115, 134 — but see MacCracken p. XXXII); otherwise I have found only one tiny item, attributed to Lydgate

by Shirley, but not incorporated in the Canon, and indeed hardly worth it. It occurs in Trin. R. 3. 20, p. 9:[1])

Prouerbe

Subtilis duplicitas Italicorum
Manifesta luxuria Theothonicorum
ffrentosa duricies Ispanorum
Effrenata superbia Gallicorum
Parca ffidelitas Anglicorum
} Lidegate

Stowe has a similar copy in Ad. 29729 f. 132, where, however, the last line is *Rara fidelitas Anglicorum;* the change is probably due to Shirley, from one of whose collections this part of the MS. was certainly copied (cf. ch. IV. 2).

On the other hand nearly 30 items out of 160 in the Lydgate Canon are of doubtful authority, not being definitely ascribed to the Monk. The most suspect are in my opinion nos. 1, 8, 16, 18, 33, 42, 64, 93, 107, 112, 129, 131, 153, 157, 158 — all short poems, ab. 1100 lines in all[2]) — besides one longish composition, no. 106 *Resoun and Sensuallyte* (7040 lines, ed. Sieper E. E. T. S. 1901—3; cf. ch. IV. 1). As to the very long verse translation from Deguilleville, no. 96 *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (24832 lines, ed. by Furnivall E. E. T. S. 1899—1904, with introd. by Kath. B. Locock), there is no definite proof that it was written by Lydgate, though both Furnivall and Locock tacitly assume this (cf. Schick p. CV f.). The two best MSS., Cott.

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[1]) It is followed on the same page by a bit of French prose about unlucky days *(Ceste le dit de saynt Beede)* and then by this curious item (also in Ad. 29729 f. 132):

dictum de senioribus

Italici vlilant — Lombardes weymenten
Theotonici clamant — Duchmen cryen
Gallici cantant — ffrenchmen syngen
Anglici Iubilant — And Englisshmen Ioyessen
} Videte

[2]) No. 22 *Christe Qui Lux Es et Dies* is ascribed to Lydgate by Shirley in Trin. R. 3. 20 p. 195 (not noted by MacCracken p. xiv, but see p. 235).

Vitell. C. XIII & Tib. A. VII (both dating from the first half of the XV cent., cf. the ed. p. LXVII* ff.) have no author's name, nor was this originally found in the only remaining authority, the late XV cent. copy in MS. Stowe 952. Here, however, a XVI cent. hand added at the beginning of the translation *John Lidgat his work,* and below this Stowe wrote *compiled by John Lydgate monke of berie.* What authority Stowe or the earlier commentator had for their statements we do not know; the only contemporary evidence of Lydgate's authorship is rather circumstantial in character. In Harl. 4826, written in a hand ab. 1450 and containing copies of Lydgate's *St. Edmund* and *The Gouernaunce of kynges and prynces* (Lydgate Canon nos. 116 & 132), a pen-and-ink drawing, lightly tinted in brownish and reddish colours (very well reproduced in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* II. 44), has been inserted later. The drawing shows a monk kneeling at the side of an old pilgrim who hands a book to an armed knight; it is now mounted on a separate leaf, but was originally pasted on f. 1 b, with a XVII cent. inscription *Lidgat presenting his booke, called ye Pilgrime, vnto ye Earle of Salisbury.* The Monk has firmly moulded features, boyish bright eyes, a straight, short nose, and a determined mouth and chin — a common type to this day among Suffolk farmers. The face shows a decided resemblance to other portraits of Lydgate, of which the best are those in Harl. 2278 f. 6 (a doubtful dedication copy to Henry VI of the St. Edmund poem, reprod. in Garnett's *Engl. Lit.* I, at p. 188; cf. Ashm. 46, f. 1) and in Harl. 1766 f. 5, which used to be considered a dedication MS. of *The Fall of Princes,* and which is at any rate an early copy of considerable value [1]) (cf. F. Werner in *Münchener Archiv* vol. 5, p. 11 ff.; the

1) At the head of the introductory list of chapters (left out of Harl. 4197 & 4203 and most other MSS.) it has the following stanza (f. 1):

This famous werk to putte in Remembraunce
The sodeyn change tretyng of many estat
The pe de gre and thallyaunce
newly translated by the Poete laureat
Monk of Bury namyd John lydgat
ffrom lyne of Adam Evene discendyng doun
This table doth conveye with oute varyacion.

pictures in the MSS. of the *Troy Book* do not offer very valuable likenesses of Lydgate, cf. H. Bergen's diss. München 1906, pp. III, V, XIII).

No authoritative portrait of Thomas de Montagu, Lord of Salisbury is known to me (the present one is reprod. in Doyle's *Official Baronage,* 1886, II. 241). If we could be quite sure that the knight in Harl. 4826 was really meant for him the question of the authorship of the translation would be solved, since there is no doubt that is was dedicated to him. In the Prologue, which the translator added, he says (l. 122 ff.):

Thys consydred ful wysly of my lord
Of Salysbury, the noble manly knyht,
Wych in Fravnce, for the kyngys Ryht,
In the werre hath meny day contunyd.
— — — — —
132 Wych gaff me ffyrst in comandement
Thys seyde book in Englysshe for to make,
As I koude, only for hys sake.
— — — — —
151 And of the tyme playnly, & of the date
Whan I be-gan thys book to translate,
yt was a thovsand (by computacion)
Affter crystys incarnacion
ffour hundryd ouer, nouther fer ne nere,
The surples ouer, syxe & twenty yere,
My lord that tyme beyng at Parys,
Wych gaff me charge, by hys dyscrete avys,
As I seyde erst, to sette myn entent
Vp-on thys book to be dyllygent,
And to be-gynne vp-on thys labour.

Salisbury was the second husband of Alice Chaucer (cf. ch. I. 2) and Lydgate refers to him in his undoubted poems *This World is a Thurghefare of Woe* (Lydg. Can. no. 150; *Minor Poems* ed. Halliwell, p. 126):

Of Salusbury the manly Montagu
Though he was preved in armys a goode knyght,

The fatal day yit might he nat eschewe
Whan that he dyed for his kynges right.

His death took place at the siege of Orleans in the autumn of 1428, so that the translation was probably finished before that date. That Lydgate was in Paris ab. 1426 seems certain (cf. Schick p. XCIII f.), but neither this nor his acquaintance with Salisbury proves his authorship of the translation.

On the other hand the presence of the pilgrim in the picture in Harl. 4826 must be understood as an allusion to some such work as the present, but to this it may be objected that possibly Lydgate translated another of Deguileville's three poetical pilgrimages, which might then be referred to here. In fact the translation of Jean de Gallopez' French prose version of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (dated 1413, cf. Furnivall's ed. of Hocleve, E. E. T. S., II. XXIII ff.) has been attributed to Lydgate, though with little justification (cf. Schick p. CI f.). Further Shirley's remarks above (II. 21—4) have been interpreted as involving a prose translation by Lydgate of *The Human Pilgrimage* (see especially Miss Hammond in *Notes* 36. 184 f.), though it is perfectly certain that Shirley merely mentions *the munk of bury* as the author of *many a roundell and balade* and *not* as having written *the humayne pilgrymage Sayd all by proose in faire langage,* whose author he does not mention, but by which he clearly refers to the prose version of the *Pilgrimage of Man,* contained in his own copy at Sion College and in various other MSS. (cf. Schick p. CIII and see under Chaucer's *Prière à Nôtre Dame* ch. IV. 3). Since, then, the Monk in the picture in Harl. 4826 appears to be Lydgate, while the Pilgrim may very well be meant as a reference to the verse translation of *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man,* there may after all be said to be a fair degree of probability for Lydgate's commonly accepted authorship of this work — even though the knight in the picture can only be identified with Salisbury *ex hypothesi;* an independent identification would have made the proof complete.

B.

THE ANNOTATION OF THE CANTERBURY TALES.

Shirley has the honour of having started annotating the *Tales*, as shown by the copy in Harl. 7333 (f. 37 ff.), where he has glossed the Prologue and the first two Tales pretty thoroughly. [1]) Some notes, the most frequent, but the least interesting, simply indicate the nature of the contents of a particular passage, e. g. at A 747: *Howe þe oste sette þe pylgrimes to þe soper;* A 1123: *Palamons chelange of Emely to his sworne broþer Arcyte;* A 1623: *þe wordes of þauctoure;* A 3397: *how Nicholas þe clerke devisethe to make þe carpenter a bridde.* Others, however, give explanations of difficult words and are not without merit as a first attempt to grapple with Chaucer's vocabulary: [2])

A 238:	as is þe flore de lyse	.i. lylye
A 586:	sette þeyre aller cappe	.i. deceyvid hem
A 2124:	Abowte his chare þer went Alauntes	.i. houndes [3])
A 2525:	And to þe theatree [4]) cam theye be tyme	.i. þe lystes
A 3054:	ffor al forgeten is þanne vassellage	.i. worþinesse
A 3094 f.:	By twyxse hem two A noon was made þe bande þat highte matrimoine or mariage	.i. fiaunced or be trowthe
A 3249:	a weddre —	.i. a sheepe
A 3282:	in a thrave —	.i. at a forge

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1) Though the glosses occur in a copy only of Shirley's work they are evidently his; but it is possible that in the original the whole work was glossed and that the scribe of Harl. 7333 got tired of copying the notes after the first twenty leaves or so.

2) Cf. also his note on *crokke* in *Bon Conseil* 1. 12 (Trin. R. 3. 20, p. 357): *.i. a wilterpotte.*

3) See Cook in *Trans. Connecticut Acad.* 21. 128 ff. & 23. 30.

4) Here, however, the MSS. generally have *listes.*

But the most interesting notes are those which explain some far-fetched allusion; they are, however, rather few: [1])

A 336: ffor he was Epicurus owne soun .i. deus deliciarum [2])
A 340: Saynt Julian he was in his cuntrey .i. a gode herberger
A 1940: Nought was forgeten þe porter ydilnesse .i. of þe Romaunce of þe Roose

Often Shirley put a *nota* in the margin merely to draw attention to the moral teaching of a passage, e. g. at the well-known l. A 497 (f. 39 b): [3])

þat firste he wrought and affterwardis he taught
nota per Shirle.

Though Stowe and Speght tried to resume the work of annotation, also attempted by Francis Thynne in his *Animaduersions vppon the Annotacions and Corrections of some imperfections of impressions of Chaucers workes* (written in 1599, but first printed by H. J. Todd in his *Illustrations of the Lives and Writings of Gower and Chaucer* 1810, pp. 3—83), the problem was not again seriously attacked till T. Morell edited the Prologue and the Knight's Tale in 1737 with an Appendix of *Annotations chiefly relating to Antiquities* (pp. 349—424). Morell's copious commentary was a very meritorious piece of work in its day and was utilized by Tyrwhitt in his exhaustive Notes on the *Tales,* which are invaluable even to-day (cf. Hammond pp. 204 ff. & 508).

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1) Cf. also his note in the Trin. MS. p. 357, to *Bon Conseil* l. 9: *.i. fortune,* and that in the Sion MS., f. 79, to the expression *theves seven* in Chaucer's *Prière à Nôtre Dame,* l. 15: *.i. seven dedly synnes.*

2) Cf. his note on *Epicurus* in the text of Chaucer's Boece, in Ad. 16165, f. 30: *.i. god of delitz;* also his notes to *Anelida* l. 5 *ib.* f. 257: *bellona .i. deus belli — pallas .i. deus sapientie.*

3) Also at A 188 f. (f. 38), A 297 f. (f. 38 b), A 444 (f. 39 b). Sometimes the *nota* occurs without his name, and then it is of course possible that it was put not by him, but by the scribe of Harl. 7333 (cf. A 1181 f. *(Ad huc nota),* 1606, 2447 (also marked by MS. Cambr. Dd. 4. 24), 2681 f., 3391 *(nota prouerbium).*

The first edition to give anything like a complete annotation of all the Works was Robert Bell's (1854—56, re-issued under Skeat's supervision in 1878).[1] Skeat edited about one half of the *Tales* in three volumes of selections (Prioress, Thopas, Monk, Clerk, Squire (1874); Man of Law, Pardoner, Second Nun, Canon's Yeoman (1877); Prologue, Knight, Nun's Priest (1889, a re-issue of Morris' original ed. in 1867); also the spurious *Tale of Gamelyn* in 1884) besides separate editions of *The Minor Poems* (1888) and the *Legend* (1889). The very full annotation of these volumes was reprinted practically without change in Skeat's great Oxford Chaucer (1894) and form the most satisfactory part of its notes (cf. Hammond p. 144 ff.). The long promised *Chaucer Concordance,* started by the late Ewald Flügel (see *Flügel Memorial Volume* p. 43 ff., cf. *Anglia* 34. 354 ff. & 37. 497 ff., and cp. Flügel's other notes on Ch. *ib.* 24. 437 ff. & *Journ.* 1. 118 ff.), has now been finished — though not yet issued — under the editorship of Prof. Tatlock (cf. *Notes* 38. 504 ff.).

The text of Chaucer is still in such an unsatisfactory state that about ten years ago when Prof. Koch prepared his ed. of the *Tales* (Heidelberg 1915), he could write more than fifty pages of *Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Chaucer's Canterbury Tales (Engl. Stud.* 47. 338—414). In these circumstances emendation is sometimes a necessary evil (cf. Koch's note on B 1091, *l. c.* p. 360), though on the whole corrections ought only to be admitted into the text after very careful scrutiny, and even if a passage appears to be contradictory or senseless, when taken at its surface value, it is not always safe to correct it (see e. g. Koch's "emendations" of A 164,[2] 179, 1497, 2037, & B 3657). For instance, the Wife

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[1] Thomas Boys has a number of (mostly mistaken) observations on *Difficulties of Chaucer* in *Queries,* Sec. Series III. 299, 352; IV. 407, 450, 509 f.; V. 24 f., 123, 166, 229, 271, 290, 309, 392, 432 f., 471. — There is an important set of Chaucer Notes in John W. Hales' *Folia Litteraria* 1893 (pp. 80—113; cf. also J. S. P. Tatlock in *Notes* 29. 140 ff.).

[2] Cf. Tyrwhitt *Introd.. Disc.* § VI (cf. Hales, *Folia Litteraria* 1893, p. 106 f.); Bradshaw *Coll. Papers* p. 110; Skeat III. 380, 388, & V. 19; Hammond p. 286 f.; Tatlock *Harl. 7334* p. 24; Kastner in *Athen.* 1906 I. 231 f., cf. *ib.* 265, 299, 329; Hoops in *Engl. Stud.*

of Bath concludes her long sermon on Gentility's independence of rank or riches in the following way (D 1150—62):

ffor god it woot men may wel often fynde
A lordes sone do shame and vileynye
And he þat wole han pris of his gentrye
ffor he was born of a gentil hous
And hadde hise eldres noble and vertuous
And nel hym seluen do no gentil dedis
Ne folwen his gentil Auncestre þat deed is
He nys nat gentil be he duc or Erl
ffor vileyns synful dedes make a cherl
(1159) *ffor gentilesse nys but renomee*
Of thyne auncestres for hire heigh bountee
Which is a strange thyng to thy persone
Thy gentilesse cometh fro god allone.

It is quite clear that the sense of D 1159 runs completely contrary to that of the context; only if *nys but* be taken, *not* in the usual ME. sense *is only,* but in the directly opposite meaning, commonly expressed by *nis noon,* it becomes possibly to reconcile D 1159 with the rest of the passage.[1]) The emendation of *but* into *noon* might accordingly appear inevitable here, in spite of all the authorities' reading *nys but,* the more so as in another passage of the *Tales* both these readings are actually found in the MSS. In the beginning of the Wife of Bath's Tale she says that all fairies have been chased away by the coming of the friar and adds comfortingly (D 878—81):

Wommen / may [now] go saufly vp and doun
In euery bussh / or vnder euery tree
Ther is / noon other *Incubus* / but he
And he ne wol doon hem but dishonour.

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36. 328 ff.; Koch *ib.* 47. 340 f.; Jespersen in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi,* 3. R. I. 128; Emerson in *Quart.* 2. 87 ff.

1) It will scarcely do, as Mr. J. L. Hotson of Harvard University suggests to me, to regard D 1159 f. as a dramatic interruption by the Wife herself, stating the common view of gentility merely in order to refute it again in D 1161 f.

Here the last line appears entirely pointless, a fact which made Pollard adopt the reading *non* (for *but,* cf. the *Globe Ch.* p. 166), found in Ad. 5140 and in Cambr. Gg (here followed by an inserted *other*).[1]) It is, however, hardly possible to suppose these two MSS. alone to have preserved the correct reading of D 1159, though the only alternative is to believe in Chaucer's being capable of using the phrase *ne-but* where other ME. authors would have employed *ne-noon.* This assumption is perhaps not so extraordinary as might appear at first, seeing how freely Chaucer introduces ellipses (as in A 1031, cf. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 47. 346, mistakenly criticized by Imelmann in *Die Neueren Sprachen* 24. 179), vulgarisms (cf. G 315, see Skeat V. 409), and even such awkward constructions as those found in F 649 f. (cf. Skeat V. 386) and in *Leg.* 285—9 (see Macaulay in *Rev.* 4. 18). Moreover Chaucer would seem not only to have used *ne-but* for *ne-noon,* but also occasionally to have substituted *ne-that* for *ne-but,* as in B 46—9:

> I kan right now no thrifty tale seyn
> That Chaucer — though he kan but lewedly
> On metres and on rymyng craftily —
> Hath seyd hem in swich englissh as he kan.[2])

It appears probable, then, that both in D 1159 and in 881 Chaucer employed the phrase *ne-but* in a most irregular way, corrected in the latter case by a few scribes.

It is not always easy to perceive a medieval author's real intention from his text as it stands in the MSS., since sometimes the scribes did not trouble to divide the words properly (see about the corruption of *com ba me* into *compame* (A 3709) A. J. Ellis in *Athen.* 1869 I. 829 f., 861; II. 19, 83), while they never em-

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[1]) All other MSS. examined by me have *but,* even Harl. 7334 (which, however, has corrected *incubus* in D 880 into *incumbent*(!). Tyrwhitt and Koch print *no(n)* (cf. *Engl. Stud.* 47. 364 f.), but Skeat has *but* (see V. 316, cp. Lounsbury I. 257).

[2]) Ellesmere and most other authorities read *That* in B 47 (acc. by Koch) but MSS. Dd, Eg^2, & Ad^1 have *But* (acc. by Tyrwhitt, Skeat & Pollard). However, I have not examined all the MSS. on this point.

ployed hyphens or the like (note P. F. Baum's suggestion in *Notes* 32. 377 that F 1541—4 ought not to be put in quotation-marks, as they are not really spoken by Aurelius, but constitute Chaucer's own comments on his story). As to *punctuation* the scribes frequently, though far from always, employ the mark, commonly thought to indicate the cesura (cf. Hammond p. 495 & Koch *C. T.* p. 10), as a sort of comma; cf. e. g. the Ellesmere reading of A 341:

His breed / his Ale /was alweys after oon.[1])

Hov aptly this stroke is sometimes used to point the sense appears from F 1360—2 as copied in the same MS.:

But nathelees / yet haue I leuere to lese
My lif / than of my body haue a shame
Or knowe my seluen fals / or lese my name.[2])

In these circumstances it is easily understood that the punctuation of the *Canterbury Tales* and other works of Chaucer's may be doubtful and even erroneous in a good many instances (see Lounsbury I. 342 ff.; cf. *Athen.* 1901. I. 728, 821 & II. 61; *Notes* 17. 139 f. & 23. 53 f.; *Quart.* 2. 82). One of the most discussed cases is the punctuation of 1. 13 f. in the General Prologue, where Jespersen *(Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi,* 3. Række I. 127, cf. *Engl. Stud.* 26. 134) and ten Brink *(Engl. Stud.* 24. 465) place a full stop (colon) after A 13, while Zupitza *(Anglia* I. 475 f., cf. *Notes* 6. 135, 218 f., 253, & 7. 30) and Skeat (cp. V. 30) put a semicolon after A 14 and place A 13 in a parenthesis; the latter I would omit as done by Tyrwhitt, Morris, Pollard, and Koch (cf. *Engl. Stud.* 27. 21, cp. Remus *Die romanischen Lehnworte Chaucers* p. 63). Other cases in point are D 617, where a semicolon must be introduced in the middle of the line (cf. ch. II. 2), and A 1573, where the full-stop, put by

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[1]) In the Ellesmere copy of the Gen. Prol. (858 lines) the stroke is in 35 instances put twice in a line (as here — apart from cases where it is added at the end of a line), while in 8 instances it is even used three times in the same line; in 171 lines it is omitted altogether.

[2]) Cp. also B 1199 & 3356 and espec. F 1479 & 1498.

Morell, Skeat, Pollard, and Koch [1]) at the end of the line, ought to be omitted as done by Tyrwhitt and Morris. A still more striking instance, where the punctuation is wrong in all editions known to me, occurs in the Nun's Tale. St. Cecily answers Almachius (G 498—501):

> Ther lakketh no-thyng to thyne outter ÿen
> That thou nart blynd; for thyng þat we seen alle
> That it is stoon — þat men may wel espyen —
> That ilke stoon, a god thow wolt it calle.

This is the Ellesmere text as arranged by Koch, and all editors punctuate the passage like that, though the two first lines do not give any sense as they stand; a sign of interrogation ought to be added:

> Ther lakketh no thyng to thyne outter yen
> That thou nart blynd?

That St. Cecily is really putting a question to her judge appears quite clearly from Chaucer's source, *Passio sanctæ Ceciliæ uirginis & martyris,* which I quote from the collection of Mombritius (cf. Holthausen in *Archiv* 87. 265 ff.; Hammond gives a wrong referense p. 315 and does not quote this (important) paper at all p. 100):

> Cæcilia respondit: *Nescio ubi tu oculos amiseris:* Nam quos tu deos dicis: ego & omnes qui oculus sanos habent saxa uidemus esse: & cerementum & plumbum.

Outside the *Tales* there is a curious case of defective punctuation in *Visage Sans Peinture* 1. 47, which all editors print

> My lore is bet than wikke is thy grevaunce

evidently understanding it like the corrupt Leyden and Lansdowne MSS.:

> my lore is *better than thi wikkid* gouernaunce. [2])

Than is, however, clearly an adverb and not a conjunction, so that the line must be punctuated:

> My lore is bet! Than wikke is thy grevaunce!

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[1]) The Ellesmere scribe begins a new paragraph with A 1374.
[2]) Thus also the de Worde print & MS. Selden B. 10.

Even when the text has been properly arranged and punctuated, the syntactical understanding of it may cause a good deal of trouble. Several difficulties of this kind are discussed in C. Stoffel's valuable study of *Intensives and Down-toners* (Heidelberg 1901); cf. Hinckley in *Phil.* 16. 41 ff. and Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 47 (espec. p. 348 about A 1637). Note also Prof. Jespersen's interpretation of C 345 in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* 3. Række, 12. 26), which makes *to* equal to "as" and turns *saffron* into a substantive. However, a passage like A 201 f. still seems to me insufficiently understood:

> His eyen stepe / and rollynge in his heed
> That stemed / as a forneys of a leed.[1])

The last line is commonly taken to refer to the eyes of the Monk and paraphrased "That shone like the fire under a cauldron" (cf. Skeat V. 24). The interpretation of *forneys* as "fire" seems, however, completely arbitrary, while it would be decidedly more natural to connect *that* with *heed* than with *eyen.* In the same way it is really much simpler to give *stemed* its modern sense, and the phrase *as a forneys of a leed* is evidently a comparison used to achieve a definitely grotesque effect. Cf. *The House of Fame* 1645—8:

> *And swiche a smoke gan out-wende*
> Out of his foule trumpes ende,
> *Blak, blo, grenysh, swartysh red,*
> *As doth wher that men melte leed.*

Accordingly it seems pretty clear that in A 202 *a leed* has the meaning *a piece of lead,* as in *Fame* 737—41:

> As thus, lo, thou maist al day see
> *That any thing that hevy be,*
> *As stoon or leed, or thyng of wighte,*
> And ber hit never so hye on highte,
> Lat go thyn hand, hit falleth doun.

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[1]) Thus all MSS. examined by me, except Ad. 5140 which reads *stremed,* and Coll. Phys. which omits the second *a.*

I would then take A 202 to mean: "That steamed as a furnace does when a piece of lead is put into it." [1])

Further it is rather doubtful how A 4347 f. are to be understood:

> And many a Iakke of Douere hastow soold
> That hath been / twies hoot and twies coold.

The usual explanation, that *a Iakke of Douere* means a warmed-up pie or something of the kind (see Skeat V. 128, cf. also *Acad.* 1874. I. 721), was started by John Fuller in his *History of the Worthies of England* 1662, p. 65 (cf. Ray's *Compleat Collection of English Proverbs* 3. ed. 1742, p. 246), but no real evidence of this seems ever to have been given. On the other hand the term is clearly used in quite another sense in the collection of fool-stories, reprinted for the Percy Society in 1842 from the ed. of 1604 and entitled *Jacke of Dover His Quest of Inquirie, Or His Privy Search for the veriest foole in England* (cf. W. C. Hazlitt *Shakespeare's Jest-Books* II. 311 & 366). The collection begins: "When *merry Jacke of Dover* had made his privie search for the foole of all fooles and making his inquirie in most of the principall places in England, at his return home *was adjudged to be the foole himself:* but now, wearied with the motley coxcombs, he hath undertaken in some place or other to finde out *a verier foole than himselfe.*" It ends with a reference to *the commonwealth of Jacke of Dovers motly coated fooles,* and from this it seems quite clear that *Jack of Dover* was then only another name for a fool. Originally it may have been used of a boasting fellow, just returned from abroad (cp. the Danish expression *Jean de France,* used in this sense), and if only we could be sure that the term was applied in the same way in Chaucer's time, the above passage might be construed with *many a Jakke of Douere* as the indirect instead of the direct object, the latter being represented by the whole of the following line, where *That* would be equal to

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[1]) As to the causative use of *of* (= *with* or *from*) see *Dict.* s. v. 13, and cf. A 2054 f.: *Depeynted ben the walles - - of hunting* — & G 626: *pave it al of silver and of gold.*

"that which", as frequently in Chaucer, e. g. D 781 (see Skeat VI. 259 f. for further instances):

They haten / that hir housbondes / loueth ay.

The host's taunt would then come to this: "And many are the fools to whom you have sold twice-warmed courses".

As seen from this instance not only the syntax but also the idioms of Chaucer may demand special interpretation, nor have all expressions enumerated by Tyrwhitt in his final list of fifty-three *Words and Phrases not understood* been explained as yet; note e. g. the enigmatic *turne coppes* in A 3928, quite unsatisfactorily commented on by Skeat (V. 116; observe on the other hand his very full explanation of such a term as *radevore (Leg.* 2352) in *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1891—4, p. 369). What is wanted to clear up the remaining difficulties in this direction is chiefly a thorough knowledge of contemporary literature and social conditions (cf. Lounsbury I. 351 ff), as shown for instance by Hinckley in his *Notes on Chaucer* (1902; see e. g. p. 64 f. about A 1133, cf. *Notes* 13. 231). Great ingenuity combined with almost excessive erudition have enabled Prof. Lowes to explain the vexatious lines in the Knight's Tale, A 1373—6, at great length *(Phil.* 11. 491—546, cf. *ib.* 17. 287 ff. & *Notes* 31. 185 ff.). This successful piece of interpretation makes one doubt the value of emendation in similar, though still unexplained cases such as B 1189, where most MSS. read *Phislyas* (or *phillyas;* a few have *Physilias),* a baffling word, which has made some scribes introduce the readings *phisicians, physik,* or *of phisik,* accepted by Tyrwhitt and Pollard, and by Skeat in his sep. ed. of *The Prioresses Tale* &c, though in his great *Oxford Ch.* he reads *physices* (cf. V. 167), while Shipley proposes *physillos (Notes* 10. 134 f.); a third conjecture by R. C. Goffin (*Rev.* 18. 335 f.) is just as unconvincing.

Also A 396—7 are variously interpreted:

ffull many a draughte of wyn / had he [y-]drawe.
ffro Burdeuxward / whil that the Chapman sleep.

This is generally taken to mean that the Shipman had stolen many casks of wine while the supercargo was sleeping (Skeat V.

39), or that he had drilled a hole in the wood and sucked the wine through a straw (Kölbing in *Engl. Stud.* 24. 341 f.). However, the latter explanation is rather fanciful, while as to the former it is not quite easy to see how *draughte* could come to mean "cask". On the other hand, the fully recognized sense of "cargo" (*Dict.* s. v. 2 a) would suit the general drift of the whole passage very well (cf. about A 399 f. Zupitza in *Anglia* 1. 478 f.): the Shipman had captured a good many foreign ships (had drawn their loads *fro Burdeuxward),* while their owners were snugly asleep, and had not hesitated to make their crews walk the plank — or whatever the medieval substitute for that procedure may have been. Chaucer's shipmaster and his *Maudelayne* hailed from Dartmouth (cf. P. Q. Karkeek in *Essays on Ch.* p. 484 ff.), and the Dartmouth men of that age were very enterprising fellows, as shown by several passages in contemporary chronicles; cf. the extracts from Walsingham and Knighton 1383—88 in Nicolas' *History of the Royal Navy* (1847; II. 293, 298, 329), and see especially Higden's continuator Malvern under the year 1388 (IX. 171 & 200 ff.):

Quo in tempore *nautæ de Dertemouthe ceperunt VII. naves magnas ac quatuor naves minores vino* sale et aliis mercimoniis diversis *onustas* - - - Item XVI° die Novembris *Johannes Haule de Dertemouthe quinque naves hominibus armorum bene munitus misit in mare ceperuntque secundo die VIII. naves vino de la Rochell* et aliis mercemoniis diversis *onustas* et tertio die ad villam de Dertemouthe salvi et incolumes pervenerunt, *habueruntque in jam dictis navibus IX^em^ dolia vini,* ceperunt etiam in illis homines armorum XX. - - - Item modicum ante festum Natale *Domini quidam de Dertemoutha et Fowy sulcantes maria XXV. naves magnas et parvas vino pleno onustas ceperunt* et sine damno ad propria redierunt.

One must, however, take care to keep Chaucer's artistic and poetic purposes well in view, when explaining such allusions linguistically and historically. The large amount of learning spent upon explaining the Prioress' oath *by seynt Loy* (A 120, see Skeat V. 13 f. and his note in Guest's *Hist. of Engl. Rhythms,* 2.

ed. p. 706 f.; cf. *Acad.* 1880 I. 385, 403 f. 422, 439 f., 476 & II. 64, 137; *Athen.* 1891. I. 54 & 1892. I. 150, 214; *Essays on Ch.* p. 687 f.; and espec. Lowes in *Rom. Rev.* 5. 368—85) may almost be considered wasted, seeing that probably Chaucer made *madame Eglentyne* swear by this particular saint merely for the sake of the rhyme! (note that saints' names in Chaucer nearly always occur in rhyme, see the material as collected in H. Lange's diss. *Die Versicherungen bei Ch.* Berlin 1892, p. 23 ff.; cf. Kaluza in *Engl. Stud.* 22. 77 ff. and Th. Helmeke's diss. *Beteuerungen und Verwünschungen bei Ch.* Kiel 1913, p. 50). It is also very likely that when introducing Theseus' banner in the Knight's Tale (A 975 ff.) Chaucer wanted to impart a graphic touch to his description of the duke's ride to Thebes (see Macmechan, Gibbs, and Kittredge in *Notes* 8. 30, 24. 197 f., & 25. 28; cf. Hinckley p. 57 f.) and not merely to drag in some irrelevant heraldic details, as Skeat (V. 63 f.) and H. Lange (*Anglia* 42. 352 f.) think (see similarly about A 1697 *Notes* 37. 120 f., 376 f., & 38. 59 f.).

When characterizing his figures Chaucer frequently puts in small ironic touches, as for instance the gentle hit at the Prioress' French (A 124 ff.; the satirical intention of these lines is denied by Skeat V. 15, but see *Notes* 8. 29; *Queries* 1870 II. 465, 1890 I. 305, 414, 497, & II. 57; *Quart.* 2. 308; and espec.. J. E. *Matzke* in *Phil.* 3. 47 ff.). Probably the remark about Sir Thopas' *fyn hauberk,* which *was al ywroght of Iewes werk* (B 2054), is to be understood in a similar way (as hinted by Kölbing in *Engl. Stud.* 11. 510, though see *ib.* 506); *Jewes werk* would appear to have been used here in ridicule — compare the *many a Jane* Sir Thopas spent on his *Robe of Syklatoun* — and not as a term of praise, as imagined by Skeat (V. 196, cf. Hertzberg p. 651).[1]) — Another characteristic peculiarity of Chaucer's technique is his evident delight in making his churls' speech as realistic as pos-

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1) See for another explanation Kr. Sandfeld Jensen *Nationalfølelsen og Sproget* Copenh. 1910, p. 41. Cp. however such parallel expressions as *Jew's harp, Jew's ears* &c.

sible,[1]) for instance by making them employ all sorts of homely sayings, as when the Host exclaims (H 5 ff.):

— Sirs, what! *Dun is in the myre!*
Is ther no man for preyere ne for hyre
That wole awake oure felawe al bihynde?

Here *Dun is in the mire* is clearly a proverbial saying, equivalent to the modern expression *the fat is in the fire* (see also *The Towneley Plays* E. E. T. S. p. 373, l. 205), and there is no allusion at all to the well-known game, as Skeat thinks (V. 455 f., cf. Andrae in *Engl. Stud.* 45. 347). The Wife of Bath expresses herself still more drastically, when replying to the Pardoner's interruption (D 169 f.):

Nay / *thou shalt drynken of another tonne*
Er that I go / shal sauoure wors than Ale.

Skeat (V. 295) thinks this a learned reference to the account in *Le Roman de la Rose* of the two tuns of Jove (cf. Fansler p. 96), though of course we have a mere colloquial expression here (still current in Danish), as in *Legend* 79:

ffor this werk is al of a-nothyr tunne.

After the parish clerk Absolon has experienced the peculiar wit of women the village smith addresses him (A 3767 ff., from the Ellesmere MS.):

What Absolon / for Cristes swete tree
Why rise ye so rathe / ey benedictee
What eyleth yow / som gay gerl god it woot
Hath broght yow thus / vp on the viritoot
By seinte note / ye woot wel what I mene.

The general drift of this passage is easily understood, but there is a peculiar expression in A 3770, *to bring one upon the viritoot.* Most MSS. read like this, though Cambr. Gg, Ad. 5140, & Eg. 2864 have *merytot* instead of *viritoot* in A 3770, while Harl. 7334

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[1]) Note his own apologies for this A 725 ff. & 3170 ff., and cf. W. H. Wells in *Notes* 39. 262 f.

reads *verytrot* — a clear instance of scribal emendation; Thynne (1532) has the misprint *beritote,* reproduced by Speght in 1598, but corrected in his sec. ed. of 1602, where he prints *merytote* and explains it as *a swing* (see Brand's *Popular Antiquities,* ed. Ellis 1813, II. 296, and cf. Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes,* ed. 1868, p. 302 f.). Tyrwhitt introduced the reading *viretote,* but excused himself from explaining the term, which Skeat connects with Fr. *virer* & *tot* (tout), interpreting the whole phrase as meaning "to make one rise early" (V. 110 f., cf. W. Bang in *Engl. Stud.* 26. 319 f.). This is almost certainly wrong, as the *viritoot* is sure originally to have been the name of some concrete object and not an abstract generalization.[1]) *Merytot* is no doubt a later corruption of *viritoot,* the etymology of which goes very well with the sense af "a swing";[2]) at Chaucer's time the word seems then to have been used figuratively in the phrase *to bring one upon the viritoot,* meaning something like "causing one to get into hot water" (this is the exact sense of the Danish idiom *at faa en til at gaa i Gyngen,* literally "to make one get into a swing"). The other expressions in A 3769 & 3771 make it probable that the phrase might be used in a rather obscene sense; see Kittredge *(Phil.* 7. 476, against Tyrwhitt & Skeat V. 53) about a similar use of A 652:

And priuely a fynch eek koude he pulle.

The *gay girls* of medieval Denmark (and Germany) were often referred to as *finches* ("Finker").

C.

CHAUCER AND DESCHAMPS.

That Chaucer, though he seems never to have met Deschamps,[3]) was acquainted with his writings has been known ever since Sir

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1) Note that *Veretot* was an Anglo-French family name in 1403; see Nicolas *Proceedings of the Privy Council* I. 195.

2) The change from *viritoot* into *merytot* (which is quite possible phonetically) probably took place through popular etymology, the word being somehow connected with *merry;* cp. the still later *merrytotter* (earliest quot. in *Dict.* from c. 1440).

3) The one occasion on which such a meeting might have happened

Harris Nicolas in 1845 *(The Aldine Chaucer* I. 102 ff.) first printed the *balade* which the French poet sent his English *confrère* together with a volume of his poems as appears from the concluding stanza:[1])

A toy pour ce de la fontaine Helye
Requier avoir un buvraige autentique,
Dont la doys est du tout en ta baillie,
Pour rafrener d'elle ma soif ethique,
Qui en Gaule seray paralitique
Jusques a ce que tu m'abuveras.
Eustaces sui, qui de mon plant aras:
Mais pran en gré les euvres d'escolier
Que par Clifford de moy avoir pourras,
Grand translateur, noble Gieffroy Chaucier.

L'envoy

Poëte hault, loënge *d'escuerie,*[2])
En ton jardin ne servie qu'ortie:
Considère ce que j'ay dit premier —
Ton noble plant, ta douce melodie;
Mais, pour sçavoir, de rescripre te prie,
Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier.

Strangely enough nobody recognized Chaucer's actual literary debt to Deschamps (see e. g. Lounsbury II. 217) till Prof. Kittredge showed *(Phil.* 1. 1 ff.) [3]) that in the Prologue to his *Legend* Chaucer used three *balades* and a *rondeau* by the French poet on

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was not a very auspicious one: in the winter of 1359—60 Chaucer took part in the English siege of Rheims (cf. Coulton in *Rev.* 4. 234 f. and Emerson in *Rom. Rev.* 3. 333 ff. & 352 ff.), where both Machaut and Deschamps were staying (see Raynaud in *Oeuvres de Deschamps* XI. 12).

1) No. 285 *(Oeuvres* II. 138 f.); cf. Skeat I. lvi f.

2) Corr. by T. A. Jenkins in *Notes* 23. 270 from *destruye* in the MS.

3) *Ib.* p. 8 ff. he gives the first biographical sketch of Deschamps' messenger Sir Lewis Clifford, whom Froissart (XIV. 110) calls *moult appert et vaillant chevalier;* see now also W. T. Waugh's paper on *The Lollard Knights* in *Scott. Hist. Review* 11. 55 ff.

the flower and leaf *motif* (nos. 764—7, *Oeuvres* IV. 257 ff.). Then in a very important paper on the Prologue of the *Legend* and the French *Marguerite* poems Prof. Lowes proved. *(Publ.* 19. 593 ff.) that Chaucer knew and used Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise (Oeuvres* II. 203 ff.) and probably also certain *balades* (nos. 417, 463, 468—9, 539—40; *Oeuvres* III. 220, 279, 286 ff., 379 ff.), dealing with the same theme (cf. also Prof. Tatlock in *Notes* 21. 60). Some years later Prof. Lowes further proved *(Phil.* 8. 165 ff. & 305 ff.) that Deschamps' matrimonial satire *Le Miroir de Mariage* (*Oeuvres* IX) had influenced Chaucer's Merchant's Tale and Wife of Bath's Prologue (cf. Kittredge in *Phil.* 7. 475). Besides, Prof. Kittredge has in *Notes* 24. 14 f. collected a good many parallels with the *Envoy to Bukton* among Deschamps' *balades* (nos. 271, 340, 929, 977, to which no. 888 may be added) — especially no. 823, *Contre ceux qui se remarient,* where, however, he does not point out the most striking parallel of all, which definitely proves Chaucer's use of this *balade.* The second stanza begins:

> *Car en exil met son corps et sa vie*
> *Et devient serfs, laches et espandus*
> Et d'une errour fait seconde folie,
> Quant deux foiz est par femme confondu.

Cf. *Bukton* 1. 19 f.:

> *But thou shalt have sorwe on thy flessh, thy lyf,*
> *And be thy wyves thral, as seyn these wyse.*

Among Deschamps' *balades* there are also several similar to Chaucer's *Envoy to King Richard,* such as no. 31 and especially no. 209, *Comment tout change sa condicion (Oeuvres* II. 31 f.); the refrain *That al is lost, for lak of stedfastnesse* is almost exactly paralleled by the refrain of *balade* 234 *(Oeuvres* II. 63 f., on Prudent Economy): *Tout se destruit et par default de garde.* Further two *balades* by Deschamps, nos.286—7 (*Oeuvres* II. 140 ff.) appear to have served as the models of Chaucer's *Visage Sans Peinture* (cf. above, ch. IV. 3), while it is possible that *La Fiction*

du Lyon (*Oeuvres* VIII. 247 ff.) was imitated in the lost *Book of the Leon* (see ch. VI. 1).[1])

Finally Chaucer certainly knew a *balade,* which at any rate may be attributed to Deschamps and which is the source of the remarkably obscure stanza about Pedro the Cruel in the Monk's *Tragedies.* This reads in the Ellesmere MS. (B 3573—80):

> *The feeld of snow with thegle of blak ther-Inne*
> *Caught with the lymerod, coloured as the gleede,*
> He brew this cursednesse and al this synne;
> The wikked nest was werker of this nede,
> Noght Charles Olyuer that took ay heede
> Of trouthe and honour, but of Armorike
> Genylon Olyuer, corrupt for meede,
> Broghte this worthy kyng in swich a brike.

Tyrwhitt did not understand this passage (see his note on ver. 14697, though in at least four MSS. (Ad. 35286; Corpus, Lansd. Harl. 1758) it is elucidated by the glosses *Bertheun Claykyn* & *Olyuer Mawny,* both undoubtedly due to Chaucer himself. The last five lines play upon the latter name, while the opening ones allude to *Bertrand du Guesclin,* whose name is also indicated by the first gloss (see Furnivall in *Queries* 1871, II. 449 f.; cf. Skeat,

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[1]) In a great many cases Chaucer and Deschamps treat the same themes in a similar spirit, but without any agreement in detail justifying the assumption of actual borrowing. Deschamps' *Les Estas du Monde (Oeuvres* VII. 142 ff., II. 226 ff.) shows a certain similarity to the Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales,* and Lowes points out the possibility of Chaucer's having known Deschamps' metrical paraphrase of Innocent III *De Contemptu Mundi,* entitled *Double Lay de la Fragilité humaine (Oeuvres* II. 237, cf. *Publ.* 20. 795[1]; see ch. VI. 1). With Chaucer's *Purse* compare e. g. nos. 849 & 247 *(Oeuvres* VII. 132 & II. 81 f.; cf. Skeat I. 563 and see further Cook in *Trans. Connecticut Acad.* 23. 33 ff.); to the balade in the Prologue of the *Legend* (203 ff., 249* ff.); there is a parallel (no. 42) among the *Pièces attribuables à Deschamps (Oeuvres* X. xlix f.; cf. Skeat in *Acad.* 1891. II. 504), while the brief piece no. 872 *(Oeuvres* VII. 216) may have given Chaucer the idea for his *Proverbs* (cf. ch. IV. 3). — See also Lowes in *Rom. Rev.* II. 113 ff., and Cook in *Trans. Connecticut Acad.* 23. 31 f.

Acad. 1874. I. 721; also *Archiv* 148. 96). But the notion of introducing this famous knight through a description of his arms Chaucer no doubt got from the first stanza of a French *balade*, written after his death in 1380:

Lescu dargent a une aigle de sable
A deux testes ⁊ un roge baton
Portoit le preuz le vaillant connestable
Le bon bertran de Clesquin of surnon
A Brun fu nez le chevalier berton
Preuz ⁊ hardiz couraigeux comme vn tor
Qui tant serui de loyal cuer ⁊ bon
Lescu dazur [1]) au trois fleur de lis dor

This is printed here from a MS. at the Royal Library of Copenhagen (Ny Kongelig Samling Folio no. 62), where it occurs on f. 47—8 together with two other *balades* in honour of du Guesclin by Deschamps (nos. 206—7; *Oeuvres* II. 27 ff., cf. XI. 29); the probability is then that it really was written by Deschamps (it is printed among *Pièces attribuables à D.*, in *Oeuvres* X. XXXVI, cf. p. IV).[2])

The volume Deschamps sent Chaucer may then reasonably be taken to have contained ab. 15 *balades* and other short poems (nos. 209, 234, 286—7, 417, 463, 368—9, 539—40, 764—7, 823),[3]) *Le Lay de Franchise* (no. 307), *La Fiction du Lyon* (no. 1495; 2954 lines), & *Le Miroir du Mariage* (12103 lines), or close upon 16000 lines in all, besides of course various pieces, not now to be identified, so that the collection must have been of somewhat the same size as a MS. of the *Canterbury Tales*. It is possible to

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1) MS. has *daruz!*

2) From a formal point of view Machaut's influence on Chaucer was no doubt more important than that of Deschamps; the latter's metrical treatise in prose *L'Art de Diction* (dated Nov. 25, 1392; *Oeuvres* VII. 266 ff.) was probably *not* known to the English poet.

3) The unimportant parallels between nos. 541, 567, 568, & 570 and *Merciles Beaute* do not of course prove Chaucer's authorship of the English poem (as Lowes thinks, *Rev.* 5. 33 ff.; cf. ch. VI. 2).

date several of these items; nos. 764—7 contain allusions to John of Gaunt's eldest daughter, Philippa of Lancaster, which make them earlier than 1386 (see Kittredge in *Phil.* 1. 4 f. & Kern *ib.* 6. 503 ff., cf. *Oeuvres* XI. 46 & 266). *Le Lai de Franchise* was written for Charles VI and his court, to celebrate May 1, 1385 (Lowes in *Publ.* 19. 603 ff., cf. *Oeuvres* XI. 46 & 266),[1]) and nos. 417, 463, 468—9 were all composed in honour of Marie of Hungary in the autumn of the same year (*Oeuvres* XI. 44 & 47). *Le Miroir du Mariage* must from allusions at its beginning and towards its end have been begun ab. 1381 and concluded after 1385, but before 1396, probably about 1389 (*Oeuvres* XI. 165 f. & 197 ff.). As to *La Fiction du Lyon* its latest chronological reference is to an event in 1382.[2])

From this it will be seen that most of the contents of the volume sent to Chaucer may be roughly dated within the opening and closing years of the eighties of the XIV cent. In 1905, however, Prof. Lowes had investigated Chaucer's borrowings from the poems connected with the flower and leaf cult only, which may all be put ab. 1385 or a little earlier; he chose accordingly to date Deschamps' employment of Clifford as the bearer of his gift to Chaucer in the early part of 1386. But in 1910 he proved Chaucer's indebtedness to *Le Miroir du Mariage* and dated another mission of Clifford's for Deschamps in 1393. Now with all the respect due to Prof. Lowes for his splendid Chaucer work — of which no inconsiderable part has been done in connection with Deschamps — it must be pointed out that it is entirely unwarrantable to assume *two* occasions, on which Clifford served as the literary messenger of Deschamps. We have got one reference, and one only, to such a mission; we cannot then gratuitously postulate that there really were two, occurring seven years apart, but under exactly similar conditions. In these circum-

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[1]) It is possible nos. 539—40 were written on the same occasion (cf. Lowes *l. c.*).

[2]) Both the *Miroir* and the *Fiction* are unfinished; Raynaud thinks Deschamps was working at them until his death (in 1406—7; *Oeuvres* XI. 198 f.), but there are no arguments in favour of this view.

stances the inevitable conclusion is that Chaucer's knowledge of Deschamps' work was due to the one volume we *know* he received from the French poet;[1]) accordingly, having approximately ascertained the extent of that knowledge, we shall have to fix the time of the gift not very long after the date of the last poem in the batch. This date is as we have seen that of Deschamps' ceasing to work at *Le Miroir du Mariage,* which must have been some years before 1396.[2]) Now it is a striking fact that the only known opportunity Deschamps had of meeting Clifford was during the negotiations for peace between France and England at Leulinghem in the early spring of 1393, when Clifford was among the English negotiators,[3]) and Deschamps translated one of his prose treatises from Latin into French at the command of one of the French negotiators, the Duke of Bourgogne, dated April 13.[4]) In 1910 Prof. Lowes made this the occasion of Clifford's supposed *second* mission (*Phil.* 8. 327 ff.), thinking it impossible in 1905 (*Publ.* 20. 770) to date the transmission of Deschamps' flower-and-leaf poems later than ab. 1386, since they admittedly influenced the Prologue to Chaucer's *Legend,* which Prof. Kittredge believes influenced Clanvowe's *Book of Cupid,* written according to him ab. 1389—90 *(Phil.* 1.13 ff., cf. Lowes in *Publ.* 20. 753 f.).[5]) But quite apart from the question of the correctness of this date (cf. ch. VI. 2) the reference to the daisy in Clanvowe (241—

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1) Of course it is possible that Chaucer may have read the poems connected with Philippa of Lancaster (nos. 764—7) in the copies sent her by Deschamps (cf. *Phil.* l. 5 & *Publ.* 20. 760), but these are comparatively unimportant.

2) Note that the poems nos. 286—7 are connected with this poem through their theme of *Franc Vouloir,* the name of the friend in the *Miroir;* it is probable, then, that these balades as well as the preceding Envoy to Chaucer (no. 285) are of approximately the same date.

3) Rymer *Foedera* VII. 739, cf. Nicolas *Proceedings of the Privy Council* I. 45; see Waugh in *Scott. Hist. Rev.* 11. 60.

4) No. 1397; *Oeuvres* VII. 311, cf. XI. 67 f. See also Hoepffner's dissertation on Deschamps (Strasb. 1903) p. 102.

5) Lowes' results are accepted by Spurgeon p. 208 ff., but Root is sceptical *(The Poetry of Chaucer,* 1906, p. 142[1]).

5) is far from resembling the similar passages in Chaucer so much (282*—7*, 201* f., 211*; cf. Skeat VII. 528) that it is necessary to suppose it to have been borrowed from the *Legend*. This removes the only real difficulty in dating Clifford's mission in 1393, a year which otherwise fits all the conditions so that it may now be considered comparatively certain that Deschamps used this opportunity for making his English *confrère* acquainted with his poems. [1])

The importance of this late date for the chronology of Chaucer's work is considerable. The most significant result is of course that the original composition of the Prologue to the *Legend* is moved down at least seven years, from ab. 1386 to a date not earlier than 1393, so that it can only have preceded the final revision after Queen Anne's death in 1394 by a comparatively short time (cf. ch. III. 1). Also the *Envoy to King Richard* (cf. nos. 209 & 234) may now be dated 1397 rather than 1389 (see Wells p. 640, cf. ch. IV. 3), while the *Visage sans Peinture*, which Prof. Bilderbeck has given good reasons for placing between 1391 and 1394 (*Athen.* 1902. I. 82), may now be definitely dated 1393—4. As to the composition of the various parts of the *Canterbury Tales* it is suggestive to note that in the Prologue of the Wife of Bath Chaucer uses the first 4000 lines only of *Le Miroir du Mariage*, while the conclusion of the poem (after l. 9000) is also used in the Merchant's Tale, which would accordingly seem to have been composed somewhat later (note that the Wife of Bath is referred to by the Merchant in E 1685—7). [2]) Further, lines 9098—100

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[1]) This is also suggested by the probable date of the only other *balade* in which Deschamps mentions *l'amoureux Cliffort* (no. 536; *Oeuvres* III. 375 f.) This must have been written between 1386 and 1392 (Kittredge in *Phil.* 1. 7), but on account of the state of war between England and France in 1386—1389 (cf. Lowes in *Publ.* 20. 768 f) it is most likely to have been written on some occasion during the years 1390—92.

[2]) Also alluded to in the *Envoy to Bukton* (cf. no. 823), the date of which may safely be given as 1396 (see Wells p. 641). — If the *balade* on du Guesclin was incorporated in Deschamps' volume, the Monk's *Tragedies* — or at least the four contemporary ones — would also become later than 1393 (cf. Wells p. 709 f).

of the *Miroir* are used both in the Prologue to the *Legend* 276 f. (not in the original version) and in the Miller's Prologue A 3155 f., but the latter couplet was probably an afterthought (cf. Lowes in *Phil.* 8. 322 ff., espec. p. 326[3]). In this way we get the following order for some of Chaucer's work after the early part of 1393: The original *Prologue* to the *Legend* & *The Wife of Bath's Prologue* — The revised *Prologue* & *The Merchant's Tale.*[1])

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[1]) See Lowes in *Phil.* 8. 330 ff., but cp. Koch's general remarks in *Anglia, Beiblatt* 22. 277.

ABBREVIATIONS &C.

1. Authors.

Fansler: Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose. New York 1914.
Furnivall: A Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Ch. Soc. 1868.
Hammond: Chaucer, a bibliographical manual. 1908.
Hertzberg: Geoffrey Chaucer's Canterbury-Geschichten. Uebersetzt und durch Einleitung und Anmerkungen erläutert. Hildburghausen 1866.
Jespersen: Chaucer's Liv og Digtning (Studier fra Sprog- og Oldtidsforskning Nr. 12). København 1893.
Kaluza: Chaucer und der Rosenroman. Berlin 1893.
Kittredge: Chaucer and his Poetry. 1915.
Koch: A Detailed Comparison of the Eight MSS. of the Canterbury Tales. Heidelberg 1913.
Langlois: Les MSS. de Roman de la Rose. Paris 1910.
— I—III: Le Roman de la Rose. Societé des Anciens Textes Français. Paris 1914 ff.
Lounsbury I—III: Studies in Chaucer. 1892.
Macaulay I—IV: The Works of John Gower. Oxford 1899 ff.
MacCracken: The Minor Poems of John Lydgate I. E. E. T. S. 1911 (*The Lydgate Canon* pp. V—LVIII).
Nicolas: Life of Chaucer (The Aldine Ch. 1845. I. 7—144).
Schick: Lydgate's Temple of Glas. E. E. T. S. 1891.
Skeat: The Chaucer Canon. Oxford 1900.
— I—VII: The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Oxford 1894 ff.
Spurgeon: Chaucer devant la critique. Paris 1911.
— I: Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism I. Ch. Soc. 1914.
Tatlock: The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works. Ch. Soc. 1907.
Ten Brink: Chaucer. Studien zur Geschichte seiner Entwickelung. Münster 1870.
— I—II: Geschichte der englischen Literatur. 2. Aufl. 1899 ff.

Wells: A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050—1400. 1916 *(First Suppl.* 1919).
Wild: Die sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten der wichtigeren Chaucer-Handschriften und die Sprache Chaucers. Wien 1915.

2. *Periodicals and other titles.*

Acad.: The Academy. 1869 ff.
Archiv: Archiv für den Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen. 1846 ff.
Athen.: The Athenæum. 1828 ff.
Biogr.: Dictionary of National Biography. 1885 ff.
Dict. A New English Dictionary. Oxford 1888 ff.
Engl. Stud.: Englische Studien. 1877 ff.
Grundriss: Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, ed. H. Paul I—II. 1. ed. 1891—3.
Hist.: The Cambridge History of English Literature. 1907 ff.
Jahrbuch: Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur. 1859 ff.
Journ.: Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
Literaturblatt: Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie. 1880 ff.
Monatsschrift: Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift. 1909 ff.
Notes: Modern Language Notes. 1886 ff.
Phil.: Modern Philology. 1903 ff.
Publ.: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 1884 ff.
Quart: Philological Quarterly. University of Iowa 1922 ff.
Queries: Notes and Queries. 1849 ff.
Rev.: Modern Language Review. 1906 ff.
Rom. Rev.: The Romanic Review. 1910 ff.
Studies: Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature (Harvard). 1892 ff.

3. *MSS. & Editions of the Canterbury Tales.*

Ad.[1] = Brit. Mus. Add. 5140
Ad.[2] = ... 25718
Ad.[3] = ... 35286
*Co. = Oxf. Corp. Chr. Coll. 198
*Dd. = Cambr. Univ. Dd. 4. 24
Eg.[1] = Brit. Mus. Egerton 2726
Eg.[2] = ... 2864
*El. = Ellesmere
*Gg. = Cambr. Univ. Gg. 4. 27
*Ha.[1] = Brit. Mus. Harl. 7334
*Ha.[2] = ... 7335

*He. = Hengwrt
*La. = Brit. Mus. Lansdowne 851
*Pe. = Petworth
Koch *C. T.*: Geoffrey Chaucer's Canterbury Tales nach dem Ellesmere MS. Heidelberg 1915.
— *P. T.*: The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale. Berlin 1902.
Liddell: Chaucer: The Prologue to the Cant. Tales, the Knightes Tale, the Nonne Prestes Tale. Edited in Critical Text. New York 1917 (1901).
Morell: The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, in the original, from the most authentic MSS. 2. ed. 1740 (publ. anon. 1737; only Prologue & Knight's Tale (cf. Hammond p. 204 f.)).
Morris: The Prologue, The Knightes Tale, The Nonne Prestes Tale. 6. ed. Oxford 1875.
Tyrwhitt: The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer I—IV. 1775 (I—III: *Preface* (I. I—XXXVI); Text & Notes. — IV: *Essay* on the language and versification of Ch. (p. 1—111); *Introd. Disc.* to the C. T. (p. 112—89); Notes. — Vol. V. 1778 *(Account* of the Works of Ch. — *Glossary).*
Wright: The Canterbury Tales of Geoffrey Chaucer. A New Text, with Illustrative Notes. Griffin & Co. [1853?] (Edited in 1847—51 for the Percy Soc. I—III; cf. Hammond p. 211 f.).

Pollard's text is always quoted from the *Globe Chaucer* (1898). — The fourteen MSS. above have been carefully collated in several hundred passages throughout the text; the eight marked with an asterisk I have used in the Ch. Soc. prints, especially the Ellesmere from which most of the quotations are taken.

The two versions of the Prologue to the *Legend* are cited from the only good parallel ed. (by Furnivall in his *One Text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems* Ch. Soc. 1871 p. 191 ff.; cf. *Odd Texts* p. 23 ff.), an asterisk being added to the number of the lines in the Fx version (B), which may now be safely taken to represent the poet's first draft.

INDEX A.

Works written by or ascribed to Chaucer.

(A single asterisk indicates that a work (or a passage) is spurious, a double asterisk that a passage has been emended).

A B C, see Prière à Nôtre Dame.

Adam, Envoy to, authenticity 276; ed. Stowe 225; quoted 57.

**Against Women Unconstant,* see **Newfangleness.*

**Amerowse Compleynte,* 437, 273n.

Anelida, MSS. & authenticity 259 f.; text of Hammond group 189 f., — Tyrwhitt group 197n, — of Shirley group 231; ment. by Lydgate 42, 259. — *L. *351—7* spurious, 260.

Astrolabe, 175 ff.

**Balade of Compleynt,* 437.

**Belle Dame Sans Mercy,* see Index C: *Ros, Sir Richard.*

**Beryn, Tale of,* 120n, 121n.

Boece, 174 f., 198. — *II. pr. 4,* 406n, 410; *II. pr. 8,* 407n.

Bon Conseil [Truth], MSS. & authenticity, 245 f.; text 192n, 203 f., 250; title 251 f.; suggested by *Conf. Am. V. 7735 ff.,* 204 f.; written on the poet's death-bed 250 f.; Shirley's glosses 472n, 473n. — *L. 19 f.,* 203 f.; **22—8 (Envoy)* spurious, 246 ff.

Book of the Duchess, see *Death of Blanche.*

Bourse Voide, Complaint à [Purse], 253 f., 449.

Bred and Mylk for Childeren, see *Astrolabe.*

Brooch of Thebes [Complaint of Mars], MSS. & authenticity 261 f.; text 231 f., 263n; title 262 f.; Shirley's information 263 ff.; date & occasion 267 f.; picture in Fairf. MS., 184, 268n; ment. by Lydgate 42, 262. — *L. 36 f.,* 265; *64 ff.,* 266; *173,* 265; *236 ff.,* 283; *245 ff.,* 262.

Bukton, Envoy to, MSS. & authenticity 292 f.; influenced by Deschamps 487. — *L. 19 f.,* 487; 29 f., 292.

Canterbury Tales, MSS. & text, 60 ff., 63 ff., 106 ff., 126 f., 474 ff.; pedigree of MS. groups 106; the All England tradition 68, 78 ff., 106 f., 121 f.; Ellesmere group 78 ff., 107 f.; Cambridge group 85 ff.; London group 96 ff.; Oxford group 68 ff.; Corpus subgroup 68, 74n; Bodley subgroup 68; MS. Hengwrt 79 f., — Ellesmere 17, 81 ff., 108 f., — Cambr. Gg. 81 f., 200 f., — Cambr. Dd. 85, 92 f., — Harl.

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Ceys and Alcion, see *Death of Blanche.*

**Chaucer's Dream* (see also *Isle of Ladies),* 45 f.

**Complaint of the Black Knight* (see also Index C: *Lydgate, Complaint of a Lover's Life),* 45 f.

**Complaint Against Fortune* (see also Index C: *Usk, Thomas),* 224, 269n, 438.

**Complaint to my Lodesterre,* 437n.

**Complaint to my mortal foe,* 437n.

Complaints [to a Lady], MSS. & authenticity 268 f.; three drafts 272 f.; ed. Stowe 225 f.; rejected by Tyrwhitt 45n.

**Court of Love,* 45 f., 441n.

**Cuckow & Nightingale* (see also Index C: *Clanvowe, Th.),* 45 f.

"Dante in English" (= Wife of Bath's Tale), 148 ff.

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Fortune, see *Visage Sans Peinture.*

**Gamelyn, Tale of,* see *Canterbury Tales.*

Gentilesse, see *Moral Balade.*

House of Fame, MSS. & text 152 f., lost conclusion 154 ff.; marginal notes 155n; lost copy by Shirley? 237n; Lydgate's doubtful testimony 148 ff.; purport of the poem 156 f.; influenced by Froissart's *Temple D'Onnour* 158 ff.; date & occasion 162 ff. — *L. 45 ff.,* 162n; ***52 ff.,* 154; *265 f.,* 405n; *358 f.,* 155n; *737 ff.,* 479; *1097 f.,* 110; *1124,* 153n; *1257 f.,* 399; *1645 ff.,* 479; *1886 ff.,* 157; ***1907 ff.,* 155 f.; *1944,* 156; *2093 f.,* 152; *2133 ff.,* 162; *2142 f. & 2155 ff.,* 157; *2156,* 90n, — *Caxton's spurious conclusion, 152.

**Isle of Ladies* (see also **Chaucer's Dream),* 327n.

King Richard, Envoy to [Stedfastnesse], MSS. & authenticity 273 f.; text 275; connection with Deschamps 487; date & occasion 274, 492.

Lady, Envoy to a [Womanly Noblesse], 276 ff.

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Legend of Cupid's Saints, MSS. 137; two Prologues 138 ff.; unfinished 140 f.; authorship 141 f.; title & headings 143 ff.; ment. in *Tales* 142 f.; ment. by Gower? 430 f.; allusions in Prol. to own work, 145 ff.; use of Deschamps 486 f.; occasion & date 139 f., 492 f.; connection with Queen Anne 25, 40, 139 f., 448. —*L. 79,* 484; *113 f.,* 398; *254 ff.,* 146 f., 384; *315,* 431n; *340 ff.,* 147, 384; *402 ff.,* 145 f., 427, 431 f.; *414* ff.,* 146n; *427* f.,* 426; *458 ff.,* 147; *473 f.,* 144n; *1126,* 141n; *2397 ff.,* 24; *2559 ff.,* 25; *2722 f,* 140 f.

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